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*George Purling.*

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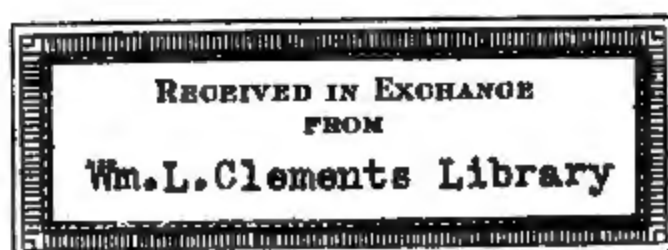
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THE  
Parliamentary Register;  
OR  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES  
OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The most interesting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate  
Copies of the most remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS;  
of the most material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c.  
laid before and offered to the HOUSE,

DURING THE

SECOND SESSION of the FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

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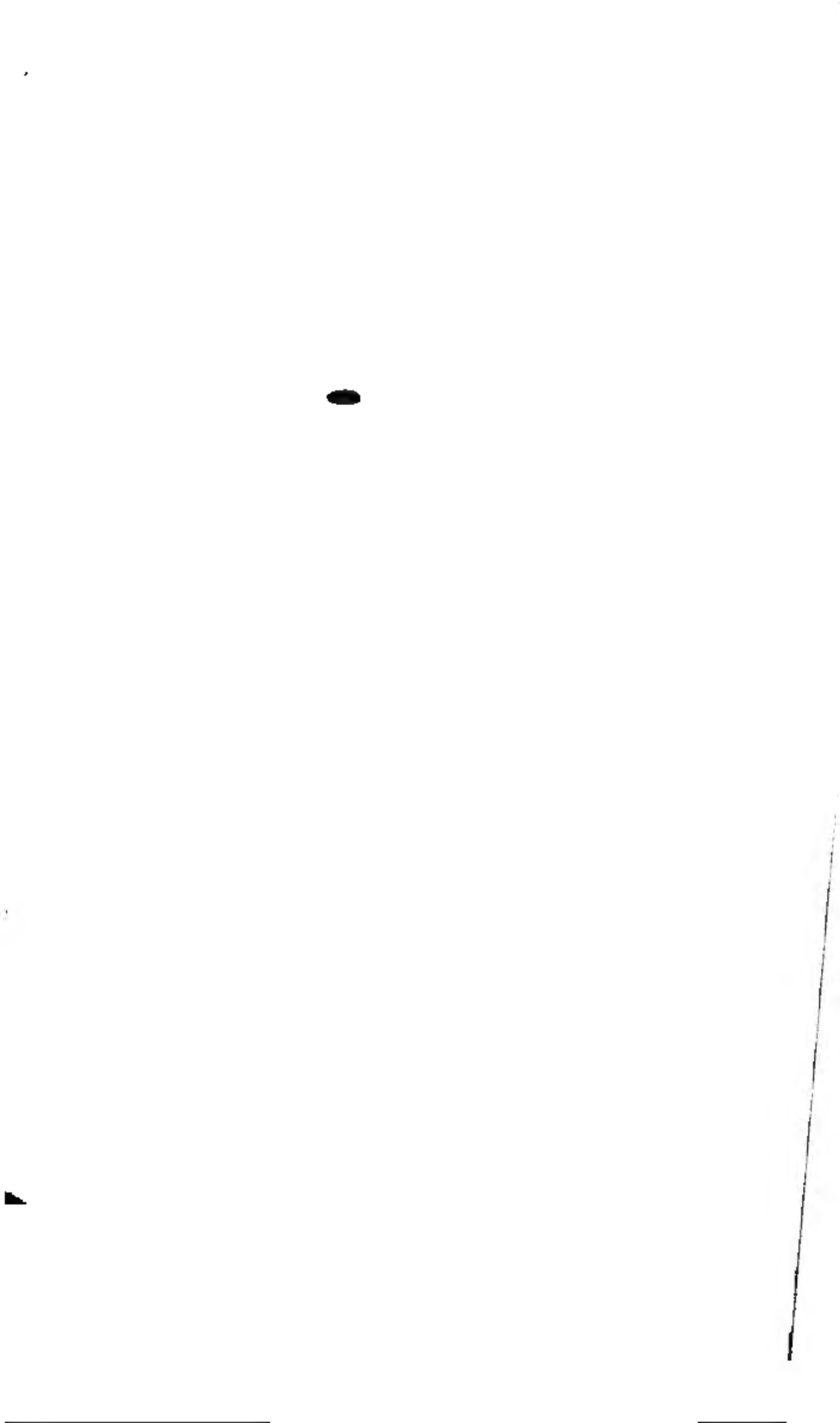
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THE

# H I S T O R Y

OF THE

## PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF the SECOND SESSION of the

## H O U S E O F C O M M O N S,

OF THE

*Fifteenth Parliament of Great Britain*

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### THIRD REPORT, (being a SUPPLEMENT to the FIRST and SECOND) from the COMMITTEE of SECRECY, &c.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War that now subsists in the Carnatic, and of the present Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts, and to report the same to the House, with their Observations thereupon; and who were instructed to enquire into the Rise, Progress, Conduct, and present State of the Maratta War, and all other Hostilities in which the Presidency of Bengal now are or have been engaged in the Support of that War, and of the Effects which the said War and Hostilities may have produced in Bengal, and the other Settlements and Possessions of the East-India Company :

**H**AVING been furnished with some additional Materials respecting the Subject Matter of the First and Second Reports, since they were directed by the House, at the Commencement of the present Session of Parliament, to resume their Enquiries, have thought it their Duty to lay before the House the Substance of those additional Materials, by Way of Supplement to their former Reports, following the same Arrangement according to which the several Subjects were originally treated; and subjoining to their former Appendixes the Papers and Examinations from which this Supplement is compiled.

George Purling.

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H 23

Cap. 2

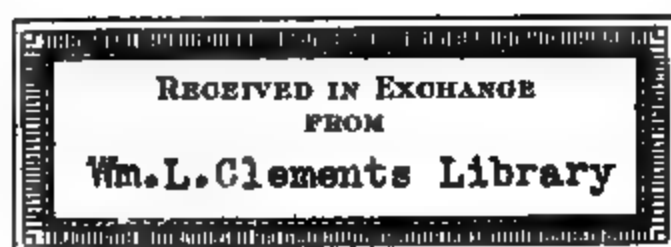
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the Subject of an Alliance ; yet when Pondicherry was attacked, it was generally imagin'd, and justly, as he believes, that Hyder would have tried to raise the Siege, had not his Arms at that Time been employed in another Quarter. That the subsequent Attack on Mahé, and the Operations in the Guntoor Circar, were considered by Hyder as positive Acts of Hostility, who from that Time seemed to make no Secret of his hostile Designs against the Carnatic. That his own Reflections upon all these Circumstances, added to his Information from Mr. Schwartz, who had just returned from Hyder's Durbar, and from other Channels of Intelligence, made him conclude, when he was about to leave India, that a War was not far distant, and that Hyder only waited for an Opportunity to begin Hostilities ; and that he was sorry to see that the Maratta War, by exhausting the Company's Resources, and dispersing their Force, was likely to afford him a very favourable one ; so that he never doubted of the Carnatic's becoming the Theatre of War. That although the Affairs of the Guntoor Circar, and of Mahé, were powerful Provocations, yet Hyder would not have involved himself in the War, had there been Peace in Hindostan, until he had received the Troops promised him by France ; and does not think Hyder would have trusted his Infantry and Guns in the Carnatic, had the Madras Government only assembled the Forces under that Presidency in proper Time, and ordered the Army to move towards the Western Passes, when they heard of Hyder's Approach from Bangalore.

As the Facts contained in Mr. Petrie's evidence appear to Your Committee to be material, they have inserted his Evidence much at large, without meaning to pass any Judgment upon the Conduct of the Madras Government, relative to the Alliance with Hyder Ally, alluded to by Mr. Petrie.

Your Committee, in the Course of their Researches, have met with a Transaction which originated with the Governor General and Council ; in which, however, the Government of Madras was interested, and which they think it necessary to state to the House, though not directly connected with the Subject Matter of their First Report.

They find, by Dispatches from Calcutta, dated 7th January 1781, that the Governor General and Council (then consisting of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Wheler only), after stating the Necessity of using every Means to relieve the Carnatic, acquainted the Court of Directors with a Treaty set on

N<sup>o</sup> 6. Foot with the Dutch, whose Possessions at Cochin and its  
Supplemental Neighbourhood had been attacked by Hyder Ally, and  
Appendix to which had been formed under the Advice and Correction  
1st Report. of Mr. Ross, Director of the Dutch East India Settlements in Bengal. These Gentlemen represent the Force actually stationed at Cochin and near it, as able to furnish the Proportion of European Infantry and Artillery therein stipulated, as well as of Mallays, who might be quickly marched by a near Route into the Carnatic, if the Governors of Columbo and Cochin should accede, who have no regular Powers to bind their Company ; being subject to the  
supreme

supreme Government of Batavia. They therefore state this as a Reason for having offered to the Dutch Director more advantageous Terms than would otherwise have been expedient in an equal and formal negotiation, or adequate to their Share of the common Interest in the War. But that no Time is to be lost, and instant Relief is required, and that the dependent State of those Persons, whom they solicit to be the immediate Parties, claims some additional Concessions to indemnify them, and win the Concurrence of their Superiors: This they say has induced them to offer the Tinnivelly Country to the Dutch, "which may be separated from the Carnatic, without either Embarrassment or Danger of future Competition; and, from its Contiguity to the Dutch Possessions in Ceylon, would prove a greater Acquisition to them, than Loss to the Nabob:" That the Treaty had been suddenly prepared, and "without his Knowledge, and of Course without his Consent, though they know that the latter is indispensably necessary to that Article of the Treaty in which the Cession of Tinnivelly is suggested;" but that a Cession of a minute and distant Part of his Dominions, is but a small Sacrifice for the Preservation of the Whole, as the Nabob of Arcot is the Principal in the War. In this Letter, the Supreme Government inclose Copies of the Treaty executed by them, and of their Letters to the Presidency of Madras, the Nabob, the Directors of Cochin and Columbo, and the Supreme Government of Batavia.

The Minute of the Governor General and Council of the 4th January 1781 (recapitulating the Reasons above mentioned), contains the "Proposals for a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallah Jaw Behader;" and after reciting the Invasion of Hyder Ally, his Attack on the Dutch Settlements, the

common Interest of the Nabob, and the Advice and Suggestion of the Dutch Director, declares, that the Treaty shall be proposed to the several intended Parties to it, and that it shall be binding on the English Company as soon as it shall have received the Seals and Signatures of the other Parties. The Substance of this Treaty appears to be, that the Governments of Columbo and Cochin shall furnish 1,000 European Infantry, 200 European Artillery, and 1,000 Malays, with their Complement of Officers, subject to the English Commander until the Conclusion of the War and their Re-delivery to their proper Government, and receiving their present Pay, together with their Field and Garrison Expenses: That it shall be proposed and recommended to the Nabob of Arcot, to grant proper Sunnuds to the Dutch East India Company, transferring to them his Right and Property in the Province of Tinnivelly, together with the exclusive Right of the Pearl Fishery on all the Coast lying to the South of Remfirem: That the Dutch East India Company may make such Conquests in the Neighbourhood of Cochin as they shall be able, without the Participation of the Nabob, or of the English: That if further Assistance is required, the Dutch shall engage to obtain it from the Supreme Government of Batavia, on the same terms: That the Treaty being executed by the Supreme Council of Bengal, shall be forwarded to the Nabob of Arcot; and if executed by him, to the Directors of Columbo and Cochin; but liable to no Diminution or Alteration. Your Committee

find, that their Letter to the Nabob represents the perilous State of their common Affairs, and the great Sacrifice made, by relinquishing the Prosecution of the Maratta War, almost in the Moment when they had Reason to expect, from the Success which had attended it, that it would have speedily terminated in an honourable and advantageous Peace; and that the Necessity of the utmost Expedition must apologize for the Want of his previous Consent. The Letter intended for Columbo and Cochin, represents to the Governors of those Settlements, the Impossibility of corresponding with Batavia, by reason of the Time which would thereby be lost; and holds out the great Advantage accruing to the Dutch, as an ample Indemnification for their Want of Authority from their Superiors. In the Letter intended for the Supreme Government of Batavia, the same Arguments of Advantage are urged, to secure their Ratification, and the Necessity of Expedition offered as an Apology for having applied themselves, in the first Instance, to subordinate Governments. In the Letter from the Governor General to that of Madras, accompanying this Treaty, Instructions are given to press the Nabob to a Compliance, by representing his Necessities, his Obligations, and the Justice of the Claims which they have upon him; and no Doubt is entertained but that, from Motives of Policy as well as Justice, the Nabob will accede to the Terms offered in his Name.

On the 12th of January 1781, the Government of Madras acquainted the Court of Directors, that they had particularly attended to his Majesty's Order in Council, of the 17th of April last, and should vigilantly guard against any Consequences which might eventually arise from the Measures that His Majesty had been under the Necessity of adopting; and on the 17th of February, transmit to the Directors their Sentiments on the Treaty above stated. They observe, that the Cession of the Tinivelly Country and Pearl Fishery, which are to be perpetually ceded for a temporary Assistance, are estimated at 35 Lacks of Rupees, equal in that Country to 385,750 £. Sterling. That a Scheme of Assistance from the Dutch had been intimated some Months before, but that the weighty Consideration of Expence seemed alone sufficient to deter them from accepting it, though they had not absolutely declined it; more especially as the requisite Sum might be more advantageously applied, by entertaining a Body of Cavalry, the Want of which had been severely felt. In Addition to these Arguments, they hold themselves not to have been warranted in forwarding the Treaty, as Sir Eyre Coote's Success had been so considerable, as much was to be expected from General Goddard's Operations, and as the Reinforcement expected from Bengal would enable them to act with Effect on the Offensive; but above all, as the Revenues of the Southern Provinces were almost the only Resources left to the Nabob, and as his Highness had assigned them over to the Company (reserving some Share for his Household Expences), and were the most considerable Part of their Funds for carrying on the War, the Cession of so much Revenue in Perpetuity would strip them of their best Means of supporting themselves in the Carnatic. To this they add, that his Majesty's Declaration in Council, of the 17th of April 1780, rendered the giving to the Dutch an Opportunity of acquiring so much

Influ-

Influence in that Country, a Measure both highly impolitic and detrimental to the Company's Affairs.

Your Committee find, That the Directors of the East India Company, in their General Letter to Fort St. George by the Ships now under Dispatch, have expressed their Opinion of this Transaction in the following Terms: "It is needless to enter upon an Examination of the proposed Treaty with the Dutch for the Tinnivelly Country. Nothing but the most desperate Necessity could have warranted such Cession of Territory to the Dutch; however, as Great Britain and the States General are at open War, every Effort must be continued to guard against, and, if possible, to reduce and destroy the Power of the Dutch in India."



## Supplement to the Second Report.

**T**HE Abolition of the Committee of Circuit, and calling down of the Zemindars to Madras, was the Point first attended to in Your Committee's Second Report. In Addition to what they have already stated on that Subject, it appears to them, That on the 5th May 1778 (about Three Months after the Arrival of Sir Thomas Rumbold at Madras), a Letter was written to him by Mr. Sadlier, then Chief of Masulipatam, representing, " That he always had in Mind how much

No. 1. " the Governor seemed to have at Heart the Coming  
Supplemental " of the Zemindars to the Presidency :—My utmost En-  
Appendix to " deavours (says he) have been used to facilitate your  
2d Report. " Wish ; but less sanguine than you appear, of the Eli-  
" gibility of undertaking suddenly great Reformation of  
" System, and aware of the Difficulties in which you may be involved.  
" As I could not, consistently with the warm Support Gratitude and  
" Inclination prompt me to, flatter you of the immediate Success of your  
" Measures, I thought it best to be silent, and not awake Distrust in  
" you, till a full and compleat State of the Settlement and our Situa-  
" tion were sent you : Such is now compleated, and goes this Night to  
" Council.

" If it had pleased you to have reposed Confidence in me, and ap-  
" prised me of the State of this Settlement previous to my Departure  
" from Madras, and intrusted to me after I could have communicated to  
" you my Opinion on your Plan, and the Time fittest for its being un-  
" dertaken, possibly our Treasury might have been replenished, and the  
" Scheme forwarded. But having, previous to my Knowledge of your  
" Intentions, written to the Zemindars, I found my Influence and the  
" Influence of the Board here, annulled, and nothing to be done till you  
" have the Zemindars with you, or till this Government is invested with  
" their usual Authority."—Upon these Grounds Mr. Sadlier proceeded  
to state the Necessity of losing no Time in putting the Measure in Exe-  
cution, after the Subject should have had due Consideration, and the Go-  
vernor should have satisfied himself how the Calls on Masulipatam for  
Money were to be satisfied ; and states, that Sepoys might be necessary to  
enforce the Order, " as it commonly requires such an Exertion to get  
" the Zemindars from their respective Countries," and make them fulfil  
their Engagements to Government.

It appears also, that this Letter contains a Description of the Charac-  
ters and private Circumstances of some of the principal Zemindars in  
that Settlement, which Your Committee think it necessary to state shortly,  
as affording Matter for judging of the Necessity, Policy, or Propriety, of  
calling down the Zemindars to the Presidency, in preference to the Mea-  
sure

sure which was ordered by the Court of Directors ; namely, that a Committee from the Presidency should enquire upon the Spot into every Circumstance which affected the respective Interests of the Peasants, the Zemindars, or the Company ; and also, as tending to throw Light upon the Suggestions made by the subordinate Settlements, and by the Zemindars themselves, of their Inability to afford the Expence of a Journey to the Presidency, and a Residence there for some Length of Time, and of the Detriment which would thence arise to the subordinate Treasuries, and ultimately to the Company.

Tripetty Rauze is represented as very punctual in his Engagements to the Company, as an able and frugal Manager of his Country ; useful to the Company, by assisting them in settling with others of his own Class, but a greater Sufferer by having become Security for the Countries under his Management, insomuch as to be reduced to “ a Manœuvre,” to endeavour to extricate himself from his Difficulties : Thus embarrassed as he now is, Mr. Sadlier knows not how he can settle his Affairs to the Satisfaction of the Presidency of Madras.

Opporow is represented as having a fine Country, great Part of which is under the Management of others ; but that his Affairs are in so unprosperous a State, that nothing short of the Sequestration of his Country, and giving him an Allowance for his Maintenance, can enable him to pay off his heavy Debts, and restore him to his former Situation.

Jagapetty Rauze is represented to have the Name of being able to settle with the Company, either at Masulipatam or Madras, but that a close Connection is said to have taken place between him and Sitteram Rauze : “ That Vackeels and Correspondence are in use between them, “ and that there is Cause to imagine that there are Intrigues on Foot “ between the Zemindars of Chicacole and those of this District, from “ this Man’s Influence. This (says Mr. Sadlier) should be discouraged, “ and may cause a Combination of the Whole of the Zemindars to distress and embarrass your Plan. To overcome such Confederacy, you “ might settle the Affairs of the different Districts separately and at different Times, and not hazard the Effects of Intrigue, by bringing the “ Whole of them together.”

Row Vencata Row is represented as having paid up his Kists ; and a Renewal of his Agreement, in the usual Mode, it is thought may be effected. — Ram Chundre Rauze is said to wish to have his Pretensions to the Cotah Country (now in Charge of a Fouzdar for the Company) settled before he pays his Instalments : Costant Ram and Vesseretty Ram, as having been always punctual, and likely so to continue.

The Chief of Masulipatam then proceeds to draw the Governor’s Attention to the Effects which this Measure would, in his Judgment, have upon the Treasury of the Settlement under his Charge. “ By the Estimate (continues he) of probable Receipts and monthly Disbursements, “ sent

“ sent to the Board, you will find we have Hope of receiving very lit-  
 “ tle; and our Disbursement not less than 33,000 Pagodas monthly  
 “ (£. 13,300 Sterling), besides which, we owe to the Soubah, 31st  
 “ March last, 77,922 Pagodas, on Account of his Tribute; which Sum  
 “ is increasing monthly, at the Rate of 10,822  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The Payment of the  
 “ last Money was compleated by the Soucars only a few Days since,  
 “ which occasioned the Soubah, by one of his People, to write Vencata  
 “ Royloo, as you will perceive by Translate of the Letter now sent.  
 “ It becomes an Object of your most serious Attention, in case the Ze-  
 “ mindars proceed as at present intended, to find Means by which our  
 “ Treasury may be supplied; the most valuable Part of the Company's  
 “ Investment depends on it, and the Zemindars with-holding, as they do,  
 “ Assistance of any Kind, leaves little Hopes of Resources in ourselves;  
 “ for whatever may appear due, such is the State of Credit, and such  
 “ the Uncertainty of Payment, I do not at this Hour know where I  
 “ can apply with Certainty for the smallest Sums, and all I expect to  
 “ be able to do, will barely furnish the Demands of the present Month,  
 “ independent of our Silver, which may amount to about a Lack of  
 “ Rupees, which will be sold to great Loss.—Thus, Miscarriage in  
 “ any of the Affairs dependent on this Settlement, may therefore be im-  
 “ puted to the Change of System, and what Disappointments ensue  
 “ justified by the Council here on this Plea, and all Misfortunes incident  
 “ to it imputed to your Board.—If too, by improper Management here-  
 “ tofore, Deficiency in Payment of the Kists now due, and the Revenue  
 “ of this Country, according to the present Settlement, should happen,  
 “ may not the Cause, by its Effect of giving the First Shock, too com-  
 “ mon and long practised Credit in the Mode of Securities in those  
 “ Countries, be also ascribed to the present Plan? In short, if it should  
 “ happen that the Settlement, by bad Seasons and Causes alleged by  
 “ the Zemindars, is on the Decline, would it not be prudent to leave the  
 “ Government, hitherto charged with Responsibility, to justify its Mea-  
 “ sures, and bear the Censure it deserves? are Questions with Deference  
 “ I submit to your better Judgment.

“ The Period of Settlement by Mr. Floyer, expires the 25th Septem-  
 “ ber next; a new Jamabundy must then be agreed on; that Time or  
 “ October may be better suited, and the People better prepared to visit  
 “ the Presidency. In Case then no Change is intended in the present  
 “ Settlement, such Season may be equally convenient for the Company  
 “ for a future Plan; and the Board here, by being left to accomplish its  
 “ present Payments, may possibly at that Time have its Treasury in a  
 “ State to answer the Exigencies, and the Plan proceed without Incon-  
 “ venience.—I am led to these Observations, by a sincere Wish to pro-  
 “ mote the Success of your Measures; and stimulated by such Motives,  
 “ led to a Freedom of Remarks I would not have used, but to the Per-  
 “ son whose Honour and Success highly interests me; I trust therefore I  
 “ shall not have given Offence:—You have now, (if you think the Sub-  
 “ ject deserves it) but to afford it due Consideration, and signify your  
 “ further Wishes to ensure in me an arduous Desire to second them, by  
 “ the

“ the most implicit Obedience to your further Commands. The present  
 “ Letter is meant as a private one, but whatever Observations concern  
 “ the Public, may be used as you have Occasion.”

Your Committee, upon this Point respecting the Abolition of the  
 Committee of Circuit, and calling down the Zemindars,  
 Supplemental examined William Petrie, Esquire; who acquainted them,  
 Appendix to that he went first to Madras in the Company's Civil  
 1st Report. Service about Seventeen Years ago, and had acted in  
 the Stations of Commissary and Paymaster to the Army,  
 during the late War with Hyder Ally, at the First Siege of Tanjore, and  
 in the subsequent Campaigns: That he was afterwards appointed Secre-  
 tary to the Government of Madras, in which Department he remained  
 till his Return to England in 1776; that in the succeeding Year he re-  
 turned to India with Sir Thomas Rumbold, and was appointed Envoy or  
 Resident to the Rajah of Tanjore, and to the Chiefship of Nagore and  
 Caricole. That he again, left India in January 1780; was prosecuting  
 his Journey over Land, but was obliged, on Account of the Plague in  
 Turkey, to return to Bombay; was present at the Capture of Bassein by  
 the Bengal Army; and on the Malabar Coast, had an Opportunity of  
 hearing of Hyder Ally's alarming Success in the Carnatic, and the dis-  
 tressed State of the English Government at Madras. That he left the  
 Coast of India on the 11th February, on board of a Portuguese Ship,  
 and arrived in England, September 1781. — Mr. Petrie informed Your  
 Committee, That he remained with Sir Thomas Rumbold about Twelve  
 Days after his Arrival at Madras, and was not in that Place when the  
 Committee of Circuit was abolished, but heard of it at Tanjore, which  
 is distant from Madras Three Days Journey by Post, and Six or Seven  
 in the usual Way: That most of the Zemindars, he believes, were at  
 Madras when he returned to the Presidency, but that he had no Com-  
 munication with them: That he was acquainted with the Objects of  
 the Committee of Circuit, and knew of its Dissolution; and from his  
 Knowledge of the Affairs of that Presidency, and the Objects of that  
 Committee, he is clearly of Opinion, that they were more likely to be  
 attained by the Continuance of the Committee, than by calling down the  
 Zemindars; because the Committee was directed to proceed to the  
 Northern Circars, and investigate the various Matters which had been  
 complained of in that Branch of the Company's Government; and because  
 the Instructions given to them for their Guide, appear to him well calcu-  
 lated to accomplish the Purposes of Reformation; whereas, by calling the  
 Zemindars to Madras, the Board could only have partial Evidence, and  
 must be liable to Imposition and Deception from those Men, whose Interest  
 it was to keep them in the Dark. From his Knowledge of the Men ap-  
 pointed to form that Committee, Mr. Petrie thought they were very  
 capable of that Trust; and being asked Whether there were other Gentle-  
 men fit to supply their Places in case of Vacancy? he answered, “ A great  
 many indeed.” With Respect to the Zemindars having complained of the  
 Hardship of being brought down to the Presidency, Mr. Petrie informed  
 Your Committee, that he did not know it, so as to warrant him in calling  
 it personal Knowledge; but that it was the notorious and universal Sense  
 of the Presidency, that they had so complained.

Vide Report  
on the Reve-  
nue.

Vide Supple-  
mental Ap-  
pendix to 2d  
Report,  
No. 7.

Mr. Cotsford, who as Chief of Mazulipatam for upwards of Two Years subsequent to the latter End of 1778, and whose Departure from thence, on board of a Danish Ship, without waiting for the Approbation of the Government, had given Offence, was examined by Your Committee to this Point; and informed them, That great Inconvenience had arisen from the Measure of calling down the Zemindars; that the Collections had thereby been impeded, and that they had complained of the Expence incurred by their Journey, their Residence at Madras, and the Necessity of leaving their Zemindaries in the Hands of Servants. That he never had any Conversation with any of the Zemindars respecting Presents given to any Members of the Government at Madras, although he had met with all the Zemindars on their Return, and although, had they not been called down, he should have accepted of certain Advantages which were customarily in his Station, after having first discharged his Duty to the Company. Mr. Cotsford, upon the Subject of the Utility of the Committee of Circuit, seemed to think the Chiefs and Councils at the subordinate Settlements ought not to have been superseded by that Institution, and that a single Person might have done the Duty of that Committee; of which he seemed to have too limited and inadequate an Idea, confining it merely to surveying and letting the Lands; whereas the Company's Letter of the 12th April 1775 (stated in the Second Report), comprehends many great and important Objects of public Policy, from the governing Power down to the lowest Subtenant.

Your Committee, in their Second Report to which this Supplement is offered, after having digested the Materials with which they were furnished, respecting the Nature and Effects of abolishing the Committee of Circuit, and calling down the Zemindars in Person, stated the Manner of dealing with them, and the Remittances which were made to China by Sir Thomas Rumbold during that Period. In Addition to the former Materials on this Head, they have been furnished with the following Evidence:

Captain Johnston, of the Granby, informed them, That he sailed from Britain on the 7th March, 1779, for Madras; arrived there on the 18th January, 1780, when Sir Thomas Rumbold was Governor; that he remained there about Five Months, and sailed for China about the 18th June, where he arrived about the 29th August; that he carried with him Treasure belonging to Individuals, and among the rest 8,000 Pagodas (£. 3,200 Sterling) belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold, which he delivered to Messrs. Bradshaw and Pigeu; that Messrs. Oakley and Proctor, Sir Thomas Rumbold's Attornies, had applied to him to take it on Board, about Fourteen Days before he sailed. That the Treasure was not regularly entered in the Books where other Effects are entered, and that a Bill of Lading was given. That he had 30,000 Pagodas besides, belonging to different Individuals, but none belonging

to any Member of Government, except that above mentioned. That the Seahorse Man of War sailed in Company, as Convoy to the Ships, and had Money and Jewels on board to a large Amount, as he learned from Captain Panton (Captain of the Seahorse), whom Your Committee find to be since deceased; of which 16,000 Pagodas (£.6,400) were the Property of Sir Thomas Rumbold. That in Conversation with Captain Panton, on Board of his own Ship, that Gentleman asked him, What Quantity of Pagodas he had of Sir Thomas Rumbold's? And that upon his answering, that he had 8,000, Captain Panton replied, that he had double the Number.

Captain Parker, Captain Montgomerie, Captain Blanchard, Captain Wakefield, Captain Peirce, and Captain White, informed Your Committee, That they had carried small Quantities of Treasure to China, on Account of Individuals (specifying the Sums and Names of the Owners), no Part of which appears to have been on Account of any Member of the Government of Madras.—Mr. Farrington Butterfield, Purser of the Sandwich, which sailed to China with most of the Captains above mentioned, informed Your Committee, That less than 30,000 Pagodas were on Board of that Ship belonging to Merchants; but that the Seahorse had carried a great deal of Money, for which Three *per cent.* Freight was paid to the Man of War, while the Company's Ships had but One.

Your Committee proceeded to examine Thomas Bevan, Esquire; who informed them, That he was Second of the Select Committee at China, appointed at the End of the Year 1778: That he sailed on the 6th or 7th of March 1779, and arrived in China on the 3d or 4th of October in the same Year: That he had left Canton on the last Day of January 1781, and came home in the last Ship.—Having been informed by Captain Johnston that 15 or 16 Country Ships had sailed from Madras to China in the Year 1780, Your Committee interrogated Mr. Bevan with respect to the Remittance of Treasure by Individuals, by Means of those Vessels; and were informed, that the Board at China had Money tendered to them, from private Persons as well as Servants of the Company, from all Parts of India: That there were several Remittances from Individuals, which he had Opportunity to know of; but that they never asked whose Property it was, but only the Name of the Person to whom it was wished it should be remitted: That the Cash paid in does not always belong to the Person who pays it in: That he heard of Money being sent by Country Ships, but that the Board takes no Notice of Country Ships, having no concern with them; and that they sometimes pay into the Company's Cash, sometimes to Foreigners; and that large Sums are frequently paid into foreign Treasuries, which, though a difficult Matter, should be put a Stop to from Home, as that would benefit the Company. Mr. Bevan also informed Your Committee, that he did not of his own Knowledge know of any specific Sums remitted by, or on Account of, any Individuals from Madras or Bengal.—Matthew Raper, Esquire, another Supercargo, confirmed Captain Foxhall and Mr. Pigou's Account, respecting the Sum stated in the 2d Report (Page 32) to have been paid in to him and his Partner, on Sir Thomas Rumbold's Account; and proved, that the Portion belonging to



Sir Hector Monro, was of the Value of £. 466 10s. 3d. He also confirmed the preceding Testimony, respecting the Importation of Money by the Seahorse; which, having been sent up to the Factory, "He did not know what it was, as it was not all Public Money."

Some further Light was afforded to Your Committee, by the Testimony of Mr. Petrie, respecting the Present of a Lack of Rupees, stated in the 2d Report (P. 34.) to have been secured to Mr. Redhead, the private Secretary of Sir Thomas Rumbold, by Sitteram Rauze, whilst he was at Madras.

That Gentleman acquainted your Committee, That he was One of the Executors of Mr. Redhead; that there was a disputed Article in the Will, relating to a Sum of Money claimed from Sitteram Rauze; and that it appeared to be a Sum of Money promised by Sitteram Rauze, or his Agent, to Mr. Redhead, for certain Services to be rendered by him; But that, being absent from Madras on Public Service, he left the Executorship entirely to Mr. Brodie, his Co-executor, and could therefore only say, that he believed the Services to have been the accomplishing of certain Points for Sitteram Rauze at the Presidency, through his (Mr. Redhead's) Influence; that he had a Copy of the Agreement itself, translated from the Original by a Person whom he knew well, and believes to be exact; with which Mr. Petrie furnished Your Committee, and which they find to be as follows:

*Translation of an Agreement granted by Satteramraz Maharaz to Mr. Redhead, dated 1st July 1778.*

I Satteramraz Maharaz do hereby agree to pay One Lack of Rupees, as a Present to Mr. Redhead, on Account of his Assistance in the following Affairs; viz.

That he should cause to procure or get Cowls what I want from the Company to my Raja, in the Name of Gajapatee: That he should procure Cowls of Jamabundy, in the Name of Gajapatee:

That he should cause to adjoin the Countries of Anachapallee and Sechavetram with my Country or Jemeendary, and to grant the Cowl for the same:

That he should cause to remove the Sepoys from my Fort, and deliver the Fort to me to be at my own, with an Order; and also to cause me and my Brother to be in friendly Manner with one another, and to assist in such several other Affairs:

And as for the above-mentioned One Lack of Rupees, he has received a Bond of 10,000 Pagodas of the Shamarawoo; the Particular of which is as follows:

He

He took upon himself, on Account of Captain Lysaght, to pay to Shart (Shamarawoo) Pagodas 2540; which, upon deducting out of the above 10,000 Pagodas, there remains 7460 Pagodas, and the Interest of which is 400 Pagodas, both together is 7860 Pagodas, which makes, at 356 Rupees per 100 Pagodas, is Rupees 27981. 8 Anas. For this Sum I caused my Brother to give him a Receipt; and as for the Remainder of Rupees 72018. 8 Anas, I shall pay him Rupees 22018. 8 Anas at the Time of my setting out from hence to my Country; and the rest of the Balance of 50,000 Rupees, I shall send it by the Way of Bills of Exchange upon Soucars, and then I shall redeem my Agreement from him.

Thus I willingly give this Agreement to him, signed by  
Jemecander Raja Stetaramraz Bahadar,  
Muna Sultan.

By what has been stated in the Second Report already presented to the House, it appears, that Sitteram Rauze had been successful in carrying the Points which he was desirous of Mr. Redhead's good Offices in the Prosecution of; and his suspicious Conduct soon after this Success, when a dangerous Revolt broke out at Vizagapatam, has been adverted to, which is further evinced by the following Documents. The Chief of Ganjam wrote, on the 7th October 1780, the following Letter to Vizetam Rauze, whose Conduct towards the Company had met with their Commendation.

“I have heard with Astonishment of the Mutiny at Vizagapatam, and the Confinement of the Chief and some other Gentlemen. In order to suppress and punish this wicked Act, I have ordered a Force to proceed immediately to Vizagapatam, under the Command of Captain Bruce; and I charge you, as you value the Company's Favour, and consider your own Welfare, that you render every Assistance in your Power, by sending your Troops to join ours in reducing these faithless, ungrateful Villains. There is an Opportunity for you to distinguish and recommend yourself to the Favour of the English, and I have not a Doubt but you will acquit yourself in an honourable Manner to the Satisfaction of the honourable Board at Madras. Let me hear of your Welfare, that I may rejoice.”

“Ganjam.”

Notwithstanding the Urgency of the Necessity which this Letter and other Documents evince, the Conduct of Sitteram Rauze, who had been in every Instance favoured at his Brother's Expence, did not correspond with the Degree of Favour which had been shewn him, but agrees with the Character given of him by the Committee of Circuit, stated in the Second Report. On the 24th October 1780, the Chief and Council of Vizagapatam, in a Letter of that Date, treating of the Mutiny which had broken out there, state the following Particulars: “Without the least Partiality of our Opinions, the Behaviour of Sitteram Rauze, from the Time of his Return to this District, now upwards of Twenty Days, is



“ by no Means satisfactory ; he has observed a Reserve, which at this  
 “ Time betrays at any Rate an Indifference that is inconsistent ; Two or  
 “ Three unmeaning Letters accompanying some Horses and Plunder  
 “ thrown away by the Mutineers ; and observing in another Address,  
 “ that he was collecting Money ; is all that passed between the Chief and  
 “ him. He acknowledges the Receipt of a Letter, desiring the Mutineers  
 “ should be intercepted ; and says, that he has written to the Zemindars  
 “ under him : Yet not one of the Mutineers has been taken by the Ra-  
 “ jah's People, although they had timely Advice, and we know for a  
 “ certain Fact it has been in their Power. All these Reflections have  
 “ induced us to direct the Chief to write to Sitteram Rauze, to state the  
 “ Account of Arrears, and to make a sufficient Demand to answer all  
 “ immediate Expence.”

Your Committee find, That Mr. Sadlier above mentioned, who was sus-  
 pended from his Office in Council \* by the casting Vote of Mr. Whitehill,  
 joined by Sir Hector Monro, against those of Messrs. Johnson and Smith,  
 for the Reasons and in the Manner stated in the First Report (Pages 13,  
 14, 15, 16, and 17), addressed himself to the Chairman of the Court  
 of Directors, acquainting him by Letter with his whole Conduct, from  
 the Time of his Entrance into the Company's Service, down to the Time  
 of his Suspension ; the Cause of which he alleges to have been the Free-  
 dom with which he gave his Opinion in Council upon the bad Conduct  
 of the Government, but which his Adversaries allege to have been ne-  
 cessary by Reason of his Intemperance, which tended to sow Sedition and  
 Despondency among the Inhabitants of Madras. In stating the whole  
 Course of his upright Conduct and Fidelity to the Interests of his Em-  
 ployers, Your Committee find, That this Gentleman dwells particularly  
 on the early Proof which he gave of his own Disinterestedness, and of his  
 Desire to put an End to the Practice of receiving undue Emoluments in  
 the Chiefship of Masulipatam, to which he had been appointed in April  
 1778 ; and complains that his Endeavours were rendered fruitless, by the  
 Neglect of Sir Thomas Rumbold, then Governor, to take Advantage of  
 the Information which he communicated to him.

On the 13th of January 1781, Mr. Sadlier wrote the Letter alluded  
 to, from Madras to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, which was  
 accompanied by a Copy of a Letter which he had addressed to Sir Tho-  
 mas Rumbold, when Governor, dated 5th of May 1778, in which he  
 told him, “ The inclosed Paper will let you into the Arcana of the  
 “ Secrets of this Chiefship ; it is communicated to you in Proof of the  
 “ Confidence which I repose in you, and in Testimony that I mean not  
 “ to keep Secret any Action which you may suppose can influence my  
 “ Conduct ; your honourable Support of me against Volumes of the  
 “ basest Defamation, claims, and it shall have it, this honourable and  
 “ candid Conduct from me—The Rapacity and Peculation of Men has  
 “ nearly ruined this Country ; the Misfortune it is now involved in ori-  
 “ ginates from such Principles, and its Effects may have brought in Dis-  
 “ tresses, possibly not to be reformed.

\* See Pages 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17, of First Report, where this Transaction is fully stated.

“ The Paper, if you please may be destroyed, it is intended but to shew  
 “ the unsound Ground you tread in.

“ Interest with me towards you bears no Sway. I consider my Situa-  
 “ tion but temporary. I hope ere long to afford you a better Testimony  
 “ of the hearty good Disposition which actuates me for promoting the  
 “ Honour of your Government; you have therefore but to signify to me,  
 “ without Reserve, what you wish, and depend on its becoming my  
 “ Guide.”

No. 3.  
 Supplemental  
 Appendix to  
 2d Report.

The Paper which is referred to as inclosed by Mr. Sadlier, appears to be an Account delivered to him by Vencatarogaloo, the Company's Dubash and Chief Interpreter; Translations of which were sent to Sir Thomas Rumbold.

This Account appears to be intituled (according to the Translation)  
 “ The private Account receiving from the Zemindars for settling Three  
 “ Years Jemabundy (or Tribute.)” It commences with the Account of  
 Mr. Floyer's private Bargains for Gratuities, on his own Account, on a  
 Settlement of Three Years with the Zemindars and Renters during the  
 Years 1186, 1187, and 1188, according to the Computation of that Coun-  
 try, and corresponding to the Years 1773, 1774, 1775 of the Christian  
 Computation, or thereabouts. In the Supplemental Appendix, the Ac-  
 count itself will be found, wherefore Your Committee will here only state  
 the Totals from that Account; by which it appears, that the total Sum  
 stipulated to be paid to Mr. Floyer, by the different Tributaries, for his  
 own private Use, amounted to 135,886 Pagodas and a Fraction  
 (i. e. £. 54,354 Sterling), of which 50,364 Pagodas were paid (£. 20,144  
 Sterling), and 85,524 Pagodas (about £. 34,210), were owing at the Time  
 when this Account was made up. By a separate Account, Mr. Floyer's  
 further Stipulation for his own private Advantage, appears to have amount-  
 ed to 11,010 Pagodas (equal to £. 4,409 Sterling) of which 7,055 Pago-  
 das were received (£. 2,822 Sterling), and 8,955 Pagodas due (i. e.  
 £. 3,582 Sterling).—Mr. Statham, the Salt Renter of this District, is  
 also stated to have paid 6,000 Pagodas (£. 2,400) for One Year's Lease.  
 So that by this Account it appears, that Mr. Floyer's Secret Emoluments  
 actually received, including the Gratuity from Mr. Statham, amounted to  
 £. 25,360; and that the Arrears at the Time of making up this Account,  
 in May 1778, amounted to £. 37,742.

The same Paper also contains an Account of the private Emoluments paid  
 to Mr. Whitehill, on Account of a Settlement made for three Years pre-  
 ceding the former one; viz. the Years 1183, 1184, and 1185, correspond-  
 ing to 1770, 1771, 1772, amounting in the Whole to 192,261 Pagodas  
 and a Fraction (i. e. £. 77,405 Sterling).

It further states, that Mr. Q. C. (which Your Committee find means  
 Quintin Crawford) received on his own private Account 38,100 Pagodas  
 (£. 15,240); and that the Opportunity afforded to Mr. Crawford for  
 receiving

receiving these Emoluments, is thus expressed in the Translation transmitted by Mr. Sadlier to Sir Thomas Rumbold? "Mr. Q. C. who not settled Zemabundy, only collected the Six Kists of the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's Zemabundy, and also the Three Kists of Second Year."—From whence it should seem, that if one Chief settled the Tribute for a given Space of Time, and upon his Removal another should collect it, new and additional Perquisites were demanded of the Renters and Zemindars by the new Collector.

Your Committee also find, that this Account contains further Receipts of Mr. Floyer's, amounting to 27,875 Pagodas (£. 11,146), under the following Title: "Mr. Floyer came the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's Zemabundy, who collected the Three Kists of the Third Year Zemabundy at the Time, who demanded to receive private Business, as Mr. Crawford."

When Your Committee compared the Names of those Zemindars as above mentioned, whom Mr. Sadlier describes as very greatly embarrassed in their Circumstances, and thereby distressed for Means to obey the Summons to Madras, with those by whom the private Emoluments of Mr. Floyer, Mr. Whitehill, and Mr. Crawford, were furnished (in their respective Capacities of Settlers or Collectors), they were found to be comprehended in both Catalogues.

No. 4. Your Committee find, that the Receipt of the Letter Supplemental above mentioned, containing this important Information, Appendix to 2d was acknowledged by Sir Thomas Rumbold, in a Letter Report. dated the 20th May 1778, in the following Terms:

"I should have replied to your Letter of the 5th Instant sooner, had I not observed that there was no Probability of our Orders to the Zemindars not having the Effect we expected, and that ultimately they must be convinced of the Propriety of an implicit Obedience to the Orders of this Government; and I have no Doubt will experience the Advantages of the new Measure. I am much obliged by your Account of the Zemindars, the State of their Countries, Finances, &c. Your Information has thrown much Light upon this Subject; and though I cannot see the bad Consequences that are to follow from the Zemindars being ordered here to settle their Jummabundy, instead of fixing it at the different Chiefships, yet I beg you will be assured, I am no less sensible of the good Intention with which you have freely given me your Opinion.—If any Failure happens in the Payment of their Kists, the Exigencies of your Government must be supplied from hence; but I am willing to believe you will not require our Assistance.

"As to the Money due to the Soubah, you will receive our Instructions on this Head before you discharge the Balance."

No. 5. In another Letter, dated 27th of May 1778, Sir Supplemental Thomas Rumbold expresses his Obligation to Mr. Sadlier, for his Zeal in forwarding the Measure of obliging Appendix to 2d the Zemindars to repair to Madras. Report.

Your Committee also find, that the Authenticity of the Letters No. 3. and Accounts above mentioned, were verified by Mr. Sadlier, by an affidavit to be found in No. 3, Supplemental Appendix.

Your Committee do not find, that the official Intelligence communicated by Mr. Sadlier, was made the Ground of any Inquiry or Reformation during the Government of Sir Thomas Rumbold or Mr. Whitehill; on the contrary, they find that Mr. Sadlier addressed a Letter to the Council of Madras, on the 8th. of January 1781, ascribing the Poverty of the public Treasury to the Peculation practised by Individuals; while the Balances due at Masulipatam amounted to upwards of Four Lacks of Pagodas, as would appear by the Accounts, to which he referred. In this Letter he urged the Council with great Earnestness, to enquire into the Conduct of his Predecessors, which had, in his Opinion, contributed greatly to the present Distress; declaring, that a Neglect of Enquiry and Prosecution would be Treachery to their Employers. “ Mr. Whitehill, “ says he, is now at Madras, and is upon the Point of Departure for “ Europe, and if the Government allow him to depart with such Inform- “ ation against him, before he is acquitted by the Forms of Law, I sub- “ mit it to the Opinion of the Board, how far their Employers may think “ them responsible for the Consequences.

“ If the Company’s Servants have been guilty of Peculation in Office, “ —if they have abused the Trust reposed in them,—if by these Abuses “ they have brought Dishonour upon their Country; let it be imagined “ how much the Opinion of their Treachery may have laid the Founda- “ tion of our present Reverse of Fortune, and what Influence it may “ have in future, not only to check the Company’s Credit, but, from a “ Want of Dependence upon our Government, to prevent those Alliances “ with the Country Powers, which at present seem so essential to our “ Affairs.

“ I have already urged, that the best Foundation for Public Spirit is “ Public Justice. Mr. Whitehill held the first Station in the Company’s “ Service upon this Coast at the Time when their Affairs suffered the “ greatest Reverse; and if it is proved, that he is one Cause from which “ our Evil has originated, I submit it to the Board, whether he should “ not receive Punishment according to Law, both as an Example to those “ who hold Trust, and that we may give our Friends and our Enemies “ an Opinion of our Justice.”

From these Documents, it appeared to Your Committee, that early in Sir Thomas Rumbold’s Government, Information was communicated to him of the Practices by which the Chiefs of Masulipatam enriched themselves, to which the Poverty and Distress of that Settlement were in a great Measure ascribed—That this Communication was made by the Chief himself, whose Station gave him the best Opportunity of discovering those Practices, and whose Duty made it incumbent on him to disclose them to the Government; and that his Information was derived from the Company’s Dubash, who was necessarily acquainted with the Transactions which took place on settling the Tribute with his Predecessors: Notwith- standing which, no Steps appear to have been taken by the Governor,

either to inquire into the Abuses stated by Mr. Sadlier, or to lay this Information before the Select Committee or Council at large, or in any way to proceed upon it, or that it was ever communicated to the Court of Directors by the Governor.

That the Presidency of Madras was in fact much distressed, by reason of the inconsiderable Collections of Territorial Revenue under Masulipatam, appears to Your Committee, from Paragraph 7. of the Letter in their Civil Department from thence, dated 9th January 1781. “ The Disappointments, we experienced from the inconsiderable Collections made for some Time past of your Territorial Revenue under Masulipatam, and the heavy Charges incurred of late by the War with Hyder Ally Cawn, having laid us under the Necessity of appropriating all our Resources to the defraying Military Expences, have been the Means of impeding your Investment, and have even obliged us to put a Stop to the Provision of it for the present; indeed, the Troubles now subsisting in the Carnatic, render it impossible for the Weavers about Madras and Cudalore to work; we have, however, been able to give almost a full Loading to the Duke of Kingston, and hope to send your Honours 12 or 1300 Bales more, in the Course of next Month, or in the Month of March, should the Governor General and Council be able to supply us with Tonnage for that Purpose, agreeably to a Request we made them in our Letter 8th ultimo.”

This further appears to Your Committee, from another Passage in the same Letter, in which the Select Committee observe, “ That when the enormous outstanding Balances of the Zemindars and Renters, instead of being greatly decreased as they flattered themselves would have been the Case, had on the contrary been suffered to augment considerably, and at this Time actually amount, including Teepts, to M. Pagodas 15,28,597; they cannot agree with Mr. Cottesford, that nothing has been left undone which the Chief and Council had the Power of doing.” And in this Letter they express themselves as greatly disobliged at Mr. Cottesford’s Determination to return to Europe on Board of a Danish Ship, on Account of his alleged bad State of Health.

No. 8. Your Committee find, that a Revenue Letter of the same Date, affords a very striking Proof of the Difficulty with which the Collection of the Revenue was made in Masulipatam. The Select Committee in that Letter represent, that the Zemindars having been collected there in 1780, to settle their Payments due, had so often evaded the delivering of their Teepts (or Promissory Notes), that it became necessary to try what Effect a Shew of coercive Measures would have; and that Sepoy Guards were actually placed upon their Persons; and that “ it was hoped this Appearance of Severity would induce the Zemindars to exert themselves in the Discharge of their Balances; but lest it should not, they had authorized the Chief and Council, in the last Extremity, to adopt a Plan which they had themselves suggested, which was, either to take Possession, in the Name of the Company, of their several Countries, until

“ until they procured Bills for their several Payments, in order to force  
 “ them to employ every Resource they possessed, to satisfy the just De-  
 “ mands of the Company ; or to impress them with an Idea, that if they  
 “ did not provide their Teeps at a certain Period, shortly after the gather-  
 “ ing in of Harvest, the beginning of the ensuing Year, they had given  
 “ Authority to the Chief and Council to seize on the Crops, and to keep  
 “ Possession of them until the Teeps were produced.” This Letter states,  
 that, after much Dispute, Five Teeps had at length been obtained, a-  
 mounting to Pagodas 388,988 (which deducted from 15,28,597, leaves a  
 Balance behind of 11,39,609 Pagodas) ; and complains of Want of Vigour  
 in the Chief and Council, in the Matter of Collections.

Your Committee further find, from a Letter of Mr. Sadlier to the  
 Chairman of the East India Company, dated 30th November 1780, that  
 upon the Eve of Sir Thomas Rumbold's Departure, an Interview took  
 place between Sir Thomas, Sir Hector Monro, Mr. Whitehill, and Mr.  
 Sadlier ; which is here stated in Mr. Sadlier's own Words :

“ A few days before the Departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold for Europe,  
 “ and quite unprepared for the Event, I was called into a private  
 “ Room, where Sir Thomas, Mr. Whitehill, and Sir Hector Monro, were  
 “ assembled before me. In this Situation I was accosted by Sir Thomas  
 “ to the following Purport : “ That he heard I had joined Messrs. Smith  
 “ and Johnson in the Intention to oppose his Measures after his Departure,  
 “ and if he thought that this really was my Design, he would, before his De-  
 “ parture, take a bold Step, by preventing my succeeding to Council.”—Thus  
 “ then I found myself in Danger of being deprived of a Station to which  
 “ I was entitled by my Standing, and by Years of Service ; I was to be  
 “ robbed of the honest Advantages which the Company has annexed to  
 “ that Station ; and my Character was in Danger of being murdered, to  
 “ vindicate this Triple Act of Baseness, Injustice, and Cruelty.

“ Though my Feelings were strong, I had Reason to rejoice that I was  
 “ able to conceal them : I asked Sir Thomas, Where he had his Informa-  
 “ tion ? he said, From Report only.—I asked, If I deserved Censure in  
 “ the Station held under him as Chief of Masulipatam ? and whether he  
 “ could draw any Inference to my Prejudice, from my Manner of con-  
 “ ducting myself in that Station ? he answered, That so far from it, I  
 “ deserved Praise.—I asked him, Whether I had at any Time communi-  
 “ cated with him about Measures, or whether he was informed I sent for  
 “ Records and Papers, or used any other Means by which I might acquire  
 “ Information ? he said, He did not think me so communicative concern-  
 “ ing Measures as I should have been, and that he did not know I had sent  
 “ for any Papers.—I put the same Questions to Mr. Whitehill and Sir  
 “ Hector Monro, and both answered me in the Negative ; upon which I  
 “ assured them, that I had maintained an equal Reserve with Messrs.  
 “ Smith and Johnson.—I then asked Mr. Whitehill, Whether during the  
 “ Time I had served with him in Council, previous to the Arrival of  
 “ Messrs. Smith, Johnson, and Perring, he had seen any Thing in my  
 “ Conduct which deserved Censure ? and he assured me, That he had not.  
 “ —Thus ended the Inquisition, before whom I neither declared or disa-  
 “ vowed



“vowed my Sentiments—The Inquisitors however seemed to go away satisfied; and a few Days after, upon the Departure of Sir Thomas, I was sworn in as a Member of Council,”

Your Committee having perused and examined all the Materials which have been transmitted to the Directors of the East India Company, since the Conclusion of the last Session of Parliament, respecting the Treaty concluded with Bazalet Jung by Sir Thomas Rumbold, and the Negotiation with the Nizam during that Gentleman's Government, find, that Sir Eyre Coote, in a Minute entered upon the Madras Consultations, 12th January 1781, ascribes the Invasion of the Carnatic, in a great Degree, to those Measures.—Sir Eyre Coote's Minute was occasioned by a Passage in the General Letter from that Presidency, dated January 9th 1781, which ascribes the Calamities of the Carnatic, in strong Terms, to the Maratta War; which they consider as visionary in itself, as tending to unite Hyder Ally and that Power, who were before at constant Variance with each other, and as laying the Foundation of the Confederacy formed against the British Interests in Hindostan. “At the same Time (says Sir Eyre Coote) that I put my Signature to the General Letter of the 9th of January 1781, I must, in Candor and in Conformity to those Opinions which I have both held and expressed, except against one Part of it, and which ascribes all our present Misfortunes to the Maratta War.

Vide Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report, No. 4.  
No. 9.  
Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

“That that Measure may first have given birth to the Idea of a general Combination of the Powers of Hindostan against us, I will not endeavour to disprove; but that to it alone we owe the formidable Invasion of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, I cannot admit: First, because long after we had commenced Hostilities against the Marattas, Hyder himself continued to make Conquests upon them, and which our Operations no Doubt facilitated. It was his favourite Object, and which I am confident he would never have quitted, or sought for a Union with the Marattas against us, had not our Negotiations with Bazalet Jung, about the Gunttoor Circar (on which he had also Views), and the Mode in which they were carried on, awakened his Jealousy, and very naturally made him apprehend, that our ultimate Intentions were to possess ourselves of some Part of his Country.—Whilst it answered his Purpose to make Peace with the Marattas, in order that his Attention or Strength might in no Shape be diverted from providing effectually for the Security of his own Territories, it was entirely suitable to the Marattas in their then Situation, as it enabled them to direct their whole Force against the Operations of our Army under Brigadier General Goddard. We alarmed his Fears for the Safety of his own Country; crossed his Views upon the Gunttoor Circar, which he was desirous of obtaining in Form from Bazalet Jung. That an able Agent might not be wanting to foment these Offences, we deliberately gave Umbrage to the Nabob Nizam; first, by seeking and actually subscribing to a Treaty of Friendship with his Brother and Subject Bazalet Jung, without asking his Consent or Approbation; and next, by de-

“manding

“ manding of him a Remission of the Pescush, or Tribute, which for  
 “ these eleven Years and upwards we have paid him, as in Treaty bound,  
 “ on Account of the Northern Circars. To prevent any bad Consequences  
 “ arising from the Delay in the Payment of the Pescush, which was owing  
 “ in the first Place to a temporary Inability, created by the heavy current  
 “ Expences, which were unavoidably incurred by the Siege of Pondicherry;  
 “ and in the next Place perhaps by Mismanagement; I was induced,  
 “ when I stopped here in my Way to Bengal, to recommend the Mis-  
 “ sion of Mr. Hollond, as Ambassador, to the Nizam's Court, to assure  
 “ him, that the Pescush should be paid, and to explain to him the Cause  
 “ of its Detention.

“ The Nizam has, in his Letters to this Government, and in his Con-  
 “ versation with Mr. Hollond, who communicated them to the Gover-  
 “ nor General and Council, avowed his Displeasure, on Account of our  
 “ Behaviour with regard to the Pescush and the Guntoor Treaty; and  
 “ has, without Scruple, acknowledged his having, for these Reasons, en-  
 “ couraged and connived at a Combination of the Powers against us.

“ With all these Circumstances before me, to which the Records both  
 “ here and in Bengal bear Testimony; and further, knowing it as a  
 “ Thing certain, that at the very Time the Treaty was carrying on with  
 “ Bazalet Jung, Hyder would have entered into an offensive and defen-  
 “ sive Alliance with us; I should do an Injury to myself, and a still  
 “ greater one to our Superiors, who are to pass their Judgment on Men  
 “ and Measures by the Documents handed them from their respective Go-  
 “ vernments in India, did I tacitly subscribe to that Part of the General  
 “ Letter to the Court of Directors, which I have hereby excepted against;  
 “ and not also elucidate the other Causes, besides the Maratta War, which  
 “ have assisted to hasten our present Distresses.

“ I request that this may go a Number in the Packet now under Dis-  
 “ patch.”

In a Letter dated 2d December, 1780, from the Governor General of  
 Bengal to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, he acquaints  
 No. 9. him, that “ Another interesting Occasion has now called for  
 “ the Exertion of this Government, in the Preservation of that  
 “ of Fort St. George: This at least, says he, will not be imputed to the  
 “ Government of Bengal, If the extorted and palliated Confession of  
 “ the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn may be credited, and we have the Evi-  
 “ dence of the most public Notoriety to confirm it, it was the sole Effect  
 “ of a Confederacy formed at his Instigation, and dictated by his Re-  
 “ sentment at the Infringements made by the Select Committee of Fort  
 “ Saint George, on his Rights, obtained by the Treaty subsisting between  
 “ him and the Company, and his natural Apprehension of Hostilities in-  
 “ tended by that Government against him. Whatever be the Cause, such  
 “ have been the Effects, and it is our Duty to do all that may be in our  
 “ Power to avert them.”

Your Committee have thus laid before the House, the different Posi-  
 tions maintained by the Governor General and Council on the one  
 Hand; who assert, that the Confederacy which preceded the Invasion of  
 the



“ which has been delivered by the Governor General, and is entered in,  
 “ the Consultations noted in the Margin, as well as to a  
 6 September. “ Letter from Mr. Hollond to the Governor General, for-  
 “ warded by the Tryal Packet, in which the Nabob's  
 “ Avowal is declared, of his being the Author of the Confederacy  
 “ against us, and his Justification of it, on the Plea of Self-defence, against  
 “ the supposed Intention of the Presidency of Fort Saint George to break  
 “ with him.

“ To obviate a Prejudice so rooted, and the Effect of an Engagement  
 “ so promising of Success as that in which the Nizam is combined, would  
 “ of itself have been no easy Task; but the Difficulty has been so much  
 “ augmented, as to have been nearly invincible, from the Unwillingness  
 “ of the Presidency of Madras to use the only Means of reconciling him  
 “ to us, and their Inattention to the Advice and Orders which are sent  
 “ them for this Purpose. It was the Belief of the Nizam Ally, that we  
 “ were actually vested with the Controul, which we declared ourselves to  
 “ possess; but he distrusted the Effect of that Controul, since the Orders  
 “ which we had repeatedly given, and declared to him, for the Restitu-  
 “ tion of the Circar of Guntoor, had not only been disregarded, but Mr.  
 “ Hollond, who had been the Instrument of the Negotiation, had been  
 “ punished by them for the Part which he had taken in it.

“ We have recited the great Difficulties which opposed our Accom-  
 “ modation with the Nizam, of which we had much reason to complain,  
 “ so much, that it became an Object of Necessity to remove them. The  
 “ controuling Power, with which we are vested by an Act of the British  
 “ Legislature, had been, in repeated Instances, treated by the Gentlemen  
 “ at Fort St. George with Slight and Disrespect; but in the present In-  
 “ stance, they thought proper to take more upon them: They defeated  
 “ our Acts by their Refusal to conform to them, and comply with our  
 “ Orders, where we had especial Right to them. The Faith of this  
 “ Government had been pledged to the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, for  
 “ the Restoration of the Guntoor Circar to Bazalet Jung; they were so  
 “ informed, and required to restore it.—They did not restore it.—We  
 “ had no Alternative but by a tame Acquiescence to sacrifice the Trust  
 “ reposed in us, and suffer your Interests to be involved in a War by a  
 “ Breach of public Faith, or to maintain both by an Application of the  
 “ Powers which had been given us for such a Purpose. Upon these  
 “ Grounds we resolved, on the 10th ultimo, to give Effect to our Com-  
 “ mands, and determined to exert the Authority with which we were  
 “ vested, in suspending Mr. Whitehill, the President of Fort Saint  
 “ George, from the Company's Service. Our Reasons for this Measure  
 “ are particularly stated in our Letter to the President and Select Com-  
 “ mittee at Fort St. George, of the 10th ultimo, which goes a Number  
 “ in the Packet, and to which we beg Leave to refer you for them:  
 “ And, at the same Time that we are led to hope that the best Effects  
 “ may be derived from it, in establishing for the Company the Neutrality  
 “ or Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, during the present  
 “ Troubles, and in saving our Authority in his Estimation, and that of  
 “ the other Country Powers, we are under no Fear that the Councils of  
 “ your Presidency of Fort St. George will be less ably or successfully  
 “ con-

“ conducted hereafter, than they have been during the Period in which  
“ Mr. Whitehill directed them.

“ You will observe, by our Consultations of the 13th ultimo, that we  
“ were then informed, by Letter from the President and Select Com-  
“ mittee of Fort St. George, dated 23d September, of the Measures  
“ which they had at length been pleased to adopt, for giving Effect to  
“ our Requisitions of the 12th of June, by immediate Orders to their  
“ Officer commanding in the Guntoor Circar, to deliver over that Country  
“ to Bazalet Jung's Agent; and by procuring an Order also from the  
“ Nabob to his Amildars, to relinquish all Concern in the Management  
“ of the Revenue.”

These additional Materials Your Committee humbly offer, as tending  
to complete that Information respecting the different Subjects treated of in  
their First and Second Reports, which they have endeavoured, in Obe-  
dience to the Commands of the House, to procure.



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## Supplemental Appendix to the First Report.

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### N<sup>o</sup> I.

*Fort Saint George.*

*Copy of a Council of War held at Head Quarters, Great Mount, 30th December 1780.*

At a Council of War, held at Head Quarters, near Fort Saint George, the 30th December 1780,

#### P R E S E N T;

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.

Major General Sir Hector Munro, K. B.

Brigadier General James Stuart,

Colonel John Lord Macleod.

**L**IEUTENANT General Sir Eyre Coote.—In the present very critical Conjunction of the Affairs of the East India Company, and the very near Concern which I perceive the Operations of the Army under my Command must have, in bringing the Whole either to a favourable or unfavourable Crisis, I am induced, equally from a Sense of Duty, and a sincere Regard for the future Welfare of the Public, to request your Attention, Gentlemen, to a few Circumstances, which I shall state as briefly as possible, and whereon I must also beg to be favoured with your Opinions.

In the first Place, I lay before you an Abstract Return of the effective Strength of the Army which I can depend on carrying with me into the Field; and which, Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, you will observe, amounts to in all 6,885 Men. There is besides, One Battalion of Sepoys, about Five hundred Men, which I may perhaps be able to draw from Fort Saint George.

In the next Place, I submit to your Perusal my latest Letters from the Garrisons of Vellore, Wandewash, and Permacoil, by which you will perceive they are all besieged, or very closely invested by the Enemy.

From the Assurances given me by the Officer commanding at Vellore, and from the Difficulty with which he observes the Enemy must make their Approaches, I am under no great Apprehension of its being in immediate Danger, from any Efforts of the Enemy against it, unless assisted by some treacherous hidden Villainy of that Kind which he ha

so fortunately discovered in the Nabob's Renter, and which I am happy he has checked in so effectual a Manner, by putting him in Irons; in which State I have directed him to keep him, as he may be instrumental to the Discovery of those dark Designs which I have long suspected to exist in the Court of a native Power, living under the very Walls of our Garrison of Fort Saint George.

Permacoil, with a very small Garrison, and but one Officer, as you will observe, made as yet a very spirited Resistance, and done more than could well have been expected from so small a Body of Men. They cannot possibly, however, long bear up, under such constant Fatigue as they must be subjected to, by the fresh Resources which Hyder can daily bring against them. I conclude then, that in a very short Period of Time they may be reduced to the utmost Distress.

The Garrison of Wandewash I conceive to be in a critical Situation. Batteries are already raised against it, and I fear must play upon it with great Success, unless its Defences have been made much more sufficient than when I knew it. The Number of Men in the Garrison are, considering its great Extent, in no Shape adequate to its Defence, there being only Two Companies of our own Sepoys, and a few Sepoys belonging to the Nabob, who are by no Means to be relied on, several having already deserted, and the rest dissatisfied and discontented for Want of Pay, and on Account of the Arrears due to them. Under these Circumstances, and not having those Advantages of Strength by Nature which Permacoil possesses, I fear much, notwithstanding I have the most perfect Confidence in the Bravery of the Officer in Command, that it cannot long resist the reiterated and spirited Attacks which the Force Hyder has sent against it will undoubtedly make. I am informed there is in it a very large Stock of Grain, which is certainly an Object to be looked towards.

I consider the Safety of these Two Garrisons, and throwing ample Stores and Provisions into the Garrison of Chingleput, which you will observe by a Letter from the Officer in Command is also invested by the Enemy, as Objects of the utmost Importance; and I am therefore extremely desirous, if possible, to apply Means towards their immediate Relief; but how far it may be prudent, under the following Circumstances, to attempt it, is the Point to be determined.

The Forces of Hyder are very numerous; and although his Infantry, dispersed and engaged as they at present are, in the Siege of the Garrisons before mentioned, and also in that of Ambeer, cannot speedily be called together, yet his Cavalry, of which he has got a very large Body, not less than from Twenty-five to Thirty thousand, may soon be assembled; and I doubt not, before we proceed Two Days March from hence, will be all around us, and will exert their utmost Endeavours to harass and impede us in our March, and thereby gain that Time which may be necessary to draw his Infantry together, and enable him to force us to a Battle.—If he should make this his Object, notwithstanding our Inferiority in Numbers, I think, with the Strength we have in Artillery, we are equal to engage him. It is to be observed, that he too cannot be deficient in this very essential Military Equipment; as, besides what he brought with him into the Carnatic, he obtained, by the Capture of Arcot, and the Garrisons which have fallen to him in the Course of the War, a very ample Supply of all Kinds of Ordnance and Stores.

Our Force is too limited to admit of a Detachment adequate to the proposed Service; if then a Movement is to be made, it must be of the whole Army. Every Article of Provision for its Support, together with the Stores necessary for the Garrisons in question, must be carried from hence. The Town of Madras and Fort Saint George, the very Foundation of the Interests of the East India Company and the English Nation on this Coast, must be left in a Manner invested; of course, all Communication with it will be entirely cut off, and no Support of any Kind can be drawn from it.

If we are fortunate enough to arrive in Time to save Wandewash, we shall, I am confident, have no Difficulty in finding good Ground to take Post, and on which we may engage the Enemy to Advantage, should they offer us Battle. If, on the contrary, they decline a general Action, and look to detaining us there, by constantly harassing us with their Cavalry, they may reduce us to much Distress, as, after the Provisions we carry from hence are expended, we shall have no other Means of Subsistence, but from the Grain in Wandewash; whereof, I understand, there is enough for the Expenditure of the Army for many Months.

I have already mentioned Fort Saint George as the Sheet Anchor of the Interests of the East India Company and the English Nation on this Coast; and of course consider it as the first Object of my Care and Attention. Whether, in taking the Step I have  
here

here submitted to your Opinions, exposed to all the Events I have above suggested, I shall be able to consult the Security of that Object, is what I wished to be satisfied in; and whether a Return of the Army to their present Station, without deriving any other obvious Advantage than merely the Relief of the aforesaid Garrisons, might not be productive of Effects pernicious to the general Interests of our Affairs?

The present Disposition of the Inhabitants of the Country is not unknown to you. We have not only to combat against Hyder, but against the whole Carnatic; and have therefore no Reason to hope for the least Assistance in any Part of the Road we may march; or in any Part of the Country we may go into.

Permacoil and Wandewash I should be sorry were they to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, because of the great Advantage they might be rendered of to the French, should they arrive on the Coast during the present War with Hyder.

I recommended a Reinforcement of Sepoys being sent me by Sea from Bengal; but, by my latest Letters from thence, I have not the smallest Encouragement to hope that my Proposal will be in any Shape adopted. The Detachment of Six Battalions of Sepoys, resolved by the Supreme Council to be sent by Land as a Reinforcement to the Army here, not having commenced their March on the 14<sup>th</sup> Instant; and their Movement, as I am informed, depending chiefly upon the favourable Issue of some Negotiations now carrying on with the Raja Moodajee Boosta, to whom that Body of Marattas laying at Cuttac belongs, there is no Certainty that that Detachment will ever leave the Bengal Provinces. Any Expectations of Addition to our present Force that might have been entertained from that Quarter, cannot therefore weigh in the present Deliberation.

I have now, Gentlemen, stated to you Circumstances, in as explicit and at the same Time as concise a Manner as the Importance of the Subject will admit of. I shall be happy in having your candid Opinions, as I mean that my Conduct on the Occasion should be, in a great Measure, regulated thereby.

(Signed) Eyre Coote.

Colonel John Lord Macleod.——Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief in India, having mentioned the present Posture of public Affairs in Indostan in general, and particularly on the Coromandel Coast at this Period; that is to say, that Vellore, Permacoil, and Wandewash, are at this Time invested or besieged by Hyder Ally's Troops; that Colonel Lang, who commands in Vellore, writes with Assurance that he will hold out for a considerable Time; but that Permacoil and Wandewash, from being garrisoned principally by the Nabob's Troops, cannot be expected to resist long: And Sir Eyre having been pleased to ask my Opinion, whether he should march the whole Army to the Relief of Wandewash, &c. as it is impossible to act by Detachment, the whole Force of our Army not amounting at present to 7000 effective Men? I have to mention, that the Security of Fort Saint George, and our sure Communication with that Place, is, in my Opinion, at present the grand Object of this Army, and the Hinge upon which every Thing turns. I form that Opinion from the unaccountable Conduct of the Durbar, from the first Commencement of the present Hostilities, from the Knowledge we all have of the hostile Mind of all the Natives of the Carnatic to the English Interest, and of their Attachment to Hyder Ally; which fully convinces me, that we have no Reinforcement to expect from this Country, and that all our Succours must come from the other Settlements, and from Europe.

I therefore think, that in any March this Army may during the present State of Affairs take, a Hold of the principal Object ought always to be kept; that is, having it in our Power at any Time to return and cover Fort St. George. This being in our Power, I approve much of the Army's marching as soon as possible to the Relief of Chingleput, Permacoil, and Wandewash, and afterwards to return and cover Madras.

(Signed)

Macleod,

Col. 73 Regiment.

Brigadier General James Stuart.——After attending to what the General has been pleased to communicate, I am of Opinion, that the immediate Reinforcement and Supply of the Garrisons of Chingleput, Wandewash, and Permacoil, so as to enable them to hold out for Two or Three Months, or until it shall be known certainly with what Force this War is likely to be carried on by both Sides, is of such Consequence, that I have no Difficulty in declaring it, according to my Judgment, to be a most advisable Measure, to proceed immediately with the whole Army that can be spared from Fort St. George, on Purpose to throw Succours into those Garrisons, carrying with them every Means

Means of Subsistence, without the Necessity of making Detachments on any other Account whatever.

I am also of Opinion, that so soon as those Succours are sent into these Garrisons, the Army should return to their former Encampment at the Mount, there to wait the Arrival of News from Europe, according to which, the future Operations in this Country ought to depend, whether to be offensive or defensive, keeping in constant View the great ultimate national Object, namely, the Preservation of Fort Saint George, with the Shipping and Property of the East India Company in the commercial State.

I think that Hyder cannot in the Time assemble any Force sufficient to dispute the direct Progress of our Army to or from Wandewash, even though his Cavalry may attempt to dispute the Passage of the Palar, which no Doubt will be attended to.

I am also of Opinion, that the Fame of the British Arms will not suffer by the Appearance of a Retreat to the Presidency, after the Object of the Reinforcement to the Garrisons is answered.

In case it should so happen that Wandewash shall have fallen before the Army reaches that Place, I think that Volunteers from the Army should be encouraged to throw themselves both into Permacoil and Tiagar, in separate Bodies; but that the main Object should be to strengthen and supply Chingleput, as the only immediate Means to enable us to form Magazines for the Recovery of Arcot, to which, as to the Principal Object, all our future Operations should be directed, without attending to the Nabob's Hill Forts, so lately lost by the Cowardice or Treachery of his Highness's Officers or Servants.

(Signed)

James Stuart.

Major General Sir Hector Munro, K. B.—The Commander in Chief having laid before Lord Macleod, General Stuart, and myself, a State of the Troops in Camp, as well as Letters which he received from Officers in some of the Garrisons in the Carnatic, setting forth some of the Operations carrying on by Hyder's Army; the Commander in Chief having at the same Time told us, that the Reinforcement expected from Bengal had not by late Accounts began their March, and desiring to have our Opinions respecting the Army's marching to the Relief of Wandewash, &c. I am clearly of Opinion that the Army should march as soon as possible, not only to throw in Succours to Chingleput, Permacoil, and Wandewash; but to know if the Enemy will come to Action; and if he should, I am confident the Army will be successful under their Leader.

There are many Reasons why this Event ought to be wished for; and as the Army will always be able to make good its Retreat to Madras or the Mount, the Time of its Return ought to depend on various Circumstances, and the Pleasure of the Commander in Chief; and the Informations he may from Time to Time receive.

(Signed)

Hector Munro.

A true Copy.

Wm. Tierney,

Secretary to the Commander in Chief in India.

*Extract from the Minutes of the Select Committee, dated January 1781.*

The Committee are sensible of the Attention of the Commander in Chief, in laying before them the foregoing Deliberations of the Council of War. In intrusting Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote with the immediate Management of the War, the Committee felt that they were committing the most important Trust into Hands in every Respect qualified for the great Object which they had in View, the Safety of not only the Company's and the Nabob's Possessions, but even of the dearest Interests of the English in India. Anxious for the most spirited, at the same Time that they would have the least hazardous Exertions on the Part of the Army, they entirely acquiesce in the General's Opinion, and in that of the experienced Officers whom he consulted. The carrying that Opinion into Execution, rests with the Commander in Chief himself. All that is left for the Committee to say upon the Subject, is, that the like public Zeal which hath hitherto prevailed in all their Deliberations, shall still continue to manifest itself in their Councils; that the General shall find every Support which it is in their Power to give him; and that as he and they have had but One Mind since his Arrival upon this

this Coast, they cannot but assure themselves, that the Consequences of that Unanimity will be highly beneficial to the Interests of their Employers, whose Welfare is inseparable from that of the Nation at large.

A true Extract.

R. I. Sullivan, Sec.

*Minute of Sir Eyre Coote.*

Sir Eyre Coote.—Reflecting on the present very critical Situation of the Affairs of the East India Company, and of the Interests of the English Nation on this Coast; and sensible how near a Concern any Movement I might make of the Army under my Command, must have therein; for which, from the Nature, Progress, and Spirit of the Operations carrying on by the Enemy, there appearing to me a Necessity; at the same Time not chusing, in a Matter of such real and weighty Importance, to trust entirely to my own Judgment, as to the Expediency and Propriety of the Service to be performed, and my Ability, with the Forces I have, when compared to those of the Enemy, to execute it; I held a Council of War, at which was present, Major General Sir Hector Munro, Brigadier General James Stuart, and the Right Honourable Colonel Lord Macleod; to whom having stated Circumstances with as much Explicitly as Time would permit, I had the Honour to receive their respective Opinions and Approbations of the Service I proposed should be undertaken.

However unusual it is to disclose the Proceedings or the Result of Councils of War, before or even after the Purposes of them have been fulfilled; and how far I may be justifiable in a Deviation from what are the Rules prescribed in such Cases, are Points, which in the present Instance I do not conceive it material to enter upon a previous Discussion of; but shall rest the future Judgment, to be formed by the World, of the Rectitude of the Action, first upon the Declaration of the perfect Confidence I have in your Zeal for the Public Service, confirmed by the Support you have already afforded my Exertions, and the Desire you have professed to continue it; and next upon the Claim which the Political Trust, reposed in you by our Superiors, gives you to know, whatever is likely to affect the Interests of the Honourable Company in that Particular; and which, as my late Deliberation may in a very essential Degree do, I therefore cheerfully lay before you Copies of the Proceedings of the Council of War, in the full Persuasion, that the Purport thereof will in no Respect be divulged; and in the Hope, that the Measures therein determined on, may also be honoured with your Approbation.

No. 2.

(COPY.)

*Letter from the Chief and Council to the Court of Directors.*

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

May it please your Honours,

A SNOW, called the *Hibernia*, dispatched Express from Madras to Bombay, passed this Port on the 8th Instant, when her Commander, in pursuance of Orders he had received, sent ashore an attested Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee former Presidency, addressed to the Resident, &c. Factors at Tellicherry;



which we herewith transmit, judging, that as this is the most precise Mode of communicating the very interesting Intelligence it contains, the same will prove more acceptable to your Honours than a Recital of its Contents.

Lieutenant Hughes, who commands the Seaborse Frigate, which left Madras on the 21st Ultimo, and touched here on her Passage to Bombay, informed us, that the Army under Sir Eyre Coote, consisting of between Nine and Ten thousand Men, marched from its late Encampment near Madras about the 17th Ultimo, in quest of Hyder Ally; and by a private Letter which the Resident has just received from the Commandant at Palamcotah, dated the 8th Instant, we learn, that Sir Eyre Coote's Approach towards the Enemy, compelled them to withdraw from Carangoly and Wandewash, which Places they had besieged.

Your Honours Ship Royal Admiral, we have Advice, sailed from Goa on the 31st Ultimo, on her Way to the Presidency; and your Five Ships from Bengal, which left England in Company with the Royal Admiral, arrived at Madras the 10th Ultimo.

We have likewise the Pleasure to add, that we are now informed by Mr. William Petrie, of your Civil Service on the Madras Establishment, that Amol surrendered on the 28th Ultimo, to your Army under Brigadier General Goddard, who, subsequent to this happy Event, was preparing to march towards the Gauts.

Sir Edward Hughes, with His Majesty's Ships under his Command (except the Seaborse, which has not yet joined him), we have Reason to believe was at Bombay the latter end of the last Month.

As these Advices are of so important a Nature to your Honours Interest, we now deliver a Duplicate hereof to Mr. Petrie, together with the Original, in separate Packets; and have requested him to use his Endeavours for forwarding One of them from the Cape of Good Hope, by some other Ship than that on which he proceeds.

We are, with the greatest Respect,

May it please your Honours,

Anjengo,  
the 11th February 1781.

Your most faithful and

Obedient humble Servants,

Ja. Morley,  
Auther King,  
J. Hutchinson.

*Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Factors at Anjengo, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated the 6th August 1781.*

The Morning Star Cruizer, from Bombay, having called here on her Way to Bufforah, we embrace the Opportunity of communicating to your Honours, the pleasing Intelligence of Sir Eyre Coote having entirely defeated the Army of Hyder Ally Cawn, in a general Engagement, between Porto Novo and Mootapollam, on the First of last Month; the Particulars of which your Honours will be fully informed of, by the accompanying Extract of a Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to Colonel Braithwaite, at Tanjour, dated the 6th Ultimo, which was transmitted to the Resident by Captain Eidington, the Commandant at Palamcotah, who has likewise advised him of the following Particulars:—That the Swallow Packet reached Madras on the 22d June, and the Rodney Packet also on the 12th Ultimo, the latter having parted from the Fleet she sailed with from England on the 5th of April, in Latitude 28° N°.—That the Army commanded by Sir Eyre Coote passed Permacoil on the 18th Ultimo, with a View of effecting a Junction with the large Detachment of Bengal Troops, which, with Three Battalions from the Northern Circars, had for some Time been on their Way to Madras, where, by the last Accounts, they were nearly arrived.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to Colonel Braithwaite, dated 6th July 1781.—*  
*Referred to in the above Letter.*

The 3d Instant I had the Pleasure to acquaint you of the Success of our little Army, in a general Action on the 1st Instant, with Hyder Ally, between Porto Novo and Mootapollam.—It lasted Eight Hours, and was a hard-fought Day on both Sides.—The Enemy's Force consisted of Twenty-five Battalions of Infantry, 400 Europeans, from

from 40 to 50,000 Horse, and above One hundred Thousand Matchlock Men, Pcons, and Polygars, with 47 Pieces of Cannon well served.

Our Second Line having occupied some Heights, by which our Rear was secured, I advanced with the First towards the Enemy's Guns, many of which, had we had a Body of Cavalry, must have fallen into our Hands. They made repeated Attempts to force us with their Horse, and kept up a brisk Cannonade, which for a long Time our heavy Fire could not silence; yielding at length to the Steadiness, Spirit, and Bravery of our comparatively small Body of Troops, they retreated precipitately, and left us Masters of the Field.—Meer Saib received a mortal Wound; and among Four thousand killed, are many of the principal Officers.—On our Side, we lost very few Officers, and have only Three or Four hundred killed and wounded. You will be pleased to communicate this fortunate Event to all the Southern Garrisons.

### No. 3.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Gentlemen,

1. **Y**OU receive herewith an Address, dated the 31st Ultimo, containing a short Abstract of the System we had adopted for our Conduct in the present Situation of Affairs.

2. We had made every necessary Arrangement for putting in Execution our Resolution for withdrawing Tellicherry; and the Time fixed for the Departure of the Fleet was arrived within Two Days, when, on the 18th Instant, we received a Letter from the Governor General and Council, dated the 7th of January, which might and ought to have reached us Seven or Eight Weeks sooner, wherein they acquainted us of their having sent round Five Lacks of Rupees for the Service of this Presidency, on the Duke of Portland; and gave us Authority to pass Draughts upon them for such further Sum as we might stand in need of.—We had also private Intimation of their having provided a large Quantity of Rice for the Service of this Presidency, of which we actually received a Part, by the Vessel that brought their Letter.

3. These Resources in View, we immediately determined, late as the Season was, to use our utmost Exertion to preserve Tellicherry, and make a Request to the Admiral to postpone his Departure for a few Days, in order to give us Time to collect Troops, and the necessary Supplies for the Garrison, to be sent down in Company with the Fleet, without whose Assistance could not have executed our Measures. The Admiral expressing great Satisfaction in our Resolution, cheerfully acquiesced in our Request; and, by a vigorous Dispatch, the Royal Admiral and Royal Charlotte were equipped for Sea; Troops brought from the Foot of the Gauts, and, with Stores and Provisions, embarked within Seven Days upon different Vessels, which, with the Fleet, sailed from this Place the 27th of the Month.

4. The Royal Charlotte has been detained a few Days, to wait for Rice, to complete a Stock for the Rains; that Ship, as well as the Royal Admiral, will proceed from Tellicherry to Fort Saint George, to assist in transporting Major Cotgrave's Detachment to the Coast of Coromandel, and will then pursue her Voyage to China; whilst the latter will return to Bombay, from whence she will be dispatched to England early in the ensuing Season.

5. The Prime will shortly sail for England, and will carry our Advices and Proceedings at full Length.—We shall not now enter into a Detail of the Operations of the Army, but shall only mention, that General Goddard has, in pursuance of our Advice, relinquished Possession of the Pass of Bhor Gauth, where he had proposed forming a fortified Post, marched the Army to Panwell, in order to lodge his Stores and heavy Baggage, and pre-

ceed in his future Operations according to the System of Defence we had concerted with him in March.—This, a Country favourable for the Mode of Attack, observed by the Enemy; the Army was extremely harassed by numerous Bodies of Horse and Foot, which had poured into the Concan Country, and pressed upon our Troops with a Degree of Boldness, which can only be imputed to their Exultation at the Appearance of a Retreat. Our Troops in this Situation behaved with their accustomed Firmness and Resolution, and baffled every Attack of the Enemy, to make an Impression either on the Line or Baggage, though our Loss, from such continual Attacks, could not fail being considerable; and we find, from our Returns, that during the Two Days taken up in the March, Three Officers and Fifty-five Men were killed, and Fifteen Officers and Three hundred and Ninety-three Men wounded; though we derive some Satisfaction, that amongst the Privates killed and wounded, few or none were Europeans. We are very sorry to add, that on the last Day's March Colonel Parker, who commanded the Rear Guard, was mortally wounded, and died in a few Hours.

6. Arrived at Panwell the 23d Instant, when the General immediately, upon our Requisition, sent over the Troops we had appointed for the Garrison of Tellicherry, and will next proceed upon a Plan for securing the Country from the Ravages of the Enemy, in the best Manner possible, until the Lateness of the Season shall compel them to retire. For this Purpose, the Army will immediately change its Position, and move near Callian, a more central Situation, and where it is proposed to canton them during the Rains. The Europeans and Bombay Troops will be brought into this Garrison.

7. We very much wish we had any late authentic Account to give you of the Situation of Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel, the Hopes of which were the principal Cause of our detaining the Mercury so long.—We can only now acquaint you, that it is certain the French left the Coast of Coromandel in February, without landing any Assistance for Hyder, or doing any other material Damage; and that they were much distressed for Provisions; the Position of General Coote's Army, and his burning all the Boats at Pondicherry, preventing their getting any Supplies from the Shore.—Country Intelligence, collected by Mr. Stewart at Goa, mentions that Hyder had quitted the Carnatic.

8. We have the Pleasure to advise you of Colonel Carnac's having gained a very complete Victory over Mhadge Scindia; which is the more agreeable, as the Colonel had been obliged to retreat, and was harassed Four Days together by a very powerful Army. After the Fourth Day's Retreat, the Colonel counter-marched a Detachment from his Army in the Night, with which he got in the Rear of the Enemy, and attacked their Camp, which was forced and plundered, and Two Guns, Four Elephants, and a large Booty, fell into our Hands.—Several Accounts concur that the Enemy's Loss amounted to Eight thousand Men, and Scindia himself escaped with Difficulty to Seronga, attended by only . . . . Horsemen.

We have the Honour to be,  
with Respect,

Honourable Gentlemen,

Your faithful and  
obedient humble Servants,

Bombay Castle,  
30th April 1781.

Wm Hornby,  
D. Draper,  
N. Stackhouse,

## No. 4.

*Extract of a Letter from the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.—Dated the 9th January 1781.*

**FROM** the invariable Term of our Advices to your Honours, you will perceive a strong, and we are sorry to believe, a just Opinion of the ruinous Consequences which would sooner or later fall upon the Company, from the War which your Servants, at the other Presidencies, had unnecessarily entered into with the Maratta State. Bordering upon each other's Dominions, and heated by jealousy and a Desire of Plunder, Hyder and the Marattas never could have remained on amicable Terms. Every Year, unless

when we stepped in to suspend their Operations, the Country of the one or the other was the Theatre of War. Their Success was various, but the Effect, to the English Interests, was the same. They reciprocally wasted their Strength; and found a Sufficiency of Employment at Home, to hinder their disturbing the Tranquillity of their Neighbours.

20. While these Two Governments, the most powerful in Hindostan, were thus weakening themselves by an inveterate War, which, from the known Disposition of the Parties, was never likely to have an End, your Settlements were at Peace, and your Prosperity was making the quickest Advances to its fullest State. Unhappily for your Interests, the Flame of Dissention at length broke forth at Bombay; the Seeds of War which were then sown in Support of the Cause of Ragonaut Row, and which were afterwards nourished in the most unbounded Manner by the Government of Bengal, gave a Respite to their rival Power. They soon began to slacken in their Opposition. The Pretensions of each became every Day more moderate. At length they combined against us, and from being Enemies, cemented the strongest Ties of mutual Assistance and Support against a Consequence, which they had every Reason to consider as too formidable and interfering for the Repose of India.

21. The Effect of this very early began to shew itself. So far back as Committee, 23d October 1779, Sir Thomas Rumbold informed the Committee, that the Letters and Messages received from Hyder Ally, for some Time past, were couched in Terms so hostile and unfriendly, that he could scarcely conceive them to be the genuine Productions of that Prince:—That he had in Consequence sent the Reverend Mr. Swartz to the Court of Seringapatam, with private Instructions, to learn the real Disposition of Hyder; but that the Issue of his Secret Negotiation was such, as left him no Reason to doubt but his Intentions were hostile both to the Company and to the Nabob.

22. Alarming as this Information was, no Resolution was taken, more than that the Gentlemen at Bengal should be made acquainted with it; and that General Goddard should be advised of it also. About three Weeks after, the same Matter was again agitated; and a Member of the Committee moved, That the most vigorous and spirited Measures should be adopted; and submitted, Whether it would not be proper to collect a strong Body of Troops at Vellore or Conjeeveram, where they might be cantoned in Readiness to act as Occasion might require? This, however, met with a similar Fate; nothing more was done than had been in the former Instance.

23. From this Time until about the Beginning of June, no further Notice is taken of the Measures of Hyder and the Marattas, although the Intelligence communicated by the Nabob, gave us every Reason to suppose that he meditated some formidable Blow against the Carnatic. Then indeed the Letters which came in daily from the Frontier Garrisons, were ample Confirmation of what had been apprehended; and to increase our Difficulties, the Select Committee of Bombay advised us, under Date 17th July 1780. the 18th of May, that the Maratta Durbar had declared, in positive Terms, to General Goddard, "That they would not make Peace with the English unless Salset was restored, and the Person of Ragobah was given up."

24. The undoubted Information which was then received of the warlike Preparations that were making by Hyder Ally Cawn, induced Mr. Johnson, in a Minute, seconded by Mr. Smith, to recommend to the Committee, to take into Consideration the Means for maintaining an Army in the Field; and if that were impracticable, that they would deliberate upon Measures for

reinforcing our Garrisons, and for keeping up a Force at least sufficient to protect the Company's and the Nabob's Possessions.

25. Had this Opinion been followed, the Troops, which were separated, would have been formed into a Body within the Space of a Month without Obstruction or Difficulty; they would have marched, unmolested, into the very Heart of the Carnatic, and would have been ready to have faced the Enemy on their first entering the Ghauts. But the reasonable Precautions pointed out in this Minute, were disregarded; the Apprehensions about Hyder were thought groundless; and the Opportunity was lost, which might have possibly prevented the Invasion of the Carnatic.

26. It is not our Intention here to throw an uncandid Censure on the Conduct of the Majority of our Committee, in this early Stage of the Business. We gave our Opinions at the Time, and they stand recorded for your Honours Information.

27. Had indeed a Peace been concluded with the Marattas, or had there been the Prospect of so desirable an Event, the Rumour of Hyder's Intentions might have been disregarded. But when we had the clearest Proof before us, the Declaration of the Maratta Court itself to General Goddard's Propositions, it no longer became a Matter that could admit of further Hesitation. A Pacification with that Government seemed to be as distant as ever, whilst every Exertion that we might be enabled to make, would unavoidably create an Expence of both Blood and Treasure, which must infallibly exhaust us in the End.

28. The Disposition of the Troops belonging to this Establishment, was likewise a Circumstance of considerable Disadvantage to us. One Part, under the Command of Colonel Braithwaite, was at Pondicherry; Lieutenant Colonel Baillie had a fine Detachment to the Northward of the Kistna; and Colonel Brown had one Battalion of Europeans, One Company of Artillery, and One Battalion of Sepoys, acting under the Orders of General Goddard.

29. Our Force being in this Manner dispersed, no Moment could have been more favourable for Hyder to have entered the Carnatic, than the Moment he embraced. We were unusually weak, from the different Detachments we had on Service. Bengal was plunged into the most serious Difficulties, and the Treasuries of the Company, in every Part of India, were reduced to the most alarming Situation.

44. Since the 5th November, when General Coote arrived, every Kind of Exertion hath been made to insure to us Success in the next Campaign. The General himself is now encamped at Saint Thomas's Mount; and we have every Reason to expect that we shall reap the most signal Services from his Conduct and Ability.

45. Circumstanced as General Coote is, the Commander in Chief of your Forces in India, and more particularly having the entire Direction of the Army under General Goddard on the other Side of India, where Hyder is most vulnerable; we could not, we conceive, have acted with greater Attention to your Interest, than in entrusting to him the general Management of the War; which we have done in the amplest Manner in public Orders.

46. The Orders which Sir Eyre Coote informs us he has sent to General Goddard, will, we trust, draw that Officer from his offensive Measures against the Marattas, and will enable him to make a Diversion in the Ridanore Country, where the Nairs even, we are told, are ready to revolt and join us, although they have kept the Garrison of Tellicherry closely confined to the Walls of their Fort for a considerable while past. The Presence of Sir Edward Hughes also renders it still more probable; the Squadron he has under his Command being at hand to co-operate, and transport, if necessary, both Men and Stores to Mangalore.

47. While Measures for the general Good are thus pursuing here, at Bengal, and at Bombay, we have not been inattentive to the Resources which it is reasonable to imagine we should be enabled to draw from those in Alliance, and those who live under the immediate Protection of the Company.

The Surrender of Arcot comes in another Point of View, Mahomed Nudjif Cawn, who though not the first, was yet a Man of considerable Consequence in the Management of the Nabob's Interests in that Province, has, since his Return, delivered in a Narrative of the Siege to his Master. In this Narrative your Honours will observe

Committee, a Degree of Infination, tending to cast a principal Share of Blame on  
27th Nov. 1780. your officers who commanded there. Your Officers, on the contrary, complain of the Nabob's People, and especially of Rajah Beerbur, who had the Supreme Authority at Arcot, and who is now confidentially employed by Hyder.

55. A Matter of this Nature is of great Importance. Individually it carries a Stain, which in all Military Services, it is necessary should be cleared up ; and as it relates to the public Welfare, it is fraught with Consequences of the most serious Moment. Were the Parties concerned in any other Situation than that to which they are reduced by the Capitulation, a strict Enquiry should be had into every Part of this Affair : as they are at present, we must patiently wait, until an Opportunity shall favour the Investigation.

56. The Nabob, who has uniformly kept up a close and friendly Correspondence with Fazul Beg Cawn, the Commander in chief of the Nizam's Forces, some Days ago informed our President, that he had Offers from the Side of the Decan, of Four or Five Thousand well-disciplined Cavalry. These Offers, we had Reason to conclude, had come from Fazul Beg. The Expence, however, was too heavy for our present Resources. Moreover, there appeared a Probability of Assistance from Moodajee Bonsalah, the Rajah of Berar ; and until we were certain of his Intentions, it seemed the more prudent Line to refrain from any positive Engagements which might lead us into pecuniary Difficulties, that our Means were in every Respect inadequate to.

57. The Door of Negotiation with Fazul Beg Cawn for this Body of Cavalry, it was still politic to keep open. We empowered the Chief of Masulipatam, therefore, to enter into a Correspondence with that Sardar, on the Subject ; but to determine on nothing until he had our final Directions.

58. Early in our Proceedings of the last Year, your Honours will be pleased to observe, that we resolved upon raising a Corps of Sibbendies, for the Purpose of collecting the Revenues in the Circars dependant upon Masulipatam, to consist of Five Companies ; and that we likewise directed, that these Companies should be raised and incorporated at Vizagapatam, with the Two Independent Companies of Sepoys there on the same Account.

59. This Force leaving our regular Sepoys more to the Detail of real Military Service than they were before in the Circars, and the Circars themselves being far from any Appearance of Disturbance, we resolved, on a Representation from our President, that the Northern Zemindars should be ordered to furnish a certain Quota of Troops to join the Detachment, if necessary, expected from Bengal. The Zemindars have accordingly been written to ; and their Numbers in Cavalry, Sepoys, and Pikemen, it is supposed, will amount to 13,500 Men. With regard to their Pay, that is to be accounted for, and deducted from the Tribute of the Zemindars when the present Troubles are over, at the same Rate the Zemindars themselves pay their People during the Time they keep them in Employment.

60. The Tranquillity indeed of the Chicacole District, received a dangerous momentary Shock, from a Mutiny amongst the Grenadier Sepoys, who were ordered from Vizagapatam to this Presidency, and who, refusing to embark, turned upon their Officers, and all the Europeans of the Garrison. (The Particulars of this unfortunate Revolt, are entered in the Proceedings referred to in the Margin.) Lieutenant Crisp, Mr. Venner, a Cadet, and Mr. Rutherford, one of your Civil Servants, were killed upon the Spot. Mr. Casamajor, the Chief, with several other Gentlemen, were seized, and closely confined for several Hours.

61. The Plunder of the Place was the principal Object of the Mutineers ; that accomplished, they left the Fort in a Body. We lost no Time however, in sending every Assistance in our Power to their Relief. We sent a Party of Fifty Invalid Europeans by Sea, and ordered the Resident at Ganjam to reinforce them with Thirty Coffrees from that Garrison.

62. Before this Accession to their Strength had arrived at Vizagapatam, the Revolters had pursued their Way inland towards the Hills. They then met with Opposition from some of the Zemindars, and were drove to the Necessity of dispersing. In the mean while, considerable Rewards having been offered for apprehending any of those concerned, particularly the Ringleader Sheik Mahomed Soubahdar, several of them were detected. The Consequence was an immediate and exemplary Punishment.

63. The Conduct of Guzziputty Narrain Doo, on this Occasion, was such as to merit the highest Marks of our Favour. We accordingly reinstated him in the Zemindary of Kinnedy, on Terms to the Advantage of the Company, as your Honours will perceive, on Reference to our Proceedings on that Head in the Revenue Department.

64. The Letter from your Honours to the Rajah of Tanjore, which came by your Ship *Lascelles*, we deputed One of your Civil Servants to deliver to him. The Rajah received this Mark of your Friendship with the strongest Professions of Attachment to your Honours, and of Reliance upon your Protection. But the main Object proposed by the Deputation



Deputation of Mr. Lewin, that of procuring a Supply of Money, was not effected; the Committee, Rajah declaring himself totally unable to make any further Exertions on that Head. Mr. Lewin's Report is entered on the Proceedings of the 2d Oct. 1780. Committee referred to in the Margin.

65. The Backwardness of the Rajah to raise the inconsiderable Sum required of him, was the Cause of some Dissatisfaction to us; at the same Time, we conceived it our Duty to assure him, that every Thing in our Power should be done for the Security of his Fort and Country. But as it would be absolutely necessary, during the Continuance of the present Troubles, to get a sufficient Force into the Field to act against the Enemy, we informed him, we expected his ready Acquiescence in every Thing that should be proposed to him for our common Safety. We told him, that finding great Difficulty in carrying on our Military Operations for Want of a Body of Cavalry; we were using our Endeavours to procure a sufficient Number, and that we should take it as a Favour, if he would give us his Assistance.

66. We again explained to him the heavy Disbursements necessary for the Support of the War, and earnestly desired he would assist us in the Article of Money. We pointed out to him how strongly you had written to him on this Subject in your last Letter, and hoped that he would want no other Inducement to exert himself in giving you an extraordinary Aid at this Conjuncture, when you were called upon for the Defence of your own and your Allies Possessions, against a formidable Power.

67. We even went so far, lest he should have any Colour of Excuse, as to tell him, if he could not possibly find Means of procuring ready Money on this Occasion (which we trusted however could not be the Case), that in such an Event, we had no Doubt of his being able to put into our Hands a Quantity of Grain, with Liberty to mortgage or dispose of it, in such Manner as might enable us to raise the necessary Supplies.

68. To all these Representations, the Rajah of Tanjore has returned nothing but empty Words and Professions, which he does not seem inclinable to realize.

Country Corre- spondence  
26th Dec. 1780.  
No. 141.

69. This being the Case, another Letter had been since written to him. We have told him, that the numberless Difficulties which have presented themselves to him, to the raising a Body of 1000 Cavalry, are astonishing to us, especially as he had concluded the Expence of it would be deducted from his Subsidy.—That our former Letters to him on the Subject of Cavalry was wanted, and as one immediately under the Protection of the Company, he was the first looked to for Assistance. We told him, the Day of Difficulty was the only one in which real Friendship could be shewn; that Procrastination manifested a Want of Warmth in those, who, from the Peculiarity of their Situation, might be naturally supposed concerned in the Want of public Affairs. That had Means been taken in the Beginning, the small Corps he had been solicited to raise might have been now complete; but that those Means had been unaccountably neglected, until it was almost too late to undertake any Thing in a Matter of so much Importance to your Affairs. That the Tanjore Country, however, having heretofore escaped every Kind of Ravage and Devastation, we still placed the greatest Dependence upon the Assistance in both Men and Money, which it was peculiarly incumbent upon him to give, who enjoyed the amplest Benefit of your Protection.

70. Possibly this Representation to the Rajah, may have the Effect upon him we desire; we have enclosed a Copy of it to the Commanding Officer at Tanjore, with Directions to enforce the Spirit of it firmly, but at the same Time with the greatest Delicacy, lest the Rajah's Fears should be alarmed.

71. Involved as your Affairs are in every Quarter of Hindostan, the Accusation of wantonly adding to the Flame, carries in its Consequences a Degree of Criminality, which every Government, satisfied with the Rectitude of its Actions, is warranted to clear itself of; and even to retort upon those who are primarily and principally concerned.

93. Involved as your Affairs are in every Quarter of Hindostan, the Accusation of wantonly adding to the Flame, carries in its Consequences a Degree of Criminality, which every Government, satisfied with the Rectitude of its Actions, is warranted to clear itself of; and even to retort upon those who are primarily and principally concerned.

94. We have already said, and we again repeat it, the Maratta War is the sole Cause of all the Mischiefs which hitherto have been felt, or hereafter may befall the Interest of England in India.—The visionary Pursuit of that Scheme, hath plunged you into the most complicated public Calamity. The Country Powers, tired of the Yoke, rejoice at the ruinous Measures which, to the Expenditure of all your Treasure in Bengal, and of all that hath been borrowed, hath been offensively carried on against the combined Maratta Empire. Nor shall we hesitate in declaring it our Opinion, that unless a Peace is speedily concluded with that Power, the hard-earned Supremacy of your Situation will fall under a Blow, the most severe that it hath ever yet received.

97. Shortly,

Committee, 26th  
June 1780.

97. Shortly, upon the Departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold, we were solicited by the Nabob, to assist him with a small Loan he was in want of, for discharging a Demand made upon him by Colonel James Capper. As the Nabob appeared very anxious that this Debt should be cleared off, and as he engaged that the Company should neither sustain Loss nor Risk by the Transaction, we acquiesced in the Proposition made to us by his Highness; and accordingly granted Colonel Capper a Bond for the Amount, as is particularly set forth in our Proceedings of the Day referred to in the Margin.

10th May 1780.

120. In consequence of an Address, which we received from our Surgeon General, in which he recommends a Plan for the Hospital Expenses of his Majesty's 73d Regiment, we came to the Resolution, although there was no Precedent for the Mode recommended by him, to adopt it, it appearing the most equitable, until your Pleasure should be known. The same to be carried to a distinct Account, under the Head of Expenses incurred for his Majesty's 73d Regiment.

Committee,  
1st May 1780.

121. Towards the latter End of the Year 1777, a Memorial was given in to us by the Captain Lieutenants of Artillery, relative to their Rank in the general Line of the Army; and again, in May 1780, they presented us another Petition, and begged we would write to the Gentlemen of Bengal, for Information of the Regulations they had thought proper to establish in a similar Case, as the Recommendation of your Commander in Chief in India.

17th July 1780.

122. We accordingly wrote to Bengal on the Subject, — The Answer from thence was full as to the Artillery Rank they had established; we therefore resolved, that the Officers who held Commissions as Captain Lieutenants of Artillery on this Establishment, should be put on the same Footing with the Captain Lieutenants of Artillery in Bengal, viz. that such Officers as held Commissions as Captain Lieutenants on the 17th April 1775, should take Rank as Captains in the Army from that Day; and that such Officers as had been appointed Captain Lieutenants of Artillery since that Period, should take Rank as Captains in the Army, agreeably to the Date of their Captain Lieutenants Commissions.

123. Captain Robert Wood, whom your Honours were pleased to nominate to the Town Majorship of Fort Saint George, during the Government of Sir Thomas Rumbold, having been disappointed in his Expectation of filling that Office again, applied to us on the Departure of the General Barker, and solicited the Appointment agreeably to the Tenor of your Orders.

124. This Matter had already been agitated at our Board, and it had been submitted Home to your Consideration; we therefore agreed, as our President, in consequence of your military Instructions of March 1774, and the Latitude given him by the Company's Orders relative to Captain Wood's Appointment, had nominated Captain Sydenham to act in the Office of Town Major, and the same had been given out in General Orders, that no further Step should be taken in it until your Pleasure should be known.

125. Captain Harcourt Woodhouse having been recommended to us by Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, we have granted him a Certificate to partake of the Military Fund, he having sworn that he was not directly or indirectly possessed of 2,000l.

126. We have granted our Permission to Captain Charles Fraser and Captain Thomas Bagot, to proceed to Europe for the Re-establishment of their Health.

127. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Fletcher, agreeably to your Commands, succeeded to his Rank on this Establishment; but we are concerned to inform your Honours, that that brave and valuable Officer was amongst those who fell in the Action of the 10th of September.

128. Major Alexander Maclellan, after a short Illness, died on the 29th of last August. In consequence of which, we appointed Colonel Brathwaite to the Command of the Fort and Garrison, and of the Troops stationed in the Tanjore Country.

129. Mr. Robert Smith Bird, one of your Surgeons on this Establishment, has requested our Permission to accompany Mr. Whitehill to England, on the Duke of Kingston; we have accordingly granted Mr. Bird our Leave to attend Mr. Whitehill, and we take this Opportunity of recommending him to your Honours, that he may return with his Rank in the Line of Surgeons.

Committee,  
9th Oct. 1780.

130. Sir Edward Hughes having recommended that a proper Person should be stationed at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar, for the Purpose of collecting Intelligence there with respect to the Enemy, and having at the same Time mentioned Mr. Edward Mackintosh, as a Gentleman well qualified for that Employ; we have accordingly appointed Mr. Mackintosh our Resident at Tranquebar, with an Allowance of 100 Pagodas per Month.



138. Your Honours have been frequently advised of the Distresses, in which Colonel James, your Commanding Officer of Artillery, hath been involved, from a Failure on the Part of the Nabob, in Payment of a considerable Sum of Money, advanced by him to his Highness's mutinous Troops in 1776 and 1777. The Particulars of his Case are worthy of your Attention.

139. In November 1776, the first dangerous Mutiny broke out in the Nabob's Second Regiment of Cavalry. Colonel James was then Commandant of Trichinopoly. As soon as he received Intelligence of the Revolt, he sent Parties of Sepoys with Letters wrote in different Languages, to learn their Route, and with Offers to them of 5,000 Pagodas immediately on their returning to their Duty, and of 1,000 Pagodas per Month, until the Nabob's Pleasure should be known. "I did this,

Committee,

11th April 1780.

" (says he), because, on my Appointment to the Command of Trichinopoly, I had an Opportunity of visiting the Cavalry, which was then in that well-disciplined State, as to command Ap-  
 " plause from every Gentleman who saw them, many Encomiums having been paid  
 " them by Officers of Cavalry formerly in his Majesty's Service. From their Appear-  
 " ance, and the Pains that were taken by their Officers to render them complete, I  
 " could not but duly consider the very extensive Service they would be of to the Car-  
 " natic, in case of Trouble, and therefore I was fully determined to give every Assistance  
 " in my Power to relieve them in their Distresses."

140. For this first Advance, Colonel James received the Thanks of the Board, under Date 4th December 1776. This induced Colonel James to make further Advances of Cash; which he continued until the 1st April 1777, when a Second Mutiny broke out in Captain Campbell's Regiment, cantoned at Zepherabad, a few Miles from Hyder Ally's Country, and which had every Appearance of being productive of fatal Consequences, the Regiment being completely equipped for Service, with Eight Field Pieces, and every Thing else in Proportion.

141. The Intelligence of Captain Campbell's Situation, he and his Officers being made close Prisoners, was carried to Colonel James by the merest Accident. He, however, saw no Time was to be lost; and accordingly, considering nothing but his Duty, immediately sent to them, and bound himself for the Payment of so much of their Arrears as he possibly could provide Funds for. His Obligation they looked upon as sufficient. They released their Officers, and shortly afterwards went upon Service, having received their last Dividend of 6000 Pagodas from Colonel James the 1st of June, 1777.

142. Considerable as these Advances were, they were yet inadequate to the Payment of all the Arrears due to the Cavalry, as appeared from the very alarming Conduct of the other Regiments who surrounded the Nabob at Chepauk, and obstinately refused retiring, unless they were satisfied in what they had a Right to demand, in consequence of their Agreement on entering his Service. The Loan made by Messieurs Taylor and Co. on this Account, hath repeatedly been stated to your Honours in the fullest Manner.

143. Colonel James had indeed another Reason for making the considerable Advance he did to these Regiments of Cavalry. "I was encouraged to do this (says Ibid. " he), by the Directions of the Commander in Chief to me to raise more  
 " Money; and he had full Powers from the Honourable Board, to take every  
 " Measure he saw necessary to quell the Mutiny."

144. Under these Sanctions, therefore, Colonel James advanced all the Money he could raise. The Nabob, however, was slow and uncertain in refunding either the Principal or Interest. This drew a Remonstrance from Colonel James. We saw and felt for his Distresses, and, sensible of the Justness of his Demand, interested Ibid. ourselves for him with the Nabob; but his Highness still continued dilatory. He promised, indeed, that Colonel James should be repaid; but yet the Day was at a Distance, and Colonel James, though suffering under a severe Complaint, had the painful Prospect of being obliged to remain in this Country, when a Change of Climate was become absolutely necessary to his Recovery.

145. Thus reduced, he made us several Applications, and at length got the Nabob to request we would, on his Account, satisfy Colonel James for the Money he had advanced.

146. Sensible of the Merit which Colonel James manifested at the Time of making the Advances, and of the real Necessity there was for some spirited Exertion for the Preservation of a Corps which might have been of the greatest Utility, we readily agreed, that on the Nabob's engaging to repay the Company within a short Period of Time, a Bond should be granted to Colonel James for the Balance which should be  
 due

due to him. Accordingly, the Nabob having acquainted us, through our President, that the Amount should be discharged as expeditiously as possible, we have granted a Bond to Colonel James for Pagodas 40.742. 25. 60, the Sum now owing to him by his Highness.

148. The Proceedings of a Council of War, held by the Commander in Chief of your Forces, now go a Number in the Packet, together with our Sentiments on the Subject. To these Proceedings we beg your particular Attention.

149. We have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that, by a Letter from Sir Edward Hughes, dated the 4th December, we are informed of the safe Arrival of his Majesty's Fleet at Tell cherry, where he landed for the Reinforcement of that Garrison, 1 Captain, 4 Subalterns, and 108 Marines; and of his having supplied them with 80,000 Rupees for their Disbursements, and a Quantity of Grain. Sir Edward has likewise informed us, that, at the earnest Solicitations of the Chief and Factors, as well as of Major Colgrave, who commands the Troops at Tellicherry, he had directed the Captains of the Company's Ships Ponsbane and Contractor, to remain there for the Purpose of keeping open the Port for Supplies of Provisions, until Reinforcements should arrive.

150. From Tellicherry Sir Edward proposed proceeding with the Squadron towards Bombay, touching in his Way at Mangalore, to see if any thing effectual could be done against Hyder's Vessels in that Part.

151. By a Letter from our Resident at Ganjam, we are acquainted that a French Privateer, mounting 18 Guns, and supposed to be in Concert with another, had been cruising off the Northern Ports of this Coast for some Time past, and had taken some few Country Vessels.

## No. 5.

**WILLIAM** Petrie, Esquire, attending, according to Order, was called in; and examined.

I went first to Madras in the Company's Civil Service, about 17 Years ago.—Have acted in the Stations of Commissary and Paymaster to the Army during the last War with Hyder Ally,—at the first Siege of Tanjore, and the subsequent Campaigns.—I was then appointed Secretary to the Government at Madras; in which Department I remained till my Return to England in 1776.—The succeeding Year I returned to India with Sir Thomas Rumbold—Was appointed Envoy or Resident to the Rajah of Tanjore—I was next appointed to the Chiefship of Nagore and Carricole—I left India again in January 1780, and being coming over Land, was obliged, on Account of the Plague in Turkey, to return to Bombay.—I was present at the Capture of Bassein by the Bengal Army; and on the Malabar Coast had an Opportunity of hearing of Hyder Ally's alarming Success in the Carnatic, and the distressed State of the English Government at Madras.—I left the Coast of India the 11th of February, returned to Europe upon a Portuguese Ship, and arrived in England September 1781.

How long did you remain at Madras, after your Arrival there with Sir Thomas Rumbold?

About 12 Days.

How many Days Journey is it from Madras to Tanjore?

By going Post, it may be done in Three Days;—in the general Way, it requires Six or Seven.

Was you at Madras when the Committee of Circuit was abolished?

No, I was then at Tanjore; I heard of it there.

Were the Zemindars at Madras at your Return then from Tanjore?

Most of them I believe were there—I had not any Conversation or Communication with them.

Had you Reason to know that the Committee of Circuit had been abolished?

Yes.

Were you acquainted with the Objects of the Appointment of the Committee of Circuit?

Yes.

From your Knowledge of the Presidency of Madras, and the Affairs under their Administration, is it your Opinion, that the Objects of the Committee of Circuit were most likely to be accomplished by the Continuance of the Committee, or by calling the Zemindars to Madras?

I am clearly of Opinion, by the Continuance of the Committee of Circuit, for the following Reasons; viz.

Because the Committee of Circuit was directed to proceed to the Northern Circars, and investigate the various Matters which had been complained of in that Branch of the Company's Government, and because the Instructions given them for their Guide, appeared to me well calculated to accomplish the Purposes of Reformation; whereas, by calling the Zemindars to Madras, the Board could only have a partial Evidence, and must be liable to Imposition and Deception from those Men whose Interest it was to keep them in the Dark.—From my Knowledge of the Men who were appointed to form that Committee, I think they were very capable of executing that Trust.

Were there other Gentlemen in the Service under that Presidency, capable of supplying the Place of any Member of that Committee, in case of a Vacancy?

A great many indeed.

Had you Reason to know that the Zemindars complained of the Hardship of being brought down to the Presidency of Madras?

I do not know it, so as to warrant my calling it Personal Knowledge; but it was the notorious and universal Sense of the Presidency, that they had so complained.

Was it your Opinion, or the general Belief, either at Madras or Tanjore, that Hyder Ally meant an Invasion of the Carnatic a considerable Time before his Eruption there?

From the long Misunderstanding and Jealousy which had subsisted between Hyder Ally and the Madras Government, I never doubted but that we should be involved in War with that Power, as soon as he should find a favourable Opportunity, which could only have been prevented by a positive Alliance between him and the English, a Measure which he had frequently courted.—He viewed our Attack on Pondicherry with a very jealous Eye; and would, in my Opinion, have given Assistance to the French, but for a favourite Enterprize which he was engaged in at that Time.—Our Attack on Mahé, and the subsequent Operations in the Guntoor Circar, I believe he considered as open Acts of Hostility;—but in Answer to the Question, I will venture to say, that he certainly meditated War, as early as the Time of the Siege of Pondicherry, which I heard from Tanjore, and from a Man who had formerly been in Hyder Ally's Service, and who had paid me a Visit at Nagore; at which Time I believe he was acting as an inferior Vakeel with the Dutch at Negapatam.

Are you one of the Executors of Mr. Redhead's Will?

Yes.

Is there a disputed Article in that Will, relating to a Sum of Money claimed from Sitteram Rauze?

Yes.

Had you Occasion to know any Thing of the Foundation of the Debt claimed by Mr. Redhead's Executors from Sitteram Rauze?

It appeared to be a Sum of Money promised by Sitteram, or his Agent, to Mr. Redhead, for certain Services to be rendered by him.

What were those Services?

Being absent from Madras on Public Service, during all the Time alluded to in the Question, I was under the Necessity of leaving the Executorship of Mr. Redhead's Will to Mr. Brodie, who was the other Executor; I can therefore only say, that I believe the Services were the accomplishing of certain Points for Sitteram Rauze at the Presidency, through his (Mr. Redhead's) Influence.

In what Station was Mr. Redhead at that Time?

Private Secretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold the Governor.

Do you know, from any Circumstance whatever, at what Time the said Present was promised to Mr. Redhead?

I cannot

I cannot positively say the Time; but I have a Copy of the Agreement, which was translated from the Original by a Person who I know well, and believe to be exact, which I will send to the Committee.

What Defence did Sitteram make against the Claim made by Mr. Redhead's Executors?

I cannot clearly answer, on Account of the Distance of Time, and my being then absent from Madras.

At the Time I left India, I shortly suspected that Hyder Ally was meditating an Attack upon the Carnatic; and I will now state to the Committee my Reasons for that Opinion.

Because I know Hyder has been inimical to the English, since a short Time after the Peace of 1769, when the Madras Board withheld from him the Succours which he thought he had a Right to claim in consequence of that Treaty, when his Country was invaded by the Marattas.—The Misfortunes of that War, in which he lost his Army, and a considerable Part of his Dominions, he charged to our Breach of Engagements; and from that Period, I believe he has eagerly looked for a favourable Opportunity of making War upon the English in India.—It was the Transactions of that Time, which gave Rise to his subsequent Connections with the French. Nevertheless, finding that he could expect no essential Support from that Power in India, and apprehensive of a Second Visit from the Marattas, in the Year 1773, he again solicited Friendship and Alliance with the English against the common Enemy, as he then termed the Marattas; and made such advantageous Offers to the Company, that had the Madras Board deemed it expedient in other Respects to accede to his Request, the most solid commercial Advantages might then have been obtained for the Company.—I was then Secretary to the Board, where the Subject was often debated; but at last it was resolved to decline the proposed Alliance, and to observe a strict Neutrality between Hyder Ally and the Marattas.—His Resentment upon this Occasion, I believe, cemented his Connections with the French, and, not improbably, gave him the first Idea of an Alliance with his old Enemy the Marattas.—From that Period, until my Return to India in 1778, I believe the Correspondence between Hyder Ally and the Company's Governments was merely civil; I am certain not cordial.—Upon the Arrival of Sir Thomas Rumbold at Madras, some Correspondence I have understood took place, on the Subject of an Alliance; yet, when Pondicherry was attacked on the Commencement of Hostilities with France, it was generally imagined, and I believe justly, that Hyder would have tried to raise the Siege, had not his Arms at that Time been employed in another Quarter.

The subsequent Attack upon Mahé, and the Operations in the Guntoor Circar, was considered by Hyder as positive Acts of Hostility; and from that Time he seems to have made no Secret of his hostile Designs against the Carnatic.—I was then leaving India, and my own Reflections upon all these Circumstances which I have now related, added to the Information which I received from Mr. Schwartz, who had just then returned from the Mysore Durbar, and from other Channels of Intelligence, made me conclude that a War was not far distant, and that Hyder only waited for an Opportunity to begin Hostilities; and I was sorry to see that the Maratta War, by exhausting the Company's Resources, and dispersing the Force, was likely to afford him a very favourable one; so that when I left Madras, I never doubted but that the Carnatic would very soon be the Theatre of War.—I must however add, that although I have mentioned the Capture of Mahé, and the Measures with respect to the Guntoor Circar, as powerful Provocations to Hostility; yet in my Opinion, Hyder would not have involved himself in a War with the English, had there been Peace in Hindostan, until he had received the Troops which were promised him from France; nor do I think he would ever have trusted his Infantry and Guns in the Carnatic, had the Madras Government only assembled the Forces under that Presidency in proper Time, and ordered the Army to move towards the Western Passes, when they heard of Hyder's Approach from Bangalore.

## No. 6.

*Fort William, Secret Department, General Letter, dated 7th January 1784.*

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

Par. 1. **T**HE Departure of Major John Scott to Europe, by express Appointment from the Governor General, as his Private Agent, affording us an Opportunity of addressing you, we have the Honour to avail ourselves of it in transmitting to you, in Triplicate, our last Advices from this Department, by the Ships Fox and Walpole. Major Scott has taken his Passage on a Portuguese Ship, which being to stop in her Way at Fort Saint George, we have recommended it to the President and Select Committee at that Place, to embrace the same Occasion of transmitting to you a Relation of the Occurrences upon the Coast, to the latest Period of Major Scott's Stay. We beg Leave to recommend this Gentleman to your Favour, and that he may be restored to the Company's Service, without Prejudice to his Rank, if he should be hereafter desirous of returning to Bengal.

Dated 10, 19. 20 Nov. We send to you Numbers in this Dispatch, Copies of the Letters which we have received from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, since we had the Honour of addressing you by the Fox. We are much concerned that the Information contained in them obliges us to say, that we still continue in Expectation of more favourable Accounts of the State of your Affairs on the Coast. The Confidence which we place in the Exertions of Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, in his Experience in Military Affairs, and in his Zeal for the Public Service, will not permit us to despond of a prosperous Change in it, while he continues at the Head of your Army; nor shall any Assistance be wanting which we can render, to give Effect to his Efforts. The Military Expenses are indeed large, but we have promised to provide for them as long as we are able; and acting upon that Promise, we have ordered that the Sum of C. R. 423678: 20. 3. should be remitted to Fort Saint George, in Specie, by the Ship Duke of Portland, now under sailing Orders. We have taken Measures to continue to that Presidency Supplies of Grain, and other Articles of which they are in Need, and shall in no Instance relax in our declared Resolution to relieve their Wants, as far as we may be able to supply them; but it is not in our Power to afford that Aid which the Army is said greatly to require, in an Encrease of its Strength in Europeans. The unfortunate Disaster which befel the Detachments from General Munro's Army near Conjeeveram, in September last, was attended with an important Diminution of it, and we are not able to spare, from the Defence of our own Provinces, more than have been already detached from them.

3. This Consideration, added to others which arise from the present State of your Affairs on the Coast, and the Necessity which we feel of giving every Aid to your Presidency of Fort Saint George that can possibly be obtained, without too disproportionate a Sacrifice of the Possessions of the Company, or of those of the Nabob Walaw Jaw, have induced us to propose a Treaty of Alliance with the Dutch, whose Possessions at and adjacent to Cochin, have lately been invaded by Hyder Ally Khan. The Treaty itself appears on our Proceedings of the 4th instant, which go a Number in the Packet, and has been formed with the Advice and Correction of Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company's Settlements in Bengal.

4. It appears, from an Account, which the Governor General informs us has been communicated to him by Mr. Ross, that the Force actually stationed at or near Cochin, will easily enable that Government to supply the Proportion, both of European Infantry and Artillery, which are chiefly wanted, and of Malays, specified in the Treaty; and these may be marched, at a very short Notice, and by a very near Route, into the Carnatic, if the Governors of Columbo and Cochin, on which they depend, will accede to the proffered Alliance. To engage their Assent, which will in such Case involve both



in great personal Responsibility, as we understand that they have no regular Powers to bind their Company in such an Act without the Sanction of the superior Government of Batavia, we have offered to them much greater Advantages than perhaps are suitable to the common Interest which the Dutch Company have in the War, or than we should be inclined to yield in an equal and formal Negotiation; but for this we have no Time, the Necessities of the Company require an instant Relief, and the dependent State of those whom we solicit to be immediate Parties in the Treaty, claims some additional Concessions, both to indemnify them, and to win the Concurrence of their Superiors.

5. Urged by these Considerations, we have proposed in the Treaty the Cession of the Country of Tinivelly to the Dutch East India Company. Its Situation is such, that it may, as we conceive, be separated from the Government of the Carnatic, without either present Embarrassment, or Danger of future Competition; and from its Contiguity to the Dutch Possessions in Ceylon, will prove a greater Acquisition to them than Loss to the Nabob.

6. The Treaty has been suddenly prepared without his Knowledge, and of course without his Consent; and the latter is, we know, indispensably necessary to that Article of it, in which the Cession of Tinivelly is suggested, and which, on our Part, we can only propose; but it is the only Part which he is likely to have in the War, although the Principal in it; and we have, in our Opinion, a Right to claim at least this small Return, both from the Hazards which we incur, and the Exertions which we make, for the Support of his Cause—a Return, amounting only to the Sacrifice of a minute Portion of his Dominions, and that the most distant of them, for the Salvation of the Whole.

7. A Copy of the Letter, written by the Governor General to the Nabob on this Occasion, as well as of those addressed to the Governors of Colombo and Cochin, and to the superior Government of Batavia, appear on our Proceedings of the 4th instant; to which we have already referred you for a Transcript of the Treaty itself: The latter has received our Execution of it, and has been entrusted with our other Dispatches to Fort Saint George, to Mr. James Dighton, whom we have recommended to the President and Select Committee, to be employed to proceed with the Treaty and Letters, and such other Dispatches as they may have Occasion to add, to the Governments of Colombo and Cochin.

8. We think it proper to send, for your Information, an Extract of a Letter which we have received from the President and Select Committee of Bombay, under Date the 23d September, accompanied by a Letter to them from Mr. Henshaw, their Resident at Goa; it goes therefore a Number in this Dispatch; but we deem the Report therein, conveyed to us, unworthy of our serious Attention. We are generally inclined to believe, that although a Connection may subsist between the Portuguese and the Marattas, its Effect cannot be important: They have no Rank among the Powers in India; they have no Means of subsisting their Army in the Field; and no such Advantages are likely to be yielded to them, as can weigh against the strong Consideration of the Alliance which has long subsisted between our Nation and theirs. The Claims which they prefer are Claims of Form, and perhaps would be preferred by any other Nation having them, whether they were or were not justly founded.

9. With respect to the supposed Intention of asserting and maintaining the Claim on Bassein by Force, it seems to us nugatory; and it cannot be effectual, since we have received certain Advices that Brigadier General Goddard, with his Army, was before Bassein on the 18th November last; and we are informed, that there was no Force, excepting that in Garrison, to oppose his early Capture of the Place.

10. The Insults which have repeatedly been offered to the Portuguese by our common Enemy Hyder Ally; the Friendship and Alliance which has long subsisted between their Nation and ours, and independently of this last Consideration, the Interest which they have in common with us, in curbing an Encrease of Power in that ambitious Chief, have induced us to make Overtures to that Government, for an Union with us in distressing Hyder Ally, by sending a Body of Forces into his Country; and we have availed ourselves of the Services of Mr. Auriol, our Secretary, who had before received our Permission to proceed to the West of India, for the Re-establishment of his Health, by deputing him to Goa on this Occasion.

11. A Copy of our Instructions to Mr. Auriol goes a Number in this Packet: We confess that our Expectations of Success from the Overtures made to the Viceroy of Goa are not very sanguine; but there appeared to us a Possibility of adding to the Force engaged against Hyder Ally, by the Union of that Government with ours, and we were not willing to neglect even the remote Chance of such an Advantage.

12. The perfidious Conduct of those of the French Nation at Pondicherry, are represented in Sir Eyre Coote's Letter of the 19th November, suggesting to us the Necessity of taking immediate Measures for preventing the Example from having Effect among those resident at Chandernagore, and within the Provinces. We have given public Notice to the higher Class of Frenchmen, of our positive Requisition, that they all quit the Provinces, by Sea, on or before the 31st Instant, on Pain of being made Prisoners, should they be found in them after that Period; and we have given Orders for the immediate Seizure of those of the lower Class. They had been all required in June last to leave the Provinces by the 1st October, and our Indulgence had permitted their remaining in them to this Time; but the flagrant and hostile Conduct of their Countrymen at Pondicherry would not allow us to continue the Favour shewn to them any longer.

13. We have the Honour to send to you enclosed, Copies of the Letters which we have received from Brigadier General Goddard, since we addressed you by the Fox; the Information before quoted, of his Arrival at Bassin, will not be found in them, but it is sufficiently authenticated by our Receipt of a Bill of Exchange drawn by him, and dated the 18th December.

14. Excepting the Letter from Bombay before mentioned, and which is sent a Number in the Packet, we have received no Advices from that Presidency of a later Date than those transmitted to you in our Proceedings sent by the Ship Fox. We have remitted to them by the Ship Portland, Treasure to the Amount of Five Lacks of Rupees; and we have authorized them to draw Bills on us for any further Sums, at a reasonable Exchange.

15. The Provincial Commander in Chief, in the Persuasion that to derive from the native Infantry of our Establishment, those capital Advantages which can only result from exact Discipline, tempered with a strict Administration of the Rights of the Soldiery, it was positively necessary thoroughly to reform and new-model the Corps composing this Part of our Military Force, presented to us on the 26th ultimo, a Series of Propositions best calculated, according to his Judgment, for compassing so important and useful an End. These Propositions were accompanied with figured Statements, exhibiting, as nearly as might be, the extraordinary Expence which would be incurred by the new Sepoy Establishments, and the annual Saving which would accrue from the general Arrangements.

16. The Letters which we have received from Brigadier General Stibbert on this Subject, and Copies of the Statements and Propositions accompanying them, are sent to you Numbers in this Dispatch. After maturely considering the Principles on which the Plan submitted to us was obviously founded, after measuring the Extent of the Advantages it promised to produce, and after satisfying ourselves that it united Economy and Utility, we delayed not, in the Conviction that the late Military Constitution of our native Infantry was pregnant with Defects which, unless timely corrected, threatened the most serious and alarming Consequences, to pass the whole of General Stibbert's Propositions into Resolutions of our Council.

17. We will here delineate, as far as may be necessary, the general Ground-work of this new Superstructure; marking the less obvious Motives of particular Regulations, and distinguishing, in a concise Manner, the Advantages they possess over former Institutions and Arrangements.

18. The apparent Strength of the Battalions of the European Regiments being at all Times very inconsiderable (rarely exceeding three hundred Rank and File) and their positive or effective Strength being frequently below two hundred Men, the large Establishment of Officers annexed to these Corps appeared to be productive of an utterly irrequisite Expence, without yielding a single Advantage in a Military Point of View; influenced by these Reflections, we made it our Request to General Stibbert, to examine the Expediency of doubling up the Battalions of the Regiments; and accordingly we have had the Satisfaction of receiving his Concurrence in a Measure that, while it occasions in our monthly Expences a Retrenchment of 37,186 Sonat Rupees, furnishes us with a considerable Number of Officers towards completing our native Infantry on the new Establishment.

19. Although the Commander in Chief has, in the annexed Propositions, inserted a Clause expressing, that when the Strength of the European Regiments shall exceed 762 Rank and File, they shall revert to their former Constitution (because in that Case the Corps would be too unwieldy for the Purpose of manœuvring with Celerity and Exactness), yet we must remark, that it is by no Means probable that we should be reduced, during the Continuance of the War in Europe, to the Necessity of re-adopting this burthenous Asylum, on the Military Principle suggested; and that the Period at which

alone

alone such a Necessity is likely to occur, will be the best suited to its favourable and easy Operation.

20. Having resolved, in consequence of the approaching Departure of a Division of our Army towards Madras, to augment our Military Force, we issued Orders for the raising of Six new Battalions; but the Commander in Chief having suggested to us the Expediency of new modelling the native Infantry, and of applying an immediate and effectual Remedy to the Abuses which had crept into the Corps composing this Part of the Army, to the great Detriment of the Service, we thought proper to recal those Orders, and to signify to him, that we were prepared to receive his Sentiments at large upon this important and interesting Subject; when he accordingly presented to us the annexed Propositions, explaining them as far as was requisite, in our Consultations of the 26th ultimo, at which he was present.

21. As the Advantages of the new Sepoy Arrangements, as far as relate to the Purposes of manœuvring and disciplining the Corps, as well as to the Effects which may be produced on the Minds of the Country Powers, by such an apparent Encrease of the Number of Battalions on our Establishment, are fully set forth in General Stibbert's Letter to us of the 31st of October, we beg Leave to refer you to the same for his Arguments on those Heads; which, we are to observe, had their due Weight with us. We must also request of you to seek, in the same Letter, the Reasons adduced by him for abolishing the Office of Native Commandant to the Sepoy Regiments; in the Propriety of which we entirely acquiesced, as well as in the Expediency of the Regulation, directing the Native Adjutants to be made from Jamsautdars (instead of Subadars), with a View of preventing these Officers from succeeding to the dangerous Influence and Authority of the Commandants.

22. At the same Time that, in order to the correcting of the Abuses which had crept into the Army, and which were of a Nature tending directly to the Destruction of the Corps composing it, it was become necessary to fix such Checks, and to establish such rigid Rules with Regard to mustering and paying the Sepoys, as should put it totally out of the Power of the commanding Officers of Regiments, to derive any Emoluments from their Corps, and thereby engage their Attention wholly to the disciplining of them; it also became requisite to annex such Rank and Allowances to the Command of these Officers, as suited its Importance and the Length of their Services. For to have entirely excluded them from all Perquisites and Emoluments whatever, without advancing their Rank and Salary, would, supposing it possible to have established such a Regulation, have produced no other Consequence, than that of rendering them to a Man, disaffected to the Service; an Evil that must have necessarily been followed by an universal Relaxation of Discipline, for which the most violent Remedy would, under such Circumstances, be ineffectual.

23. This Danger however is avoided, by granting, as we have done, advanced Rank and Allowances to the Officers commanding Regiments of Sepoys; who no Doubt will, ere long, be reconciled to the Reform; and being disengaged from the Pursuit of other Objects, exert themselves more than ever, in training and disciplining the Corps committed to their Charge.

24. You will be satisfied, on examining the annexed Papers, that notwithstanding the great Encrease of Field Officers and Captains, consequent of the new Arrangements, there will still be an annual Saving on the Whole of near Three Lacks and an Half of Sonat Rupees, after allowing for the actual Encrease of Force gained to the Establishment. But as the Commander in Chief is aware, that exclusive of Pay and Batta, there may be some other Expences incurred by his Regulations, of which he has not taken any Notice, he does not rest their Propriety or Utility on the Head of Saving. He will be satisfied if they should not encrease the Disbursements on the Army Account, and though contrary to Appearances, as well as to his Hope, they should add in a small Measure to the Military Burthen, he asserts himself confident, that the beneficial Consequences which will in due Time result from them, will be abundantly more than adequate to the extraordinary Expence they may occasion.

25. It is unnecessary for us to offer any Remarks on the other Parts of the annexed Regulations. We conceive that they will speak for themselves; and we are particularly hopeful, that the prescribed Forms for mustering and paying the Native Troops, will convince you that it was our Design (in these Arrangements) to strike at the Root of every Abuse that could possibly affect either the good Order and Discipline of your Forces, or the Rights of the Native Soldiery.

26. We send you herewith, a Return of the European Infantry and Artillery on this Establishment: It will serve to place before you, in a clear View, the alarming Disproportion



portion of our Strength in Europeans, to the Number of Native Infantry; and at the same Time the Necessity of an early and strong Reinforcement of the former. We have before frequently suggested to you, the Necessity of preserving this Establishment entire; it was particularly submitted to your Attention in one Letter of the 13th October last; and we must now repeat to you, our most earnest Request, that you will give the Subject an early and particular Consideration. Your fixt Establishment of Europeans, even in Time of Peace, is not more than sufficient to give Respect to your Military Forces. In Time of War, it is greatly inferior to its Wants; and when the existing Numbers are below the Establishment, it is our Duty to declare to you, that your Possessions are in Danger of a Ruin as sudden as it may prove irretrievable. The essential Strength of this Country, and the only Strength on which you can depend, is in the Number of Europeans. You are not Strangers to this Fact; and although there is no late Proof, from Experience, of the Truth of the Assertion, it cannot be inferred, from this Instance of our good Fortune, that we may never experience the Reverse.

27. The Sum of Forty-five Lacks of Rupees, to which the First Loan on Bonds, bearing an Interest of eight per Centum per Annum, was restricted by your Resolution of the 2d October last, having been completely subscribed, we have determined to authorize the Receipt of such further Sums into the Treasury as might be tendered to it for like Bonds.

28. The State of our Treasury this Day is as follows:

Ready Money	—	—	—	—	—	8,17,446	11	9
Bills receivable	—	—	—	—	—	1,85,728	2	—
Mint General Treasury	—	—	—	—	—	4,80,732	13	—
Unsorted Treasure	—	—	—	—	—	6,58,964	14	6
						<hr/>		
Current Rupees						21,42,872	9	3
						<hr/>		

Deduct the Amount of appropriated Sums as follows:

Balance Account Deposits	—	—	—	—	—	11,00,900	8	5
Ditto Accomptant General of the Mayor's Court	—	—	—	—	—	1,36,358	4	—
Amount of the old bonded Debt, in which the Interest								
has ceased by public Advertisement	—	—	—	—	—	79,342	11	10
Ditto, Ditto, on Account of the								
Churchwardens, bearing a running								
Interest, by Order of the Court of								
Directors	—	—	—	—	—	98,200	—	—
Ditto of the new bond-								
ed Debt	—	—	—	—	—	62,58,651	1	6
Ditto 4 per Cent.								
Remitt. Loan	—	—	—	—	—	14,55,550	—	—
Do. Annuit. 1780	—	—	—	—	—	94,720	—	—
						<hr/>		
						78,08,921	1	6
						<hr/>		
						79,86,463	13	4
						<hr/>		
Rupees						92,23,723	9	9
						<hr/>		

We have the Honour to be,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful humble Servants,

Fort William,  
7 January 1781.

Warren Hastings,  
Edw. Wheler.

## No. 7.

*Fort William, the 4th January, 1781.*Secret Department, }  
Thursday. }

At a Council.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,  
and

Edward Wheler, Esquire.

Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, absent on Service.

**T**HE Misfortunes which have attended the Company's Arms in the Carnatic, in the War with Hyder Ally, and the Disadvantages which attend the Prosecution of it, requiring that every Aid should be given to the Presidency of Fort St. George, that can possibly be obtained, without too disproportionate a Sacrifice of the Possessions, either of the Nabob or the Company, the following Draft of a Treaty has therefore been formed, with the Advice and Correction of Mr. Ross, the Director of Chinsura; the Expediency of it having been suggested by the late Hostilities which have been committed by Hyder Ally Cawn, upon the Dutch Dependencies at Cochin. The Force actually stationed at and near Cochin, as appears from an Account communicated by Mr. Ross to the Governor General, will very well enable that Government to supply the Proportion both of European Infantry and Artillery, which we chiefly want, and of Malays, specified in the Treaty, and these may be marched at a very short Notice, and by a very near Rout, into the Carnatic, if the Governors of Columbo and Cochin, on which they depend, will accede to the proposed Treaty. To engage their Assent, which will in such Case involve both in great personal Responsibility, as we understand that they have no regular Powers to bind their Company in such an Act, without the Sanction of the superior Government of Batavia, we have proffered to them much greater Advantages than perhaps are suitable to the common Interest which the Dutch Company have in the War, or than we should be inclined to yield in an equal and formal Negotiation; but for this we have no Time; our Necessities require an instant Relief, and the dependent State of those whom we solicit to be the immediate Parties in the Treaty, claims some additional Concessions, both to indemnify them, and to win the Concurrence of their Superiors. It is for this Reason we have agreed to propose the Cession of the Country of Tinnevely to the Dutch. Its Situation is such, that it may, as we conceive, be separated from the Government of the Carnatic, without either present Embarrassment, or Danger of future Competition; and, from its Contiguity to the Dutch Possessions in Ceylon, will prove a greater Acquisition to them than Loss to the Nabob. His Consent, indeed, is essentially and indispensably necessary to this Article of the Treaty, which on our Part we can only propose; but it is the only Part which he is likely to bear in the War, although the Principal in it; and we have a Right to claim at least this small Return, both for the Hazards which we incur, and the Exertions which we make, for the Support of his Cause; that is their Sacrifice of a minute Portion, and that the most distant of his Dominions, for the Salvation of the Whole.

For all the foregoing Reasons, we have resolved, both on the Substance of the Treaty, as we have constituted it, and on its immediate Execution on our Part; and that it be transmitted, with the Letter entered on the Proceedings of this Day, to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George.—Other Remarks, upon the Treaty itself, we presume will be unnecessary, as we conceive their Object and Tendency will be obvious.

*Proposals for a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallajah Baháder.*

Whereas the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn has, without any Cause, invaded the Carnatic Payengaut, and the Possessions of the English East India Company which are situated therein, and attacked the Settlements and Forts of the Dutch East India Company dependent on the Government of Cochin, on the Malabar Coast; whereof it hath become the common Interest of the Nabob Wallajah Baháder, who is the Sovereign of the Carnatic Payengaut, and of the Two Companies aforesaid, to unite in repelling and defeating the Attempts and Designs of the said Hyder Ally Cawn, the Governor General and Council of Bengal, with the Advice and Suggestion of the Directors for the Management of the Affairs of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, do propose and offer the following Conditions of a Treaty to the Nabob Wallajah, and to the proper Agents and Representatives of the Dutch East India Company aforesaid; hereby declaring them to be, from the Time in which the said Conditions shall receive the Seals and Signatures of the other Parties to this Treaty, binding on the Governor General and Council, and on all the Governments and Dependencies of the English East India Company, in virtue of the Seal of the Company, and the Signatures of the Governor General and Council herein first prefixed, viz.

**Article the First.**

The Governments of Columbo and Cochin shall engage to provide and assign for the Quota of the Dutch East India Company in the War with Hyder Ally Cawn, at or near Cochin, a disciplined Force, consisting of not less than One thousand European Infantry, Two hundred European Artillery, and One thousand Malays, with their Complement of Officers, not exceeding the Rank of Captains, it being understood and agreed, that all the Officers of a superior Rank shall either be furnished by the President and Council of Fort Saint George, or appointed by Commissions from them. These Forces shall be delivered over to the Charge of such Officer or Officers as shall be appointed by the President and Council of Fort Saint George to receive them; who shall for that Purpose proceed to Cochin, to receive Charge and Command of the same; and from that Time the said Forces shall remain subject to the general Authority and Command of the Commander in Chief of the English Forces, in like Manner as the English Forces in India are subject to his Command, until the Conclusion of the War, whether by the final Conquest of the Dominions of Hyder Ally Cawn, or by Peace concluded with him, and their Redelivery, in Consequence thereof, to their original and proper Government; and their Pay, according to the Rates at which they are paid in the Service of the Dutch East India Company, together with all Expences of the Field or Garrison, shall be at the Charge of the English East India Company, from the Day on which they are transferred to the English Command, until the Day of their Return, and Re-delivery at Cochin, or such other Place as shall be mutually appointed for that Purpose.

**Article the Second.**

In Consideration of the Assistance granted in the Manner stipulated in the preceding Article, besides their Pay and Expence, which are to be defrayed by the Governor General and Council on the Part of the English East India Company, it is proposed and recommended by the Governor General and Council to the Nabob Wallajah Baháder, that he shall on his Part grant and assign, by proper Sunnuds, to the Dutch East India Company, his Right and Property in the Province or District of Tinnevelly, together with the exclusive Right in the Pearl Fishery of all the Coast lying to the South of Rem-  
 yrem, to the Dutch East Company; who shall be permitted to take Possession thereof from the Day on which this Treaty shall receive its final Ratification, without any Let or Impediment on the Part of his Aumils or Officers, of whatever Denomination; and the said Province or District shall remain the Property of the Dutch East India Company for ever.

**Article the Third.**

It shall be allowable to the Government of the Dutch East India Company at Cochin, to carry on any separate Operations against the common Enemy with their own Forces,  
 and

and to make Conquests of any Lands or Countries adjacent to Cochin, and to keep Possession of the same without any Claim of Participation on the Part of the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, or of the English East India Company.

Article the Fourth.

If a further Aid of Troops shall be required from the Dutch East India Company, for the Maintenance of the War, they shall engage to furnish the same so soon as they can be obtained from the supreme Government at Batavia, on the same Terms and in the same Manner as are stipulated in the First Article.

Article the Fifth.

This Treaty being first executed in the Manner above mentioned by the Governor General and Council of Bengal, for and on Behalf of the English East India Company, shall be next tendered to the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, for his Acceptance and Ratification; and having received the same, it shall be forwarded to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, that it may, in like Manner, receive their Assent and final Ratification, without any Addition, Diminution, or Alteration whatsoever, to be made either by the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, or by the Government of Columbo and Cochin.

Ordered, That the Treaty above proposed be copied fair, and that it be circulated by the Secretary to the Members of the Board for Execution.

Agreed, That Mr. James Dighton be appointed Agent on the Part of the Governor General and Council on this Occasion, with the usual Allowances; that he be entrusted with the Care of our Dispatches to Fort Saint George, and recommended to the President and Select Committee, to be employed by them to proceed with the Treaty and Letters written to Columbo and Cochin, together with such other Dispatches as they may have Occasion to add to those Governments.

The Governor General lays before the Board the Draft of a Letter which he has prepared to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic,

*To his Highness the Nabob Wallajah, &c. &c. &c.*

May it please your Highness,

The very critical Situation in which the Affairs of your Highness are at present involved, by the Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally Cawn; the Disgrace which the British Arms have lately sustained on the Coast, and the consequent Necessity of every vigorous Exertion on your Part, not only to recover what has been lost, but to preserve what remains; are Points too closely connected with your Highness's Interest and Prosperity, to require many Arguments to enforce them.

From these Circumstances, which alone I conceive to be of sufficient Weight, but which derive greater Force from the Obligations your Highness is under to the Company, for the Benefit of their Protection and Assistance upon repeated Occasions, I cannot but entertain Hopes that your Highness will readily and cheerfully co-operate with us in any Plan which may be proposed for the common Advantage, and for the more successfully defeating the ambitious Designs of Hyder Ally Cawn. Especially when you reflect how much has been already done by this Government, and in how short a Space of Time, from the First Intelligence of the late heavy Disaster which has befallen our Arms on the Coast, to redeem, as far as it is in our Power, the national Credit, and with it to retrieve the particular Loss which your Highness has suffered; and the great Sacrifice we have made in relinquishing the Prosecution of the Maratta War, almost in the Moment when we had reason to expect, from the Successes which have attended it, that it would have speedily terminated in an honourable and advantageous Peace. Relying, therefore, upon the Effect which I doubt not these Considerations will produce on the Mind of your Highness, I proceed to acquaint you, that in consequence of the Information which has long since been received, of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn, on the Territories belonging to the Dutch, at or adjacent to Cochin; and his late Invasion of the Carnatic, by which the Safety of your Possessions is endangered, equally with those of the Company; we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies and yourself; and having first tendered it for Approval to Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Concurrence, we have affixed our Seals and Signatures to it,

declaring it to be binding on us, and have requested the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to present it to your Highness for your Assent and Ratification, with an Apology for having introduced your Name into the Treaty, without the previous Sanction of your Authority; but as the Step would have required too tedious a Process, and would have opened a Channel of Negotiation and Correspondence, by which the Ends proposed by the Treaty, which are immediate Assistance, would have been defeated; your Highness will perceive the Impossibility of an Application of this Sort, which otherwise that proper Respect and Attention which is due to your Highness would most certainly suggested. When the Treaty has been approved of and signed by your Highness, it will be transmitted to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, for their final Ratification. Depending that your Highness, from your firm Alliance with, and Friendship for, the East India Company, and from the Confidence which you repose in them, will contribute cheerfully your Assistance, in the Manner and on the Terms which have been stated in the Treaty, I will conclude with wishing an Increase of Health and Prosperity to your Highness.

Agreed, to the Draft of the Letter proposed by the Governor General, and ordered that it be translated.

Agreed, that the following Letters be written to the Governors of Columbo and Cochin, and to the Superior Government of Batavia.

*To the Governor of Columbo.*

Honourable Sir,

Having long since received Information of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn on the Dutch Territories, at or adjacent to Cochin; and taking into our Consideration, the Circumstance of his being at present in open War against them, together with the Necessity of repelling his ambitious Designs upon the Carnatic, which involve your State equally with those of the Nabob Wallajah, and the English Company; we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, upon such Terms as we trust will be accepted by you and the Governor of Cochin; having first tendered it to the Perusal of Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Approval of it; and as the evident Advantage to be derived to the Dutch Company, from the Ratification of the Treaty on your Parts, must free you from every Apprehension of Responsibility to the Superior Government at Batavia, for having acceded to it without the previous Sanction of their Authority, the Obstacle which might otherwise have been allowed Weight, will by this Means be removed.

The same Reason which prevented us from making an Application direct to Batavia, will be sufficient to evince the Impossibility of its entering into a Correspondence with your Government and that of Cochin, on the Subject, since in both Cases the Time which would be required for receiving an Answer respecting the Ratification of the Treaty, would have defeated the Ends of it, which are, immediate Assistance.

We have, therefore, for the greater Dispatch, affixed our Seals and Signatures to the Treaty, declaring it to be binding on us, and on all the Dependencies of the English East India Company, and have transmitted it to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, requesting them to tender it to the Nabob for his Assent; and as soon as the Nabob shall have made himself a subscribing Party to it, that it may be forwarded with all possible Expedition to you; depending, that when the true Interest of your Nation is provided for so materially, you will not be the Cause of a Moment's Delay in the Execution of it.

We have the Honour to be, &c.

The same to the Governor of Cochin.

To Batavia.

*To the Superior Government at Batavia.*

Honourable Sir,

In consequence of the Information which we have long since received of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn on the Dutch Territories, at or adjacent to Cochin, and his late Invasion of the Carnatic, by which the Safety of your Possessions in that Part of the World is endangered equally with our own; and in consideration

consideration of the Necessity of a mutual Co-operation to repel the Designs of so ambitious an Enemy, we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies; and the Nabob Wallajah Bahader having first tendered it for Approval to Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Concurrence in consideration of the Terms of it being so favourable to your Company; and we have now, to prevent Delay, dispatched it to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, with our Seals and Signatures affixed, together with a Declaration, that it shall be binding on our Parts; and we have further requested, as soon as the Consent of the Nabob Wallajah shall have been obtained to the Treaty, that it may be forwarded with all possible Expedition to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, for their final Ratification and Concurrence. As the Time which would be required for receiving an Answer from you respecting the Ratification of the Treaty would have defeated the Ends of it, which are immediate Assistance, the Impossibility of a previous Application for this Purpose will, we trust, be sufficiently evident, and apologize for our having Recourse to the only Method which could be effectual in so critical a Conjunction, that of forwarding it to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, who, we doubt not, will obtain your Approbation for having subscribed to a Treaty in which the manifest Advantages to your State will free them from every Share of Responsibility.

Fort William,  
the 4th January 1782.

We have the Honour to be,  
&c. &c. &c.

Ordered, That Copies of The above Letters of the proposed Treaty, and of the Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob, be prepared for the Perusal of the Gentlemen at Fort Saint George, and that a Letter be written to them as follows:

*To the Honourable Charles Smith, Esquire, President, &c. Select Committee, Fort Saint George.*

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Having long since received Information of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn on the Territories belonging to the Dutch, at or adjacent to Cochin; and taking into Consideration the Circumstance of his being at present engaged in open War against them, together with the Necessity of defeating his ambitious Designs upon the Carnatic, and preserving, as far as in us lies, the Possessions of the Company and the Nabob; we have, with the Advice and Suggestion of Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, upon such Terms as we have every Reason to hope will be accepted. But as the Time which would be required for receiving an Answer from the superior Government of Batavia, respecting its Ratification of, and final Assent to the Treaty, would entirely frustrate the Ends of it, which are immediate Assistance, we have resolved to make our Application direct to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin; for which Purpose we have affixed our Seals and Signatures to the Treaty, declaring it to be binding on our Parts; and we request, that on the Receipt of it, you will use all possible Expedition in dispatching it to those Governments, having first tendered it to the Nabob, and obtained his Assent to it. You will be pleased to accompany this Tender with an Apology for the Nabob, from us, for having introduced his Name into the Treaty without the Sanction of his Approbation; but as this Step would have been attended with too tedious a Process, and would have opened a Channel for Negotiation and Correspondence, which would have impeded the instant Execution of the Measure proposed, upon which, in this critical Moment, so much depends, we trust he will perceive the Impossibility of our previous Application to him, which otherwise a proper Attention and Respect to him would not have suffered us to omit.

In the Event of a Refusal on the Part of the Nabob, we desire you will represent, in the strongest Terms to him, the Nature of his Situation, and the indispensable Obligation he is under of making common Cause with the Company, less to secure their Possessions than his own, from the Encroachments of the Enemy; that his very Existence is now at Stake; that he is more a Principal in the War than ourselves; that it is not by any Means which can be furnished by him, or by any Resources or Treasure of his, that the Carnatic is to be saved and defended, but by the Wealth of Bengal, and the Blood of British Subjects sacrificed in its Service; that therefore we expect his Assent to the Treaty, and urge it as a just Claim which we have upon him, in Return for the Protection which he has experienced at our Hands.

We



We shall wait to hear the Result of your Application ; not doubting that, from Motives of Policy and Necessity, as well as Justice, he will accede to the Terms which we have offered in his Name.

We have appointed Mr. James Deighton to be the Bearer of our Dispatches, and have entrusted to his Care a Copy of the Letter addressed by the Governor General to the Nabob separately ; together with Copies of the Letters to the Governor of Columbo and Cochin, for your Inspection ; and we request that he may be employed to proceed with the Treaty and Letters, together with such other Dispatches as you may have Occasion to add to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin.

We rely upon your Zeal and Activity in this Business, and depend on receiving every necessary Information as early as it is in your Power.

We have the Honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

Fort William,  
4th January, 1781.

Warren Hastings.  
Edwd. Wheler.

## No. 8.

*Extract of Postscript of Letter from the Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated the 12th January, 1781.*

**WE** have particularly attended to his Majesty's Order in Council, dated the 17th of last April, relative to the Line he has been graciously pleased to take with the United Provinces ; and shall be cautious to avoid becoming Aggressors in any Act against the Subjects of the Republic in India : at the same Time that we shall vigilantly guard against any Consequences which may eventually arise from the Measures which his Majesty has been under the Necessity of adopting.

*Extract of Letter from the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated 17th February 1781.*

Par. 15. Alarmed at the Situation to which it was reported in Bengal we were reduced, and desirous, in every Event, that our whole Influence should not be lost in the Carnatic, the Governor General and Council conceive it of Importance, that a Treaty should be concluded with the Dutch Government of Ceylon and that of Cochin ; whereby 1000 European Military, 200 Artillery, and 1000 Malays, to be paid by us, were to be brought to our Assistance by the Dutch, for the entire and perpetual Cession of the Tinnevelly Countries, and the exclusive Right to the Pearl Fishery ; both of them estimated at about 35 Lacks of Rupees per Annum ; and, that no Time should be lost by Negotiation, they furnished us with a Treaty, ratified on their Part, and desired that we would prevail upon the Nabob to conclude it finally, by giving it the Sanction of his Signature and Seal.

16. A Scheme of Assistance from the Dutch, on certain Conditions, was some Months ago indirectly intimated to us ; but although we did not totally lay aside the Consideration of it, we were well aware of some weighty Objections to which it appeared liable. The great additional Expence that such a Number of Troops would amount to, seemed alone sufficient to deter us from listening to the Proposal ; and, even were that Impediment obviated, the Sum which would be required might, we were of Opinion, be employed to much more Advantage, by entertaining a Body of Cavalry ; the Want of which had already been severely felt. But this was not the only Difficulty which occurred ; the Disgrace that would probably attend such a Measure, in the Op-

nion of the Country Powers, as well as the Danger to which our Affairs might in the Course of the War be exposed, through the Intrigues of so extraordinary and enterprizing a Character as Hyder Ally. There were such powerful Arguments against the Measure, that even such a Body of Troops have been ready to join our Army at a short Notice; and a Junction with them rendered certain, it was by no means clear that our Situation, distressing as it then was, would have warranted an Acquiescence on our Part.

17. These having been our Sentiments when the Posture of Affairs wore so very unfavourable an Aspect, we should have held ourselves highly reprehensible, were we in any Manner to have promoted the Ratification of the Treaty, at a Time when, from the spirited and prudent Conduct of General Sir Eyre Coote, your Affairs on this Coast were experiencing the most happy and favourable Turn; and, not to mention the good Effects to be expected from the Operations of General Goddard on the Malabar Coast, when the Approach of the respectable Body that is coming from Bengal, would probably work so material a Change in our Affairs, as to put it in our Power to act, and we doubt not with Effect, upon the offensive.

18. The Revenues of the Southern Provinces likewise, being almost the only Resources left to the Nabob, and his Highness having assigned them over to your Use, reserving only to himself such Part as should be necessary for his Household Expences; and as these form the most considerable Part of what we are to receive for carrying on the War, the making them over in Perpetuity to the Dutch, would be to deprive ourselves of the only probable Means we had left in the Carnatic, independent of which His Majesty's Declaration in Council, of the 17th April 1780, relative to the Subjects of the States General, rendered the giving them the Opportunity of acquiring an undue Influence in this Country; a Measure both highly impolitic and detrimental to your Affairs.



*Proposals for a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallajah Baháder.*

Whereas the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn has, without any Cause, invaded the Carnatic Payengaut, and the Possessions of the English East India Company which are situated therein, and attacked the Settlements and Forts of the Dutch East India Company dependent on the Government of Cochin, on the Malabar Coast; whereof it hath become the common Interest of the Nabob Wallajah Baháder, who is the Sovereign of the Carnatic Payengaut, and of the Two Companies aforesaid, to unite in repelling and defeating the Attempts and Designs of the said Hyder Ally Cawn, the Governor General and Council of Bengal, with the Advice and Suggestion of the Directors for the Management of the Affairs of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, do propose and offer the following Conditions of a Treaty to the Nabob Wallajah, and to the proper Agents and Representatives of the Dutch East India Company aforesaid; hereby declaring them to be, from the Time in which the said Conditions shall receive the Seals and Signatures of the other Parties to this Treaty, binding on the Governor General and Council, and on all the Governments and Dependencies of the English East India Company, in virtue of the Seal of the Company, and the Signatures of the Governor General and Council herein first prefixed, viz.

Article the First.

The Governments of Columbo and Cochin shall engage to provide and assign for the Quota of the Dutch East India Company in the War with Hyder Ally Cawn, at or near Cochin, a disciplined Force, consisting of not less than One thousand European Infantry, Two hundred European Artillery, and One thousand Malays, with their Complement of Officers, not exceeding the Rank of Captains, it being understood and agreed, that all the Officers of a superior Rank shall either be furnished by the President and Council of Fort Saint George, or appointed by Commissions from them. These Forces shall be delivered over to the Charge of such Officer or Officers as shall be appointed by the President and Council of Fort Saint George to receive them; who shall for that Purpose proceed to Cochin, to receive Charge and Command of the same; and from that Time the said Forces shall remain subject to the general Authority and Command of the Commander in Chief of the English Forces, in like Manner as the English Forces in India are subject to his Command, until the Conclusion of the War, whether by the final Conquest of the Dominions of Hyder Ally Cawn, or by Peace concluded with him, and their Redelivery, in Consequence thereof, to their original and proper Government; and their Pay, according to the Rates at which they are paid in the Service of the Dutch East India Company, together with all Expences of the Field or Garrison, shall be at the Charge of the English East India Company, from the Day on which they are transferred to the English Command, until the Day of their Return, and Re-delivery at Cochin, or such other Place as shall be mutually appointed for that Purpose.

Article the Second.

In Consideration of the Assistance granted in the Manner stipulated in the preceding Article, besides their Pay and Expence, which are to be defrayed by the Governor General and Council on the Part of the English East India Company, it is proposed and recommended by the Governor General and Council to the Nabob Wallajah Baháder, that he shall on his Part grant and assign, by proper Sunnuds, to the Dutch East India Company, his Right and Property in the Province or District of Tinnevely, together with the exclusive Right in the Pearl Fishery of all the Coast lying to the South of Rem-  
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and to make Conquests of any Lands or Countries adjacent to Cochin, and to keep Possession of the same without any Claim of Participation on the Part of the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, or of the English East India Company.

Article the Fourth.

If a further Aid of Troops shall be required from the Dutch East India Company, for the Maintenance of the War, they shall engage to furnish the same so soon as they can be obtained from the supreme Government at Batavia, on the same Terms and in the same Manner as are stipulated in the First Article.

Article the Fifth.

This Treaty being first executed in the Manner above mentioned by the Governor General and Council of Bengal, for and on Behalf of the English East India Company, shall be next tendered to the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, for his Acceptance and Ratification; and having received the same, it shall be forwarded to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, that it may, in like Manner, receive their Assent and final Ratification, without any Addition, Diminution, or Alteration whatsoever, to be made either by the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, or by the Government of Columbo and Cochin.

Ordered, That the Treaty above proposed be copied fair, and that it be circulated by the Secretary to the Members of the Board for Execution.

Agreed, That Mr. James Dighton be appointed Agent on the Part of the Governor General and Council on this Occasion, with the usual Allowances; that he be entrusted with the Care of our Dispatches to Fort Saint George, and recommended to the President and Select Committee, to be employed by them to proceed with the Treaty and Letters written to Columbo and Cochin, together with such other Dispatches as they may have Occasion to add to those Governments.

The Governor General lays before the Board the Draft of a Letter which he has prepared to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic,

*To his Highness the Nabob Wallajah, &c. &c. &c.*

May it please your Highness,

The very critical Situation in which the Affairs of your Highness are at present involved, by the Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally Cawn; the Disgrace which the British Arms have lately sustained on the Coast, and the consequent Necessity of every vigorous Exertion on your Part, not only to recover what has been lost, but to preserve what remains; are Points too closely connected with your Highness's Interest and Prosperity, to require many Arguments to enforce them.

From these Circumstances, which alone I conceive to be of sufficient Weight, but which derive greater Force from the Obligations your Highness is under to the Company, for the Benefit of their Protection and Assistance upon repeated Occasions, I cannot but entertain Hopes that your Highness will readily and cheerfully co-operate with us in any Plan which may be proposed for the common Advantage, and for the more successfully defeating the ambitious Designs of Hyder Ally Cawn. Especially when you reflect how much has been already done by this Government, and in how short a Space of Time, from the First Intelligence of the late heavy Disaster which has befallen our Arms on the Coast, to redeem, as far as it is in our Power, the national Credit, and with it to retrieve the particular Loss which your Highness has suffered; and the great Sacrifice we have made in relinquishing the Prosecution of the Maratta War, almost in the Moment when we had reason to expect, from the Successes which have attended it, that it would have speedily terminated in an honourable and advantageous Peace. Relying, therefore, upon the Effect which I doubt not these Considerations will produce on the Mind of your Highness, I proceed to acquaint you, that in consequence of the Information which has long since been received, of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn, on the Territories belonging to the Dutch, at or adjacent to Cochin; and his late Invasion of the Carnatic, by which the Safety of your Possessions is endangered, equally with those of the Company; we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies and yourself; and having first tendered it for Approval to Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Concurrence, we have affixed our Seals and Signatures to it,

Rauze, &c. and those of these Countries.—This should be discouraged, and may cause a Combination of the Whole of the Zemindars to distress and embarrass your Plan.—To overcome such Confederacy, you might settle the Affairs of the different Districts separately and at different Times, and not hazard the Effects of Intrigue, by bringing the Whole of them together.

Row Vencata Row, by Grants obtained of Mr. Whitehill, has his Country in Prospect of prosperous Cultivation, by the present Allotment of Water; which Allotment Juggaputty Rauze loudly complains of, and wants reversed. This Man's Soucar has paid up all his Kists; and I fancy his Credit such, that a Renewal of Agreement in the usual Mode may be effected.

Ramchundra Rauze has Claim to the Cotah Country; and has represented to us his Pretensions of Right.—At present, the Cotah Country is in Charge of a Tonadar for the Company.—He wishes, before he gives Bills for his Kists, to have this Matter decided; after which he may be able to settle his Business in the usual Way.

Codant Ram and Vasseretty Ratmanah have always been punctual in the Performance of their Engagements to the Company, and may be expected to continue so.

To such Letters as were written the Zemindars, the Answers leave me entirely ignorant of the Mode by which they expect to manage their Affairs at Madras; nor am I able to give you other Account than Conjecture, of the Prospect of their doing it to your Satisfaction.—What I have said is my Opinion of their Circumstances; and the Conclusion to be drawn from it must now be submitted to yourself. When they are at Madras, I am humbly of Opinion you should first insist on their finding Security for the Money now owing, before you think of interfering in the Differences and Dissentions existing among them. It will be their Endeavour, and you will find them obstinately bent on it, to have these Matters settled previously.

In order to shew how anxious I have been to accomplish your Wish, and assist in its Success, I send you Copy of a Minute I read to the Council, and intending recording; but reflecting that any apparent Violence, in the Execution of Orders of so delicate a Nature might be liable to Misrepresentation, and the Intention misconstrued, I withdrew it.—The Council nevertheless would have concurred with me; and here I beg Leave to inform you, that all of them have afforded me publicly such Support as was proper and becoming their Situation.

By the Estimate of probable Receipts and monthly Disbursements, sent the Board, you will find we have Hope of receiving very little; and our Disbursements, no less than 33,000 Pagodas monthly; besides which, we owe the 31st March last, to the Soubah, Pagodas 77,922, on Account of his Tribute; which Sum is increasing Monthly, at the Rate of Pagodas 10,822  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The Payment of the last Money was completed by the Soucars only a few Days since; a Delay which occasioned the Soubah, by one of his People, to write Vencata Royloo, as you will perceive by Translate of the Letter now sent.

It becomes an Object of your most serious Attention, in case the Zemindars proceed, as at present is intended, to find Means by which our Treasury may be supplied; the most valuable Part of the Company's Investment depends on it; and the Zemindars, with holding as they do Assistance of any Kind, leave little Hopes of Resources in ourselves; for whatever may appear due, such is the State of Credit, and such the Uncertainty of Payment, I do not at this Hour know where I can apply with Certainty for the smallest Sums; and all I expect to be able to do, will barely furnish the Demands of the present Month, independent of our Silver, which may amount to about a Lack of Rupees, to be sold to great Loss, the Exchange being now near 400 P<sup>cs</sup>. Pagodas.—Miscarriage in any of the Affairs dependent on this Settlement, may therefore be imputed to the Change of System, and what Disappointments ensue, justified by the Council here on this Plea, and all Misfortunes incident to it imputed to your Board.

If too, by improper Management heretofore, Deficiency in Payment of the Kists now due, and the Revenue of this Country, according to its present Settlement; should happen, may not the Cause, by its Effect of giving the first Shock, too common and long practised Credit in the Mode of Security in these Countries, be also ascribed to the present Plan? In short, if it happens that the Settlement, by bad Seasons, and Causes alleged by the Zemindars, is on the Decline, would it not be prudent to leave the Government, charged hitherto with full Responsibility, to justify its Measures, to work out its own Misfortunes, and bear the Censure it deserves? are Questions, with Deference, I submit to your better Judgment.

The Period of Settlement by Mr. Floyer, expires the 25th September next; a new Zemabundy must then be agreed on; that Time of October may be better suited, and the

People

People better prepared to visit the Presidency. In Case then no Change is intended in the present Settlement, such Season may be equally convenient for the Company for a future Plan; and the Board here, by being left to accomplish present Payments, may possibly at that Time have its Treasury in a State to answer its Exigencies, and the Plan proceed without Inconvenience.—I am led to these Observations, from a sincere Wish to promote the Success of your Measures; and stimulated by such Motives, led to a Freedom of Remark I would not have used, but to the Person whose Honour and Success highly interests me; I trust therefore I shall not have given Offence: You have now (if you think the Subject deserves it) but to afford it due Consideration, and signify your further Wishes to ensure in me an arduous Desire to second them, by the most implicit Obedience to your further Commands.

The present Letter is meant a private one, but whatever Observations concern the Public, may be used as you have Occasion.

I have the Honour to remain most respectfully,

My dear Sir,

Your faithful and most

obliged humble Servant,

Anth. Sadlier.

Mazulipatani,

5th May 1778.

## No. 2.

Captain Johnston, of the Granby, examined.

**I SAILED** from Britain 7th March 1779—went to Madras—arrived there the 18th of January 1780—Sir Thomas Rumbold was Governor—I remained there Five Months, and sailed about the 18th of June, and went to China—touched at Malacca in my Way—arrived in China about 29th August 1780.

Did you carry any Treasure from Madras to China?

Yes, I did.

Was it belonging to the Company, or Individuals?

To Individuals—Sir Thomas Rumbold some of it—I had 8000 Pagodas for him—I delivered them to Mr. Bradshaw—there were no other Specie or Effects belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold—His Attornies, Messrs. Oakley and Procter, applied to me to take it on board.—Sir Thomas had quitted Madras—the Application was made to me about Fourteen Days before I sailed—the Treasure was not regularly entered in the Books where other Effects were entered—a Bill of Lading was given for it.—I had besides this, about Thirty thousand Pagodas belonging to other Individuals—some to Mr. Cuthbert; I don't recollect the other—none belonged to either the Governor or Council, except the above of Sir Thomas Rumbold's; nor any Goods upon Freight.—I had some Cotton and Pepper belonging to others—no Jewels nor Pearls—the Seahorse Man of War sailed in Company, and was Convoy to the Ships, and had Money and Jewels on board to a large Amount, as I understood from Captain Panton—the Treasure did not belong to the Company, but to Individuals.

Do you know to whom?

I heard from Captain Panton, that 16,000 Pagodas belonged to Sir Thomas Rumbold—In Conversation with Captain Panton on board my Ship, he asked me what Quantity of Pagodas I had of Sir Thomas Rumbold's? I told him 8000; and his Reply was, that he had double the Number belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold—Five of the Company's Ships and the Seahorse sailed together—Captain Panton did not mention who the other Property in his Ship belonged to.

There were Fifteen or Sixteen Country Ships at China the Year I was there—I don't know they carried any Treasure, as they generally carry Cargoes belonging to different Persons, the Produce whereof they generally pay into the different Treasuries in China.

Withdrew.

Captain Parker, of the Bridgewater, examined,

I left Britain the 12th of February 1780—went to Madras—arrived there the 23d of July—remained there Twenty-three Days—went from thence to China—arrived at Mocao the 2d of August—sailed from China the 2d of February 1781, and arrived at Spithead the 12th of October.

Did you carry any Treasure from Madras to China?

I did.

Was it Public, or belonging to Individuals?

It belonged to myself and Richard Lewin, who was a Second Mate in the Company's Service—a little for an Armenian—Mr. Lewin's was about 8 or 9000 Pagodas—I had none other—I delivered Mr. Lewin's Property into the Company's Cash at China—Mr. Bradshaw did it for me—I had nothing belonging to the Governor, Council, or any of the Civil Servants of the Company.

Withdrew.

Captain Montgomery, of the Belsborough, examined.

I sailed from Britain July 15th 1777—went to Madras—carried out Sir Thomas Rumbold—arrived at Madras 8th February 1778—staid there about 14 Days—went from thence to Bombay—arrived there April 30th, and left it 12th July—Went back to Madras—arrived there the 29th July—sailed August 6th to join Sir Edward Vernon at Pondicherry—arrived there 11th—quitted him the 21st of October, and went to Madras again, and arrived there the 4th of November 1778—proceeded from thence the 19th to Bengal—arrived there the 31st December—sailed from thence the 24th of February 1779, and arrived at Madras the Fourth Time, the 16th of March 1779—from Madras I went the 23d of March to Bombay, and touched at several Places on the Coast, and arrived on June 17th—I sailed from thence 23d September, and returned to Bengal again; arrived there the 1st of November—left Bengal the 9th of January 1780, and arrived at Madras the 5th Time, the 21st of the same Month.—I went from thence the 10th February—went to Pondicherry, where I arrived the 11th, to take in Sepoys for Surat—I arrived at Surat with 400 Sepoys the 19th of April—remained there Three Days—went to Bombay, and arrived there the 23d of April 1780.—sailed from thence the 2d of July for Madras—arrived there the 6th Time, the 15th of the same Month—staid there till the 1st of August, when I sailed for China—arrived there the 16th of September—staid there till the 2d of February 1781, and arrived in the Downs the 30th of October.

Had you any Treasure or Jewels on board, to carry to Bengal, Bombay, or any other Parts of India, during the Coasting Voyages, mentioned in the First Part of your Evidence?

I had some Treasure—it was Public Treasure—I had some private, but can't remember for whom—it was a little.

When you last sailed from Madras to China had you any Treasure on board?

I had some private Treasure on Freight, viz. Mr. Taswell 7,551 Pagodas, Mr. Cuthbert 5,000, and Mr. Brodie 2,000 Pagodas, in all, 14,551 Pagodas—there was none belonging to the Governor or Council.

Withdrew.

Captain Blanchard, of the York, examined.

I left Britain the 12th of February 1780—went to Madras—arrived there the 23d of July—staid there 22 or 23 Days—sailed for China the 14th of August—arrived there the 9th of October, and sailed from thence the 2d of February.

Had you any Treasure on board when you went from Madras to China?

Yes, about 6 or 7,000 Pagodas, Part belonging to De Castro, a Jew, on Freight for China—it was delivered to Silvester Rose—1,500 of the Pagodas belonging to Mr. Young, and the Remainder to a Person, who I believe was an Armenian—I had none belonging to the Governor, Council, or Servants of the Company—the Whole belonged to Free Merchants.—I brought Home no Treasure from China to England—the London and Bridgewater sailed for England with me—I carried no Cargo from Madras to China for any one but myself—some Red Wood.

Withdrew.

Captain



Captain Wakefield, of the *Lascelles*, examined.

I left Britain the 13th of February 1780—went to Madras—arrived there the 29th of June—sailed from thence the 1st of August for China—arrived there the 11th of September—sailed from thence the 2d of February 1781, and arrived in the Downs the 12th of October.

Had you any Treasure or Jewels on board, when you went from Madras to China?

Yes, Treasure belonging to private Persons—about 16,000 Pagodas belonging to different People—9000 for Messrs. De Castro—5000 Mr. Jones—Danish Company 1850—a Black Merchant 985 Ditto; in all, 16,835 Pagodas—I had none on Account of any of the Gentlemen of the Council at Madras.

Withdrew.

Thomas Bevan, Esquire, attending according to Order, was called in, and examined.

I was Second in the Select Committee appointed at the End of 1778, for China.—I sailed the 6th or 7th of March 1779—I arrived there the 3d or 4th of October in the same Year, on board the Company's Ship the *Worcester*.—We have Money tendered to us private, as well as Servants of the Company, from all Parts of India, which is admitted into the Company's Cash—I came Home in the last Ship—I left Canton the last Day of January 1781.

Had you Opportunity to know of any considerable Remittances of Individuals from Madras to China?

Yes; there were several Remittances from Individuals—we never ask whose Property it is, only the Name of the Person to whom they wish to have it remitted—the Cash paid in, is not always belonging to the Person who pays it in.

Have you any Knowledge of Money being sent by Country Ships?

I have heard so, but we don't take any Account of Country Ships—we have no Concern with them—they sometimes pay into the Company's Cash, and sometimes to Foreigners.

Have you any Knowledge of large Sums being paid by British Subjects into Foreign Treasuries?

It is frequently done, and should be put a Stop to if possible—that is a difficult Matter, it must be done from hence, and would be a Benefit to the Company.

Can you give any Account of the State of the Demand of private Persons on the Chinese Merchants?

Refer to the Book of private Debts, with particular Account of all private Debts due to British Subjects by the Merchants, Subjects of China; and also, the Application made by Captain Panton, of the *Seahorse*—and the Transactions between the Committee and Chinese Government.—

We never made Application for the Names of the Principals—the Agents gave an Account of the Amount of the Debts, but not the Names of the Principals.—I discovered the Names of some of those from the Chinese; but by their Mode of expressing themselves could not make out all, and that is the Meaning of the Blanks in the Diary—they are not many.

Do you know of any specific Sum remitted by or on Account of any Individuals, from Madras or Bengal?

I do not, of my own Knowledge.

The Committee were forbid at my last going out, from receiving any private Commissions of any Sort—all private Commissions were permitted to be received by the Gentlemen under the Select Committee jointly, not separately; but I never, from my First Employment, near Thirty Years ago, received any private Commercial Commission, from which I derived any Emolument.

The Court of Directors permitted, before I came to England in 1773, the receiving private Commissions by their Servants—they afterwards revoked it; now I understand every Gentleman under them in China, is permitted to receive private Commissions.

Withdrew.

Mr. John Farrington Butterfield, Purser of the *Earl of Sandwich*, a Company's Ship, examined.

We sailed from England 17th June 1779, for Madras—arrived there 18th January 1780—went from thence for China 18th June 1780—the *Seahorse* Man of War, and Fou

Four other Indiamen, went in Company with us—we arrived in China the 1st of September.

Did you carry any Treasure from Madras to China?

Yes.

To what Amount?

We had less than any Ship; what we had mostly belonged to Passengers—some small Matter from Armenians, and some from a Jew House—the Seahorse carried a great deal of Money—we had under 30,000 Pagodas on board our Ship—can't say the Particulars—the Man of War had 3 per Cent. and we had but 1 per Cent. Freight.

Withdrew.

Mr. George Blachford called in, and examined.

I was Chief Officer on board the Sandwich—we sailed from England in June 1779—went to Madras—arrived there in January 1780—sailed from Madras about July 1780, for China, where we arrived the Middle of September—the Seahorse Man of War and Four Indiamen sailed with us.

Do you know of any Treasure carried on board your Ship from Madras to China?

A little—can't tell exactly—don't know of my own Knowledge what Treasure there was on board—I don't know of any Money being on board the other Ships.

Withdrew.

Matthew Raper, Esq; was called in, and examined.

I was Supercargo—went out in 1767, the first Time—returned, and went out in 1768, and remained in China till the Return of the last Fleet—I was of the Select Committee—before the Appointment of that Committee, the Company's Servant had Liberty of taking commercial Consignments—the first I had was in 1777 or 1778.

The only Transaction for Sir Thomas Rumbold was relating to 25,000 Pagodas, the Produce of which I remitted myself—It was ordered to be paid to me and Mr. Cromline, by Bradshaw and Pigou, on Sir Thomas's Account—this was the latter End of 1778—Mr. Cromline being absent at the Time the Money was remitted, I sent it in my own Name, by a Bill on the Company, in January 1779, payable to Robert Mackreth, John Stables, and Thomas Raikes, Esquires, amounting to 10,769*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*

I had a Consignment from Madras to China, belonging to Sir Hector Munro, of Dollars, amounting to 466*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*

The Seahorse imported Money into China—it was sent up to the Factory, and I did not know what it was, it not being all public Money.

Do you know the Reason of the high Price of Gold in China?

Because it makes an agreeable Present to the Emperor, and because it is easier hid from the Mandarines—that Government is more oppressive now than it used to be—the Mandarines, on calling Merchants before them, if they do not comply with the Demands readily, Chains are produced, and the Merchants informed they will be put round their Necks, and they will be led to Prison, to remain there till they comply—Gold varies in its Price in China very much; sometimes Fifty per Cent. in the same Year—The Difference between Gold and Silver is as 15 Ounces of Silver to One of Gold; but it has been up to 22 of Silver.

Withdrew.

Mr. Bevan attends again, and informs the Committee, That he recollects a Circumstance in his own Knowledge, of a small Sum of Money being remitted by Sir Eyre Coote to Mr. Pigou and himself—he does not recollect the Amount, nor what Ship it was sent in; it was the last Year—it came from Bengal—Sir Eyre Coote was there.

Before he arrived in China, there was a Box of Gold belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold and Sir Hector Munro—it was stolen out of Captain Foxhall's Ship—the Committee was desired to apply to the Country Government, to endeavour to recover it. He spoke to the Magistrate; who told him, Endeavours would be used to recover it; but it was not recovered when he came away. He thinks it came by the Morse or Seahorse; but is not certain.

Withdrew.

## No. 3.

*Mr. Sadlier's attested Account of Monies said to have been received by Mr. Whitebill and others, in the Station of Chief of Masulipatam.*

The Private Account receiving from the Zemindars, for settling Three Years Zemabundy.

	Mr. Floyer settled usual Presents for Three Years, for the Year of Phuzullee 1186, 1187, and 1188.	Mr. Floyer received an Account of usual Presents in last Year.	Mr. Floyer leave to collect in this Year the Remainder from the Zemindars.
Coldindee Trippetterauze, Zemindar of Muglatoze — — — 24,275 — —			
Gootalah, his Segurity 3,000 — —			
Pollaveram, ditto — 3,000 — —			
Chaar Mahalls, ditto — 6,000 — —			
	36,275 — —	18,100 — —	18,175 — —
Vassereddy Ramanah, Zemindar of Nundigamah — — — —	11,750 — —	5,000 — —	6,750 — —
Cullava Cullue, Timmanarow, and Ramarow, Zemindars of Bezoara —	1,500 — —	750 — —	750 — —
Mundapetty Trippetterauze, Zemindar of Corcondah — — — —	2,100 — —	1,050 — —	1,050 — —
Kissero Vencalaram, Despondah of Munagalah — — — —	600 — —	300 — —	300 — —
Nurahurry, Despondah of Lingagree —	150 — —	75 — —	75 — —
Row Vencalarow, Surdar of Pettapore —	18,000 — —	9,000 — —	9,000 — —
Erlaguddah Codant Ram, Zemindar of Davercotah — — — —	11,250 — —	4,625 — —	6,625 — —
Zupellah Vencalarow, &c. Zemindars of Chintalapoody — — — —	1,500 — —	750 — —	750 — —
Velluntree Mularow and Sunjeevarow, &c. Zemindars and Merassdars of Zumalavoy and Madoor Guttoo —	1,500 — —	375 — —	1,125 — —
Vechavoy Jaggapetterauze, Zemindar of Peddapore — — — —	28,761 27 —	9,587 9 —	19,174 18 —
Sooranany Nassinvarow and Vencataramrow, Zemindars of Mylavaram —	1,500 — —	— —	1,500 — —
Conatee Nassinvaloo, the Districts of Cortapillee — — — —	1,500 — —	750 — —	750 — —
Opparow, Zemindar of Noogud, ought to pay as the above People as former —	19,500 — —	— —	19,500 — —
Pagodas	135,886 27 —	50,362 9 —	85,524 18 —



The Private Account receiving from the Renters.

	Mr. Floyer settled for Three Years.	Mr. Floyer received on Account of Three Years.	Remaining on Account of Three Years.
Chippetterauze, for the Farms at Peddannah, Tondoroo, and Nanapore Town, and Nana-			
— on Account Dooa —	7,500 — —	3,750 — —	3,750 — —
— on Account Timmanatow and Ramatow of Vellore Sematoo —	750 — —	375 — —	375 — —
— Veneatachillum, Renter of the Havelly only, he pro-	900 — —	450 — —	450 — —
— Rajee Barow, Renter of Sir	900 — —	— —	900 — —
—	960 — —	480 — —	480 — —
Pagodas	11,010 — —	5,055 — —	5,955 — —
—			
— Renter of the Havelly, who not contented for Two Years, only for Two			
— 2,000 Pagodas each Year, Mr. Floyer only —	— —	2,000 — —	3,000 — —
Pagodas —	11,010 — —	7,055 — —	8,955 — —

— el Stathom, Salt Renter of Masulipatam and Penracca, paid Mr. Floyer, of his Rents, Rupees 6,000; but this Year Governor and Council con-  
— ame Rent for this Year, therefore who ought to pay for this Year as last



2. C. who not settled Zummabundy, only he collected the Six Kifts of the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's Zummabundy, and also the Three Kifts of Second Year.

Row Vencata Row, Zemindar	4,000
Erlagudda Codant Ram, ditto	3,000
Vallareddy Ramanah, ditto	4,000
Conatee Rajapah	1,500
Conava Collue Timmanarow and Ramarow	1,000
Culdindee Trippetterauze	5,000
Chahaar Mahalls People	1,000
Gotala and Pollaram, Zemindars	2,000
Opparow	5,000
Zumolavoy and Madoor Guttoo	500
Chintalapoody	500
Mundapetty Trippetterauze	1,000
Munagala People	100
Juggapetterauze, 'not pay by my Means, but he paid separately	9,000
Mylavarum, Zemindar	500
<b>M. Pagodas</b>	<b>38,100</b>

Floyer came the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's Zummabundy, who collected the three Kifts of the Third Year Zummabundy at the Time, who demand to receive private Business, as Mr. Crawford.

Vachavoy Juggapetterauze	6,000
Row Vencata Row	3,000
Vallareddy Ramanah	3,000
Erlagudda Codant Ram	3,000
Culdindee Trippetterauze	5,000
Gootalah and Pollaram	2,000
Chaar Mahalls	1,000
Collava Collue Timmanarow and Ramarow	1,500
Conatee Narfinvaloo	1,500
Mundapetty Trippetterauze	1,000
Munagala People	125
Chintalapoody	500
Zumalavoy and Madoor Guttoo	250
Opparow	
Mylavarum	
<b>Pagodas</b>	<b>27,875</b>

Dear Sir,

the inclosed Paper will let you into the Arcana of the Secrets of this Chiefship, it is communicated to you, in Proof of the Confidence I repose in you, and in Testimony that I am not to keep secret any Action which you may suppose can influence my Conduct. I honourable Support of me against Volumes of the basest Defamation, claims, and will have it, this honourable and candid Conduct from me.—The Rapacity and Pecuniary of Men has nearly ruined this Country; the Misfortune it is now involved in, arises from such Principles, and its Effects may have brought its Distresses possibly to be reformed.

The Paper, if you please, may be destroyed, it is intended but to shew the unsound mind you tread in.

Interest with me towards you bears no Sway.—I consider my Situation but temporary—yet ere long to afford you a better Testimony of the hearty good Disposition which actuates

actuates me for promoting the Honour of your Government; you have therefore but to signify to me, without Reserve, what you wish, and depend on its becoming my Guide.

To the Honourable Thomas Rumbold, Esquire.

Anthony Sadleir, of Fort Saint George, Esquire, and heretofore Chief of Masulipatam, maketh Oath and saith, That soon after his Arrival at Masulipatam, in the Month of April 1778, to take upon him the Charge of that Chiefship, this Deponent applied to Vencataroyaloo, then and now the Honourable Company's Dubash and Chief Interpreter for the said Chiefship, to give unto this Deponent an Account of the Customs heretofore appertaining to the said Office; and that the said Vencataroyaloo thereupon delivered into the Hands of this Deponent two several Paper Writings, whereof the above are true Copies. And this Deponent further saith, That he addressed a Letter unto the Honourable Thomas Rumbold, Esquire (now Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart.), then Governor of Fort Saint George; a true Copy of Part whereof is also above written; and that he inclosed true Copies of the said Two Papers so received, and the said original Letter, whereof the above Part is a true Copy, under the same Cover and Seal, with another Letter from this Deponent, dated the 5th Day of May 1778, to the said Thomas Rumbold. And this Deponent saith, That the said Thomas Rumbold hath since acknowledged the Receipt of the said Letter of the 5th of May 1778, but did not make any Mention of the Receipt of the said Two Copies of Papers, or of this Deponent's said Letter which accompanied them, although this Deponent is satisfied that the said Thomas Rumbold did receive them inclosed under the said Cover, which contained this Deponent's said Letter of the 5th Day of May 1778, and at the same Time that he received the said Letter of the 5th Day of May 1778. This Deponent further saith, that he is well acquainted with the Hand Writing of the said Vencataroyaloo, and that the original two Papers, whereof the above are true Copies, are of the proper Hand Writing of the said Vencataroyaloo; and that the said Vencataroyaloo hath acknowledged unto this Deponent, that they were of his Hand Writing. And this Deponent further saith, That he is now in Possession of the said two original Papers. And this Deponent further saith, That from what he has understood to have been the Custom of the Service, he verily believes that the said two Paper Writings, so delivered unto this Deponent by the said Vencataroyaloo, contain a true Account of the Emoluments so received, and of the Manner in which they were received by the several Persons therein mentioned, while they were respectively Chiefs of Masulipatam aforesaid.

Sworn in Madras, this

6th Day of January

1781, before me,

(Signed)

(Signed) James Taylor, Reg.

(Signed)

Anth. Sadleir.

Benj. Roebuck, Mayor,

## No. 4.

*Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold to Mr. Sadleir, acknowledging the Receipt of his Letter of 5th May 1778.—Dated 20th May 1778.*

My dear Sir,

I Should have replied to your Letter of the 5th Instant sooner, had I not observed that there was no Probability of our Orders to the Zemindars not having the Effect we expected, and that ultimately they must be convinced of the Propriety of an implicit Obedience to the Orders of this Government; and I have no Doubt will experience the Advantages of the new Measure. I am much obliged by your Account of the Zemindars, the State of their Countries, Finance, &c. Your Information has thrown much Light upon

this Subject: and though I cannot see the bad Consequences that are to follow from the Zemindars being ordered here to settle their Jummabundy, instead of fixing it at the different Chiefships, yet I beg you will be assured, I am no less sensible of the good Intention with which you have freely given me your Opinion.—If any Failure happens in the Payment of their Kists, the Exigencies of your Government must be supplied from hence; but I am willing to believe you will not require our Assistance.

As to the Money due to the Soubah, you will receive our Instructions on this Head before you discharge the Balance. I shall write you again in a few Days. In the mean Time I beg you to believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged and  
obedient humble Servant,

Madras,  
May 20th, 1778.

(Signed) Tho<sup>s</sup>. Rumbold.

A true Copy,

Anth. Sadleir.

A. Sadleir, Esq.

## No. 5.

*Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold to Mr. Sadleir.—Dated 27th May 1778.*

Dear Sir,

I AM favoured with the Duplicate of the Letter you sent by Vincataroyaloo; he is not yet arrived. I am obliged to you for your Conduct, in pressing the Zemindars to repair to the Presidency as soon as possible, agreeably to the Orders they received. I never expected otherwise from you, being convinced your own Honour and Zeal for the Service would supersede every private Consideration. You must be convinced my Regard for you has been steady; and that it will be my Wish, on all Occasions, to shew you my Attachment and Desire of promoting your Interest; being,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

Fort Saint George,  
27th May 1778.

(Signed) Tho<sup>s</sup>. Rumbold.

A true Copy,

Anthony Sadleir.

Anthony Sadleir, Esq;

## No. 6.

*Mr. Sadleir's last Letter to the Council; dated 31b January 1781.*

To the Honourable Charles Smith, Esq; President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort Saint George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I HAVE long been a concerned and anxious Spectator of the Ruin into which the Company's Affairs were falling, from the Mismanagement of their Servants; the Consequences are now severely felt by us all; we are threatened with Danger, which almost appears insurmountable, and therefore every Exertion tending to public Good must be laudable, in Proportion to the Difficulties which render it useful to Society.

From clear and evident Causes, the most common Observer must have foreseen some such Disaster as that which we now suffer—A Degeneracy of Character, and overlove of Riches, a Want of public Spirit, and even of the common Feelings of Humanity towards the People who lived under our Government, joined to a dissipated Revenue, and a Want of Inclination to employ the few Resources which remained, must have rendered, and did render, us dangerous to our Friends, and contemptible in the Eyes of our Enemies.

To stop the Torrent of Corruption, by an exemplary Punishment or Detection of those who were most guilty, was a chief and favourite Wish which I brought with me, when I became a Member of Government; and it is to this Disposition alone, and the Fear which it occasioned in the Minds of Men conscious of Guilt, that I impute my Suspension from the Service, and other Things subsequent to that Want.

I hope I shall prove, in the Course of this Letter, that my Conduct in the Chiefship of Masulipatam was consistent with that which I have since pursued, and that my Foresight of Consequences have been fully justified by the Event. In that Station I complained, as I do now, that Rapacity and Peculation had nearly ruined the Country. And after I was admitted a Member of the Council at Madras, I can appeal to the Second Minute, delivered in by me at the Board, in Proof, that it was my Idea that a Retrospect of past Evil was the only Foundation of future Good.—My Words then were as follows:—"It is true that we are surrounded with Difficulties on all Sides, as the Governor  
"is pleased to observe;—large Arrears of Revenue are due to the Company from Coun-  
"tries which have suffered no public Calamity;—the Company have incurred a heavy  
"Debt, to answer the immediate Demands of Government; while these Arrears re-  
"main due to them, their Treasury is empty, and without the Hope of a Supply, at a  
"Time when it is uncertain how great their Occasion may be for Money.—Government  
"has Difficulty in paying its most ordinary Expences; Trade is lost to Individuals; the  
"Company have had little or no Investments, and yet, great as these Evils are, they  
"are likely every Day to encrease.

"This desperate Situation of our Affairs has not been occasioned by public Misfor-  
"tune, and must therefore be imputed to private Mismanagement. We are no longer  
"in a Situation where we can hold up the Veil of Deceit to our Employers, or adopt  
"the Measures of our Predecessors, without weighing their Consequences. It is our  
"Duty to know the Evil, that we may be able to apply Relief; and, instead of patch-  
"ing up a broken System, to make it answer a Purpose or a Day, to form some lasting  
"and regular Plan of Conduct adequate to the Dangers which surround us, and capable  
"of extricating the Company's Affairs, from the Difficulties in which they are involved."

—Why no Enquiry was set on Foot when the Governor acknowledged that we were surrounded with Difficulties? Why the Revenue was allowed to fall in Arrear, without an Exertion to recover it? Why no Attempt was made, excepting by myself, for the Re-establishment of System; and why the other Members of Council stood silent Spectators of approaching Ruin? are Questions which their own Conscience must solve, but of which the Subject of this Letter may convey some Demonstration.

I have

I have traced my own Conduct, to shew that my Opinions have been invariable, and that I have preserved a Degree of Uniformity, ungoverned by subsequent Events, or by personal Animosity, further than that honest Indignation, which cannot but arise in my Mind, on seeing the Interest of the Community, and the Honour of the Nation, sacrificed to the unworthy Motives of Men, who, being placed our Guardians, were largely paid for doing Justice.

The Crisis of the Times do still more pressingly call for Enquiry; at a Time when we are surrounded with Public Enemies; when our Resources upon the Coast seem in a Manner annihilated, and an Army, on which our Safety depends, subject to every Difficulty which the Want of Money can occasion. If it can be proved, that those who were intrusted with Power, employed it only to increase their private Fortune, without any Regard to Principle or to the Good of their Employers, they should be made to refund the Spoil they have acquired. both as an Example to others, and that it may be applied to relieve the Exigencies of Government.

In bringing such Men to Light, I despise the Odium which the interested may annex to the Character of an Informer; the Act is only dishonourable when the Motive is not good: But as I have in View the Interest of the Company and of the Nation, the Preservation of the Community, and the Happiness of Thousands, who look up to us for Protection—as I am not influenced by private Advantage, and, in Opposition to these great Concerns, have no Motive to sway me but the Ease of a few Individuals, who, instead of Indulgence, deserve both Shame and Punishment, the Act of informing is honourable; and he who has the Courage to surmount Prejudice, in Support of Principle, cannot, in my Opinion, but deserve Praise.—I court this honest Praise in Reward for my Conduct; and I shall now proceed to state the Circumstances which have occasioned the above Reflections.

I left the Presidency to take Charge of the Chiefship of Masulipatam, with the fullest Confidence that it was Sir Thomas Rumbold's Intention to correct the Abuses in the Company's System upon this Coast.—I thought myself in a great Measure indebted to him, for the honourable Station I was about to hold; and Gratitude concurred with Principle, in making me desirous to fulfil what I thought to be his Inclination.—Upon taking charge of the Chiefship, I found it much impoverished; I determined therefore to trace Causes back to their Source, with a View to the Establishment of future Order; and though, before my Enquiry was finished, I had Reason to think that I was imposed upon, under the Cloak of Friendship, I communicated the Result of it with that unreserved Openness and Candour which I thought the Public Service required.

I hope the accompanying Papers will be no bad Proof of the uniform Consistency and Disinterestedness of my Conduct.

The First contains Accounts which were delivered to me in the Hand-writing of Vincatroyaloo, the Company's Dubash at Masulipatam, of the Emoluments received by Three of my Predecessors in the Chiefship of that Place, amounting to Madras Pagodas

3,17,154	—
And a Balance remaining due, amounting to the additional Sum of	94,479 18

In all, Madras Pagodas	4,11,633 18
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The Second Paper is an Extract of a Letter which accompanied these Accounts to Sir Thomas Rumbold, then Governor of Madras; and the Third is an Affidavit made by me to authenticate these Papers, and the Manner in which they were received.

In Addition to these Papers, I now transmit to the Board, the Copy of a Letter which went under the same Seal with the above Letter to Sir Thomas Rumbold, giving him an Account of the Circumstances and Situation of the different Zemindars, together with my Opinion of the Measure adopted by Government, in summoning the Zemindars to the Presidency; as also the Copies of Two Letters from Sir Thomas Rumbold to me, in one of which he acknowledges the Receipt of my Packet, of the 5th May 1778, containing the above Information.

The alarming Situation to which the Company's Affairs are reduced upon this Coast, is enough of itself to occasion Suspicion in the Mind of a Man unacquainted with Causes; and when the Safety of a Country is at Stake, Suspicion is just Ground of Enquiry—, but when Information is so duly authenticated, and partly against a Character, which by subsequent Conduct has contributed so greatly to our present Distress; it cannot be imagined that Government here will be so treacherous to their Employers, as to neglect



glect instituting such Prosecution as the Law directs; and the Nature of the Case may require.

It is unnecessary to urge to the Honourable Board, as they must be sufficiently aware, that Inferences will be drawn to their own Prejudice as Individuals, if they neglect to execute Public Justice, if pointed out to them, when the Mode is so apparent, and the Means so much in their Power. Mr. Whitehill is now at Madras, and is upon the Point of Departure for Europe; and if the Government allow him to depart with such Information against him, before he is acquitted by the Forms of Law, I submit it to the Opinion of the Board, how far their Employers may think them responsible for the Consequences?

If the Company's Servants have been guilty of Peculation in Office—if they have abused the Trust reposed in them; if by these Abuses they have brought Dishonour upon their Country; let it be imagined, how much the Opinion of their Treachery may have laid the Foundation of our present Reverse of Fortune, and what Influence it may have in future, not only to check the Company's Credit, but, from a Want of Dependence upon our Government, to prevent those Alliances with the Country Powers, which at present seem so essential to our Affairs.

I have already urged, that the best Foundation for public Spirit, is public Justice. Mr. Whitehill held the first Station in the Company's Service upon this Coast, at the Time when their Affairs suffered the greatest Reverse; and if it is proved that he is one Cause from which our Evil has originated, I submit it to the Board, whether he should not receive Punishment according to Law, both as an Example to those who hold Trust, and that we may give our Friends and our Enemies an Opinion of our Justice.

I have already declared, that I consider myself a Member of the Board, and that the Act of Violence by which I was driven from it, in no Respect deprives me of the Right inherent in the Station. I now repeat the same Sentiments; and as the Information I have laid before the Board, lays the Foundation of an Enquiry most material to the Interest of my honourable Masters, I hereby formally demand my Seat at the Board, that I may be able to prosecute that Enquiry in the Manner most proper to produce the desired Effect.

I have the Honour to be,  
Honourable Sir and Sirs,  
Your most obedient  
humble Servant,  
Anthony Sadleir.

Fort Saint George,  
8th January 1781.

## No. 7.

*Extract of a Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Civil Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 9th January 1781.*

Par. 7. **THE** Disappointments we experienced from the inconsiderable Collections made for some Time past of your Territorial Revenues under Masulipatam, and the heavy Charges incurred of late by the War with Hyder Ally, laying us under the Necessity of appropriating all our Resources to the defraying Military Expences, have been the Means of impeding your Investment, and have even obliged us to put a Stop to the Provision of it for the present; indeed, the Troubles now subsisting in the Carnatic, render it impossible for the Weavers about Madras and Cudalore to work. We have, however, been able to give almost a full Lading to the Duke of Kingston, and hope to send your Honours 12 or 1300 Bales more, in the Course of next Month, or in the Month of March, should the Government

and Council be able to supply us with Tonnage for that Purpose, agree-  
 ing we made to them in our Letter of the 8th ultimo.

The Situation of public Affairs all around us in July last, on the Incursion  
 of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, pointed out to us the evident Pro-  
 priety of exerting ourselves immediately to collect a competent Gar-  
 rison Store. And to endeavour all in our Power to prevent the dis-  
 tressful Consequences to the Inhabitants, of the Country being laid  
 waste by the Enemy, we wrote to the Governor General and Council  
 Grain, and of Salt Provisions; and had soon the Pleasure to learn from  
 them, that they had entered into Contracts for a considerable Supply  
 of Salt Provisions, and for a most ample Quantity of Rice for our Re-  
 lief, amounting to upwards of 80,000 Bags, near 50,000 of which  
 red here.

9. In order to encourage the Importation of all such Articles as the  
 Natives use for Food, we resolved to remit the Duty usually levied on  
 them, until the 1st May next; we have written to the Subordinacies,  
 every Species of Provisions they can collect; and in due, we hope we have,  
 Precautions, averted the dreadful Effects of Famine, which appeared to  
 threaten.

10. We have acquainted your Honours with the Particulars of  
 the Suspension of Messrs. Whitehill and Sadleir from the Service, in  
 our Letters of the 15th October, and 19th November; we therefore  
 think it unnecessary to say any Thing more on this Subject, than to  
 refer you to our Proceedings, noted in the Margin, which will fully  
 explain the respective Conduct of each Member of Government,  
 when those Resolutions took place.

11. We likewise in our Letter of the 29th November, explained to  
 you our Reasons for having called Messrs. Morgan Williams and  
 William Coming, to the Board, as acting Members of Council in the  
 Whitehill and Sadleir.

12. We mentioned to you, in our Letter of the 15th October, the  
 Steps we had taken in consequence of your Orders for the Detention  
 of the Persons under this Government, said to have been concerned  
 in the French Ship, called the Elizabeth. The Proceedings noted in  
 the Margin, contain a full Discussion of this Subject.

13. Mr. Cotford addressed us a Letter, intimating his Intention of  
 going on a Danish Ship then in the Road, as his State of Health did not  
 imply so closely to Business as he could wish. We are much concerned to  
 observe, that Mr. Cotford should judge this a sufficient Reason, at  
 the present most critical and alarming Crisis of the Company's Af-  
 fairs, for relinquishing the honourable and conspicuous Station to  
 which you had been pleased to appoint him.

Doubt but Mr. Cotford's Representation, of the Fort of Masulipatam  
 as good a State of Defence as Circumstances permitted, is just; but when  
 outstanding Balances of the Zemindars and Renters, instead of being  
 paid, as we had flattered ourselves would have been effected, have on the  
 contrary augmented considerably, and at this Time actually amount, includ-  
 ing, to Madras Pagodas 1,528,597. 17. We cannot agree with him, that  
 is left undone, which the Chief and Council had the Power of doing;  
 to your Honours, whether this Subject could any where be discussed with  
 more propriety than at the Presidency?

The Arguments of his Letter are too futile for us to trespass on your Time, by re-  
 peating them; but we cannot help observing, that his Application to us for our  
 leave he had on every Occasion avowed his Determination to return to Europe  
 by the next Ship, which was on the Point of sailing, and his embarking without  
 Answer, carry the Appearance of great Disrespect to that superior Autho-  
 rity by your Honours as your Representatives.

14. In the Month of September your standing Counsel at this Pre-  
 sidency, Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, applied to us for an Increase of Sal-  
 ary, his being precluded by his present Station from every Exercise of his  
 what is devoted to the Information of Government, and that his Al-  
 lowance to his Employ was not adequate to the unavoidable Expences of a Per-  
 son in that Situation in this Country. After much Consideration, on a Com-  
 parison,

parison of Mr. Sullivan's Advantages with those of your Advocate General in Bengal, and on the evident Necessity there is for our having an able Assistant, to advise with in all Matters of Law; we came to the Resolution of doubling his Salary, as a suitable Encouragement to Mr. Sullivan, whose Abilities and Judgments we have every Reason to be satisfied with.

19. A short Time since we received a Letter from Mr. Sadleir, setting forth the Hardships he had suffered, and submitting to us, what Compensation  
Conf. 30th Dec. we deemed adequate to his Services. As we did not think ourselves authorized to grant him any other Consideration for his Losses, arising from Supereffion or Suspension, than what had hitherto been allowed to covenanted Servants in the same Predicament, we could only agree to pay him the Salary and Allowances he omitted to draw for, as set forth by him, until the Time of his late Suspension.

21. Sir Eyre Coote having recommended to our Consideration, a Letter addressed to him from the Commander of the Duke of Kingston, representing the Losses he had sustained, by being ordered to transport the Troops and Stores to this  
Conf. 5th Dec. Presidency; we thought it but equitable to allow him the same Compensation, for his great Attention in forwarding the public Service, and for the Detriment it had been of to his private Interest, that had been formerly granted by the Governor General and Council to each of the Commanders of the Company's Ships employed against Pondicherry; but as we could not advance him Cash, we have given him a Company's Interest Bond for the Amount.

22. Mr. John Douglas made a Purchase from the Company, in September 1779, of a Piece of Ground, situated on the Esplanade, forming Part of the Sea Beach: As we had since been convinced, by the repeated Representations of the Merchants belonging to this Settlement, of the great Inconvenience and Detriment it would be of to Trade, should we allow the Ground to fall into the Hands of any Individual,  
Conf. 5th May. we agreed to give Mr. Douglas the Sum of Eight thousand Pagodas, on Condition that he relinquished all Claim to the Purchase; which he accepted.

24. We lately received an Account from the Chief and Council at Vizagapatam, of the Loss to the Company, occasioned by the Mutiny of the Sepoys in  
Conf. 5th Dec. October last; and I have ordered the Amount, which exceeds the Sum of Fifteen thousand Pagodas, to be written off to the Head of Profit and Loss.

28. The Books of the several Subordinacies not having been forwarded to us, on Account of the present Difficulty of conveying large Packages from one Part of this Coast to the other, the General Books, ending April last, could not be closed; and their Statements of Revenues and Expences since that Time, not having been yet received, has likewise prevented us from forwarding to your Honours any other than our Annual Statements.

29. The Number of Arcot Rupees in the Treasury, and the expected Supplies from Vizagapatam and Ganjam being always received in that Specie, induced us, in Consultation the 30th ultimo, to establish the Currency of Arcot Rupees throughout this Settlement, in all Payments not exceeding three hundred Pagodas; and we trust we have fixed their Exchange at so just a Medium, that the Public will not be aggrieved, nor the Company suffer any Loss, by this Regulation.

30. The Amount of the Invoice by this Ship, is One hundred and Sixty-four thousand Nine hundred and Thirty-six Pagodas, Thirty-one Fanams, and Fifty-five Cash (164,936. 31. 55.)

32. Your Honours have this Day in your Treasury as follows; viz.

Current Pagodas	_____	_____	_____	299	35	27
Madras Pagodas	_____	_____	_____	584	—	—
Arcot Rupees	_____	_____	_____	98,455	11	4
German Crowns	_____	_____	_____	1,281	—	—
Musters of Gold	_____	_____	_____			
Current Pagodas	_____	_____	_____	158	—	—
Madras Pagodas	_____	_____	_____	194	—	—

And you have in your Cash Chest, Twenty six thousand Three hundred and Forty-four Pagodas, Twenty-eight Fanams, and one Cash, (26,244. 28. 1.)

## No. 8.

letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Revenue Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; dated 9th January 1781.

to the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable,

17. 1. **A**S our Proceedings in this Department will be forwarded to your Honour, by your Ship Duke of Kingston, now under Dispatch for Europe, we take the first Opportunity of explaining fully to you such Particulars respecting your Revenue, which have occurred since our Address under Date the 4th April.

2. The Zemindars of the Four Northern Circars under Masulipatam, being assembled here in June last, to settle the Payments due from them respectively; your Chief and Council informed us, they had been so long amused by the repeated Promises of the Zemindars to deliver in their Teeps, and had so constantly found those Promises broken, that they had at length thought it necessary to try what Effect a Show of coercive Measures towards the Zemindars would have, and, in consequence, Sepoy Guards were actually placed over their Persons, after the Chief and Council had explained to them, that their late unpardonably evasive Conduct could alone have brought upon them so conspicuous a Mark of Disgrace.

3. It was hoped this Appearance of Severity would induce the Zemindars to exert themselves in the Discharge of their Balances; but lest it should not, we authorized your Chief and Council, in the last Extremity, to adopt a Plan that they themselves had suggested; which was, either to take Possession in the Name of the Company, of the several Countries belonging to the Zemindars, until they procured Bills for their several Payments, in order to force them to employ every Resource they possessed, to satisfy the just Demands of the Company; or to impress them with an Idea, that if they did not provide their Teeps at a certain Period shortly after the gathering in the Harvest the Beginning of the ensuing Year, we had given an Authority to the Chief and Council, to seize on the Crops, and to keep the Possession of them until their Teeps were produced.

4. Having thus furnished your Chief and Council with such ample Powers, to put in force their own Proposal, which we were the more readily led to give our Sanction to, from the Opinion repeatedly advanced by them, that the principal Zemindars had more urgent Funds at Command than they chose to bring forth on this Occasion; we trusted it should experience the desired Effect from the Activity of the Board at Masulipatam. About two Months afterwards, we received a Letter from them, recapitulating to us the Disputes that had arisen between the Zemindars and the Soucars, with their Measures in consequence (for a full Account of which, as represented to us, we beg Leave to refer your Honour to their Letters of the 31st July and of the 25th September), and informing us, that they had at length obtained Teeps from the Zemindar of Bidapora for Pagodas 18,000: From the Zemindar of Monglators for Pagodas 185,000: From the Zemindar of Ramchundersporam for Pagodas 11,641. 34. 15: From the Zemindar of Corcondah for Pagodas 6853. 6. 30: And from the Manager at Pittapora for Pagodas 57,494. 31. 10.

5. There appeared such a Want of Propriety and Vigour in the Conduct of the Chief and Council, in the Course of their Negotiations with the above-mentioned Zemindars, that we could not avoid expressing to them our Dissatisfaction at their Measures; and, in order the more strongly to evince the Necessity of their using every possible Means to recover the heavy Balances still outstanding from the Zemindars, we sent them Copy of the 18th, 19th, and 20th Paragraphs of your Orders of the 16th June 1779; which, we flatter ourselves, will have very good Effect we could wish.

6. In the Beginning of last Year, the Minor Zemindar of Pittapora, named Commaracata Row, fled from his Uncle Mahoputty Row, who was in the temporary Management

ment of his Country, and took Refuge with his Adherents; in particular, Byrava Puntaloo the late Dewan of Pittapore, in the Fort of Piddapore; alleging, that his Uncle meant to make away with him, and to establish himself in the Zemindary. Your Chief and Council being advised of this, ordered all the Parties to Masulipatam, in order to enquire into the Causes of so extraordinary an Event; but finding, on a full Investigation of the Subject, that there were no just Grounds of Complaint against Maheputty Row, and that this Disturbance had arisen from the Intrigues of Byrava Puntaloo, and of Jaggaputterauze, Rajah of Peddapore, your Chief and Council directed the Child to be returned to his Uncle, and exhorted Byrava Puntaloo to be reconciled to Maheputty Row; pledging themselves to secure the Rights of the young Zemindar from any intended Incroachments of his Uncle.

7. This Determination was accordingly signified to both Parties by the Chief, at an Interview he had with them at the Company's Garden House. Byrava Puntaloo and his Followers shewed some Appearances of Dissatisfaction at the Decision; and on their taking Leave of the Chief, the young Zemindar expressed great Unwillingness to go with his Uncle; which the Chief perceiving, thought fit to insist on his Compliance with the Orders of the Council. A Scuffle between the Two Factions ensued, and Comara Vencata Row was finally carried off to the Pettah of Masulipatam, by the Adherents of Byrava Puntaloo.

8. When these Circumstances came to our Knowledge, we judged it proper to direct your Chief and Council to confine the Rioters, and to establish Maheputty Row and Byrava Puntaloo in the joint Management of the Pittapore Country, until Comara Vencata Row, to whom we gave Permission to remain under our Protection at Masulipatam, should come of Age; and if either Party made any Objections, to acquaint them, the Zemindary must then be converted into Havelly Lands during the Minority of Comara Vencata Row. The Chief and Council, in Answer, pointed out to us the Impossibility of reconciling Maheputty Row and Byrava Puntaloo, to accede to the Terms of this Decision.

9. To avert the ill Consequences that must necessarily ensue, from the Country being any longer in a State of Confusion, after different Plans had been suggested by the several Members of Council at our Meetings, held as noted in the Margin, we at length resolved, as Maheputty Row appeared clearly, from his near Relationship to Comara Vencata Row, to have a prior Claim to the Management of the Zemindary, and as we never had Reason to be displeased with his Conduct, that he should have a Cowle granted him, establishing his former Authority in the Zemindary, until Comara Vencata Row should arrive at the Age of Eighteen Years; when, if the different Branches of the Family should agree to manage the Pettapore Country in Harmony together, they should be permitted to do so; otherwise, that their several Claims should hereafter be referred to the Decision of the President and Council at that Time. --- When these Resolutions were made known to Maheputty Row, he expressed much Dissatisfaction at them; and stated to the Chief and Council his Claim, agreeably to the Custom of the Country, to an equal Share in the Zemindary with his Nephew.

10. Maheputty Row's Representation of his Situation appearing so well founded, and his assertion of his Rights so just, that seeing no prospect of securing payment of the Company's Kists from that Country, which was our principal Object, but by Means of Maheputty Row, we were induced to reverse our former Judgment, and to confirm the first Cowle granted to him; which still remains in his Possession, in its full Force. --- We have every Expectation from this Measure of a punctual Discharge of the Arrears due from the Pettapore Zemindary; at the same Time your Honours may depend upon our carefully protecting the Person of the young Comara Vencata Row, who is now at Masulipatam, from any Machinations of either Party, until he shall be of a proper Age to take upon himself the Charge of Public Business.

11. We are concerned to acquaint your Honours of a slight Disturbance that happened some Time since in the Cotapillee District, from the refractory Conduct of the Manager, Cenaty Norsinvalloo; who, upon being repeatedly sent for by your Chief and Council, to repair to Masulipatam, to settle the Payment of his Tribute, actually took up Arms against the Company. --- We have, however, the Pleasure of informing you, that the Peace of that Country is restored, and that we have placed Trimubrow, a Man of large Property, Dewan to the Rajah of

we, in the Management of Cotapillee Havelly, on Terms very advantageous to the

17. The Court for the Chahermall Country, which was under the Management of  
 mindas of Mugletore, expiring the 31st May last, we placed that District under  
 the Charge of Veneta Royaleo, the Company's Interpreter at Masulipatam;  
 7th July. who has agreed to pay to us the same Jemabundy or Tribute as  
 was settled for this Zemindary in 1778, to make an Annual Allowance of  
 Madras Pagodas to the young Zemindar; and to deliver the Sum of 3,000 Madras  
 Pagodas per Annum, to the Creditors of Opporew; who has consider-  
 8th Aug. able Claims on the Chahermall Country, but whom we could not trust  
 20th Dec. with the Care thereof, in their present embarrassed Circumstances.

Sitteram Rause delivered in a Petition to us some Months since, whilst he was at  
 18th Aug. 1791, setting forth, That Asoowieram Rause, Zemindar of Cutch, had  
 over to his Son of Sitteram Rause, Four Villages of that District, as a Compensa-  
 tion for a Debt due to him from Atchooteram Rause.—Though the  
 Demand might be just, yet we could not, upon any Account, suffer an  
 Alienation of Zemindary Lands, not considering the Zemindars to have  
 it, under any Circumstances, than to dismember the Countries committed to their  
 ; without our Sanction being first obtained; and as we understood from the Chief  
 Council at Masulipatam, that the Interference of Sitteram Rause was the only Ob-  
 12th Aug. stacle to the Payment of the Tribute of the Cutch Country, we re-  
 leased the Four Villages from the Obligation they were under to him;  
 but we directed the Chief and Council to be careful when the Com-

Balance was discharged, that Sitteram Rause had Satisfaction for his Demand. We  
 men had Reason to think, from the evasive Conduct of Atchooteram Rause, that we  
 were at last under the Necessity of sending Collectors, on Account of the Company,  
 to Country, as the only Means of securing the heavy Arrears due from him.

We are happy to acquaint your Honours, that we have the most sanguine Hopes of  
 1791, in the Course of a short Time, a great Part of the large Balances outstanding  
 a Chicneole Circar. In effecting this desirable Object, we cannot sufficiently com-  
 the Activity and Vigour shown by Mr. James Henry Cadamajor, the present Chief  
 Masulipatam, and his Council, ever since the Return of Sitteram Rause to the North-  
 ... Their Arrangements have been judicious, they have already actually realised a  
 terrible Sum of Money on Account of the Company, and their Conduct on the  
 has answered our warmest Expectations.

In consequence of a Petition received in July last from Sitteram Rause, we were  
 ed to remit Payment to the Vinnagrum Family, of One Quarter Year's Tribute of  
 pillite District, amounting to Rupees 25,000, in consideration of the Losses sustained  
 by the Fort of Suttieveram being withheld from their Managers by

16th June. the Family of Pykerow in 1778, which much impeded the Cultiva-  
 7th July. tion of the Country. We likewise at the same Time allowed a De-  
 duction of Rupees 60,000, from the Rent of the Chicneole Havelly,

of Sum appeared to us to have been received from the Country by Jagannath Rause,  
 its Renter, before Sitteram Rause took Charge of these Districts.

. You will have been informed from the Select Committee, of a Mutiny that hap-  
 1 at Vinnagratam among your Sepoys, on their being ordered to embark on board Ship  
 in Presidency.—During the many Excesses committed by the Mutineers, Cunnas Putty  
 10th Dec. who was deposed from the Zemindary of Kinnedy for Misbehaviour in the  
 1774, and who has since resided at Vinnagratam, on the stated Allowance, was of such  
 and showed so much Attachment to your Servants there, whilst they were absolutely  
 imminent Danger of suffering every Barbarity which unrestrained Violence might

dictate, that it induced them to recommend his being re-installed  
 12th April. in his Zemindary. The Conduct of his Brother, Jagannath Dec,  
 who was then in Charge of the Kinnedy Country, had been by no  
 11 satisfactory. His Incapacity had been before represented to us, and the continual

Disputes between him and his Dewan had been the Means of impeding  
 9th Aug. the Collections of Tribute for such a Length of Time, that the  
 Arrears due to the Company amounted to so large a Sum as Rupees  
 150,000, though the Annual Jemabundy is only Rupees 26,000: Urged by these  
 1791, added to the Consideration of the Youth of Cunnasputty Narain Dec, and  
 1791, he committed the Offices which brought him under the Company's

Displeasure

A. 1782

D E B A T E S.

Conf. 19th OS. Displeasure, we yielded to the Solicitations of the Chief and restored him to the Zemindary Kimey, making a suitable provision for Jagernaut Deo. Your Chief and Council have since agreed with Gov<sup>t</sup> Narrain Deo, that he is to pay the Company the same Jemabi annually, towards the Discharge of the Debt from his Country himself is well satisfied to live on an Allowance of 1,200 Rupees per Month, the of the Collections from his Zemindary to be appropriated to the further Liquidation of the Arrears due to the Company.---In discussing the Subjects of this and the following Paragraphs of the present Address, some Difference of Opinion occurred among the Members of Council; for the Particulars of which, we beg Leave to refer you to that our Proceedings noted in the Margin.

17 We acquainted your Honours in our Letter of the 15th October, that came to the Resolution of taking away the Cowles for the Farms of Nagore Cui and those under this Presidency, from the Renters who then held them; and that had published Advertisements for re-letting: As we have not yet finally settled the terms, we shall defer saying more on the Subject until another Occasion offers of presenting your Honours, when we hope to give you the fullest Satisfaction, from our attention to your Interests in this Instance.

We are,

Honourable,

Your faithful

humble Servants,

Fort Saint George,  
9th January 1781.

Charles Smith  
Eyre Coote,  
Sam. Johnson  
Hector Munro  
Al x. Davids  
M. Williams.

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No. 9.

*Minute of Sir Eyre Coote, 12 January 1781.*

**A**T the same Time I put my Signature to the General Letter of the 9th of 1781, I must, in Candour and in Conformity to those Opinions which I hold and expressed, except against one Part of it, and which ascribes all our present fortunes to the Maratta War.

That that Measure may first have given Birth to the Idea of a general Combining the Powers of Hindostan against us, I will not endeavour to disprove; but I alone we owe the formidable Incursion of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, I cannot First, because long after we had commenced Hostilities against the Marattas, Hyder continued to make Conquests upon them, and which our Operations not facilitated. It was his favourite Object, and which I am confident he would not have quitted, or sought for a Union with the Marattas against us, had not our Neglect with Basalet Jung, about the Guntur Circar (on which he had also Views), Mode in which they were carried on, awakened his Jealousy, and very naturally apprehended, that our ultimate Intentions were to possess ourselves of some Part of his Country.---Whilst it answered his Purpose to make Peace with the Marattas, in order that his Attention or Strength might in no Shape be diverted from providing for the Security of his own Territories, it was entirely suitable to the



ten Situation, as it enabled them to direct their whole Force against the Open-our Army under Brigadier General Goddard. We alarmed his Fears for the his own Country; crossed his Views upon the Guntoor Circar, which he was obtaining in Form from Bazalet Jung. That an able Agent might not be soment these Offencers, we deliberately gave Umbrage to the Nabob Nizam; taking and actually subscribing to a Treaty of Friendship with his Brother and azolet Jung, without asking his Consent or Approbation; and next, by desif him a Remission of the Peshcush, or Tribute, which for these Eleven Years rds we have paid him, as in Treaty bound, on Account of the Northern Cir- prevent any bad Consequences arising from the Delay in the Payment of the which was owing in the first Place to a temporary Inability, created by the rent Expences, which were unavoidably incurred by the Siege of Pondicherry; a next Place perhaps by Mismanagement; I was induced, when I stopped here ay to Bengal, to recommend the Mission of Mr. Holland, as Ambassador to t's Court, to assure him, that the Peshcush should be paid, and to explain to 'ause of its Detention.

zam has in his Letters to this Government, and in his Conversations with Mr. who communicated them to the Governor-General and Council, avowed his e, on Account of our Behaviour with regard to the Peshcush and the Guntoor ind has, without Scruple, acknowledged his having for these Reasons encour- connived at a Combination of the Powers against us.

all these Circumstances before me, and which the Records both here and in ar Testimony; and farther, knowing it as a Thing certain, that at the very Treaty was carrying on with Bazalet Jung, Hyder would have entered into an and defensive Alliance with us; I would do an Injury to myself, and a still e to our Superiors, who are to pass their Judgment on Men and Measures by nents handed them from their respective Governments in India, did I tacitly to that Part of the General Letter to the Court of Directors, which I have cepted against; and not also elucidate the other Causes, besides the Maratta ich have assisted to hasten our present Distresses.

It that this may go a Number in the Packet now under Dispatch.

(Signed)

Eyre Coote.

## No. 10.

*as the Governor General and Council in Bengal, in their Secret Department, to the mers of Directors of the East India Company, dated 29th November 1780.*

Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable United Com-  
pany of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

partment.)

ourable Sirs,

THE Dispatch of the Ships now under sailing Orders, affording us an Op-  
portunity of addressing you from this Department, and of transmitting to  
nected Narrative of our Proceedings in it since the Date of our Advices by  
ow, we avail ourselves of it for this Purpose; and at the same Time send you  
e Copy of our Consultations since the 24th February last, together with a Du-  
plicate

plicate Transcript of the broken Set of them, which was forwarded by that Packet. We have also the Honour to transmit to you, Triplicate of our Letter by the same Vessel, and of those since addressed to you by the Tryal Schooner, under Date the 15th and 17th of last Month. We take the same Opportunity of acknowledging the Receipt of your Advices of the 24th February and 24th of March.

2. You were duly informed, in our Address by the Swallow, of the Recal of Mr. Hollond from the Court of his Highness the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, by the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George; of the Reasons which induced us to wish for his Continuance there; and of the Application which we made to the President and Select Committee, for their Permission to him to remain at Hyderabad, as the Public Minister of this Government. This Application was refused, and

Conf. 15th May. Mr. Hollond was directed, in peremptory Terms, to obey the Orders of Recal before sent him. These Orders were as unreasonable as they appeared to us ill-grounded. They proclaimed to all India a Disunion and Separation of Interests between the Two Presidencies; and, in particular, affected the Assurances which we had given to the Nabob Nizam Ally. We were, however, obliged, though very reluctantly, to acquiesce; and Mr. Hollond was left at Liberty to conform to them. He was directly subject to the Authority of your Servants at Fort Saint George, and it was not in our Power to indemnify him from the probable Consequences of Disobedience to it. But the Restraint upon our Wishes to be availed of the Services of Mr. Hollond at Hyderabad, did not continue long; for the same Temper with which he had for some Time before been treated by his immediate Superiors, inducing them to suspend him from your Service, we were enabled to confirm our Appointment of him; and did accordingly appoint him to be Resident, on the Part of this Government only, at the Nizam's Court. The high Opinion which we entertain of Mr. Hollond's Merits, our Sense of his Services, believing him, as we do, to have been the Means of preventing a Breach of the Alliance subsisting between the Company and the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, at a Moment when the Company's Affairs were very critically situated, and it became of the utmost Importance to secure even the Neutrality of the Nizam; the Obligations, moreover, under which we deem ourselves to indemnify Mr. Hollond, by every Means in our Power, from the Effects which he has unjustly sustained of the Resentment of his Superiors at Madras, for his Obedience to Instructions transmitted to him by us, in consequence of those which he had received from them, and which were notified to us by them, call upon us to recommend him strongly to you; and in doing so, we make it our Request that you restore him to the Service, and to his Standing on the Madras Establishment, or that he be transferred, with his Rank, to this.

3. Mr. Hollond being placed under our immediate Authority at Hyderabad, our Endeavours have been strenuously exerted to secure the Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, or to prevent him at least from taking Part against us; but it has not been without great Difficulty, that these Endeavours have hitherto been exerted with a good Effect. That Power in the English Governments which was settled in his Neighbourhood, and with whom of course his Correspondence had always been principally held, had made Demands on him, which in his Conception of them were derogatory from the Faith of the Treaty subsisting with him; and had committed one Act, which was a direct and undoubted Violation of it; and the general Tenor of their Conduct had made him distrustful of their Intentions to preserve the Peace with him. Such indeed was his Conviction of their unfriendly Disposition towards him, that he found it necessary to be prepared for Hostilities; or such was his Resentment of their Conduct, that he was determined to use the most likely Means within his Compass, of crushing their Ability to do him further Mischief; and under the strong Influence of those Impressions, it is a well-known and undenied Fact, that he had not only combined with the principal Powers of Hindostan against the Company, but was the chief Promoter of the Alliance. For the Particulars of this History, we beg Leave to refer you to a Minute, which has been delivered by the Governor-General, and is entered in

Conf. 4th Sept. the Consultations noted in the Margin, as well as to a Letter from Mr. Hollond to the Governor General, forwarded by the Tryal Packet; in which the Nabob's Avowal is declared, of his being the Author of the Confederacy against us, and his Justification of it, on the Plea of Self-defence, against the supposed Intention of the Presidency of Fort St. George to break with him.

4. To obviate a Prejudice so rooted, and the Effect of an Engagement so promising of Success as that in which the Nizam is combined, would of itself have been no easy Task; but the Difficulty has been so much augmented, as to have been nearly invincible,

cible, from the Unwillingness of the Presidency of Madras to use the only Means of reconciling him to us, and their Inattention to the Advice and Orders which we sent them for this Purpose. It was the Belief of the Nabob Nizam Ally, that we were actually vested with the Controul, which we declared ourselves to possess; but he distressed the Effect of that Controul, since the Orders which we had repeatedly given and dictated to him, for the Restitution of the Circar of Guntoor, had not only been disregarded, but Mr. Holland, who had been the Instrument of the Negotiation, had been punished by them for the Part which he had taken in it.

5. We refer you to our Letter to Fort Saint George, of the 12th June, for the Arrangement on which we had resolved to give the Soubah Satisfaction, and of which he was immediately informed. The President and Select Committee, instead of withdrawing their Forces, Collectors, and Agents, from the Circar of Guntoor, agreeable to our Requisition, restoring it to the Possession of Bazalet Jung, and replacing every Thing in the State in which it stood before they entered into any Negotiation with him, did in no one Instance comply with our Orders, nor appear to have taken the least Notice of them till the 2d of September; when they informed us, that they were willing to comply with our Requisition of them, to deliver back to Bazalet Jung the Guntoor Circar; but that the Circar having been farmed to the Nabob of the Carnatic, his Claim on it, as Renter, must be first relinquished; and that they had written to him, expressing their Hope that he would give it up, and that they would inform us of his Answer as soon as they receive it.

6. We have recited the great Difficulties which opposed our Accommodation with the Nizam, of which we had much Reason to complain, so much, that it became an Object of Necessity to remove them. The controuling Power, with which we are vested by an Act of the British Legislature, had been, in repeated Instances, treated by the Gentlemen at Fort Saint George with Slight and Disrespect; but in the present Instance, they thought proper to take more upon them: They defeated our Acts by their Refusal to conform to them, and comply with our Orders, where we had especial Right to them. The Faith of this Government had been pledged to the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, for the Restoration of the Guntoor Circar to Bazalet Jung; they were so informed, and required to restore it. They did not restore it.—We had no alternative, but by a tame Acquiescence to sacrifice the Trust reposed in us, and suffer your Interests to be involved in a War by a Breach of Public Faith, or to maintain both by an Application of the Powers which had been given us for such a Purpose. Upon these Grounds we resolved, on the 10th ultimo, to give Effect to our Commands, and determined to exert the Authority with which we were vested, in suspending Mr. Whitehill, the President of Fort Saint George, from the Company's Service. Our Reasons for this Measure are particularly stated in our Letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, of the 10th ultimo, which goes a Number in the Packet, and to which we beg Leave to refer you for them: And at the same Time that we are led to hope, that the best Effects may be derived from it, in establishing for the Company the Neutrality or Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, during the present Troubles, and in saving our Authority in his Estimation, and that of the other Country Powers, we are under no Fear that the Councils of your Presidency of Fort Saint George will be less ably or successfully conducted hereafter, than they have been during the Period in which Mr. Whitehill directed them.

7. You will observe, by our Consultations of the 13th ultimo, that we were then informed, by a Letter from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, dated the 23d September, of the Measures which they had at length been pleased to adopt, for giving Effect to our Requisitions of the 12th of June, by immediate Orders to their Officer commanding in the Guntoor Circar, to deliver over that Country to Bazalet Jung's Agent; and by procuring an Order also from the Nabob to his Aumildar, to relinquish all Concern in the Management of the Revenue.

8. Our Letter by the Tryal Packet will have acquainted you with the Calamity which had befallen a large Detachment of your Troops, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baillie and Fletcher, in the Carnatic, and of the consequent Retreat of Major General Munro, with the main Army, to Chingleput. The same Letters will inform you of the Exertions we have made for the Relief of your Affairs on the Coast, in dispensing with the Services of Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote at this Settlement, where they were very necessary, for the sake of affording the Aid of them to the Presidency of Fort Saint George; in detaching to it a considerable Force of European Infantry and Artillery; in remitting for its Use, a large Supply of Treasure, amounting to the Sum of

Fifteen

Fifteen Lacks of Rupees; and in providing it with a great Store of Grain. We have not been thus liberal in our Services to the Presidency of Madras, without some Inconveniencies to our Government; but our Efforts being made under the Conviction of their being necessary to the Preservation of the Company's Affairs under that Presidency; and to the Retrieval of them from the sad Effect of the Misfortune which they had sustained, they have been exerted with the first Degree of Cheerfulness, and will be continued with the same, while our Assistance can be given without certain Danger to your superior Interest in Bengal.

9. It has been strongly recommended by us to Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, to assist in distressing Hyder Ally, by the Destruction of his Ships and Ports on the Coast of Malabar, during the Admiral's Voyage to Bombay; and we doubt not but the Use of this Measure will appear to him in the same Light as it appears to us.

10. We have the Pleasure to inform you, that we have received Advice from Sir Eyre Coote, under Date the 6th Instant, of his Arrival at Fort Saint George, on the preceding Day, which is exactly One Month and Thirteen Days from the Receipt of the Advices which first informed us of the Distresses of that Presidency; that all the Vessels with the Troops and Stores were also safely arrived, and the Troops and Treasure safely landed. A Copy of his Letter to us, goes a Number in the Packet.—We much fear that the Account which it contains, of the Loss of Arcot, though not deemed certain, is too true; but we trust, that the Presence and good Conduct of Sir Eyre Coote will soon change the Face of your Affairs in that Country.

11. In further Aid of the Operations of the Company's Troops on the Coast, and on the Advice and Recommendation of the Commander in Chief, before his Departure from Bengal, we resolved, on the 26th ultimo, to detach over-land towards Madras, a Company of European Artillery, and a Body of Six Battalions of Sepoys, with their Guns, chiefly intended for the Defence of the Circars; but generally for such other Services as may be required of them. The Command of this Detachment is vested in Lieutenant Colonel Pearse; Major Edmundson is appointed Second in Command, and we have allowed for it the Establishment noted in the Margin. We have it  
Conf. 15th Nov. in Contemplation, to supply the Loss of this Force to the Defence of our own Provinces, by new Levies, but our Resolution has not yet been taken on the best and least expensive Mode of carrying our Intentions in this Respect into Execution. The Orders of March for the Troops going towards Madras, being to depend on the Hopes given us, that the Maratta Army now lying at Cuttack, will either join us, or return to Berar; we are anxiously waiting, before we pass the Order, for Advices from the Government of Berar, in Answer to the Letters which were written to them by the Governor General, in consequence of our Resolutions of the 26th September, respecting a proposed Treaty with the Maratta State. These Resolutions shall be more fully noticed hereafter; but we here think it necessary to observe, upon the general Conduct of the Rajah of Berar towards this Government, upon the strong Professions of Friendship which he has made to it, and upon the Declarations of his Vakeel, that even though his Troops should not have quitted Cuttack when our Forces reached it on their Way to the Circars, our Opinion is, that they will offer them no Hindrance or Molestation.—You will observe, by our Proceedings of the 20th July, that we resolved to detach a Battalion of Sepoys to the Banks of the Soubenreka, for the Purpose of securing the Boats on that River, should the Troops of the Rajah of Berar attempt to cross it; and to watch their Motions. This was a Measure of Precaution, not of Necessity.

12. Our Knowledge of this Country has informed us too well of the Arts and Policy usually observed in the Indian Courts, to permit us to place an implicit Faith or Reliance on the mere Professions and ostentatious Display of Friendship which we may receive from any of them; and we must confess, that, if our Belief of the friendly Intentions of the Rajah of Berar towards the Interests of the Company, had no other Grounds than his Professions of them, strong as these have been (and they are the strongest that were ever penned by an Indian Power), it would be but weakly founded. Our Impression of the Truth of them is received from a Knowledge of his real Interests; and the Proofs that he has hitherto afforded us, that we have not been mistaken in our Opinion of his Sincerity.—From the first Intimation that he received of our Intentions to detach a Body of Troops, under the Command of Colonel Leslie, to the West of India, to the present Time, he has given us the most powerful Reasons to suppose him a Friend of the Company; and though, by his Alliance, in which he is engaged with the Maratta State against us, he might be deemed an Enemy, we are not per-

suaded that this is a clear Proof of his being so; for we believe, that the Part which he has been said to take in Union with that State, was a Part taken by Necessity, not by Choice; that he was forced into it, on Consideration of the Safety of his own Government; and that, if a favourable Opportunity should present itself, whereat he could shew himself the Friend of the Company with Security to his own Country, he would abandon an Alliance into which he entered against his Will, and act as his true Interest led him.

13. We wish to draw your Attention to the following Facts, as the Grounds of the Opinion which we have formed, that the declared Friendship of the Maha Raja Moodjee Boosla for the Company, is not insincere.

14. On the first Formation of the Detachment of your Troops, placed under the Command of Colonel Leslie, an Application was made to the Rajah of Berar, to permit it to pass through a Part of his Dominions; he cheerfully complied, and not only wrote to Colonel Leslie, offering him a free Passage through his Country, and the Means of Subsistence, but caused a large Store of Grain to be provided on his Borders, where it lay some Months waiting for his Arrival; and during the Continuance of Colonel Goddard, who then commanded the Detachment of Hoshingabad, he was received and treated with the greatest Hospitality.---Upon a Visit paid by the Rajah's Dewan, Dewagur Pundit, to Poonah, a Confederacy was formed by the Maratta Minister, Nana Furnuse, Madajee, Madajee Scindia, and Hyder Ally, against the Company; and in this Confederacy the Berar Government was required to take a Part, and to furnish their Quota of Troops for the common Cause; the Requisition was accompanied with Threats of Invasion of their Country in the Event of Refusal; and the Rajah having at that Time disbanded his Army, and being therefore unprepared to assert his own Rights and Independency, was obliged to

enter into the general Confederacy, claiming, at the same Time, the  
Conf. 4th Sept. Privilege of Mediation. We are informed by the Governor General, that the First Intelligence which he received of the Confederacy, was from the Minister Dewargur Pundit himself; and believing the Fact to be so, we cannot suppose that such important Communications would have been so readily imparted to us by Durwargur Pundit, if the Berar Government had been as hostile to us in Reality, as Motives of Security to themselves compelled them to appear. The Part assigned in the Confederacy to the Rajah, was to send an Army, during the Course of the last Season, to lay waste the Provinces of Bengal. With this Requisition he certainly complied; but, at the same Time, he informed us, that he should use such Means of Delay as should prevent the Army from approaching our Borders, until the Close of the fair Season, when it could not enter upon immediate Action; that in the Interim, he should be able by the next Season, to raise such an Army as would effectually establish his own Independence, and qualify him to act according to the Dictates of his own Judgment. These Declarations have hitherto been literally verified; for we have seen a large Body of his Troops, which he had detached in Compliance to the Requisition made of him at Poonah, spin out a March to Seven Months, which might with Ease have been accomplished in Two, and arrive at the Place of their Destination at the Commencement of the Rains. We have also seen, that, since their Arrival at Cuttac, instead of committing Hostility and Disturbance, they have continued as quiet as if cantoned at their own Capital.

15. These Circumstances, added to the strong Professions made to us, which we have not found falsified in any Instance, and to the Consideration of his real Interest, which, in our Judgment of it, attaches him to the Company, rather than to any of the Powers with whom he is obliged to wear the Mask of Amity and Confederacy against them, unless we should in general admit, what we are very unwilling to admit, that the power which the Company possess in Hindostan, is so extensive and obnoxious to the whole Empire, as to make it the Interest of all its Provinces, to unite with one another in overthrowing it. These Reasons, we repeat, induce us to believe that the Rajah of Berar is well disposed towards the Company; and that if the War with the Marattas should continue, he will remain neutral; or that, should he be compelled to take an active Part in it, it will not be against us.---The Belief of his Attachment to your Interest, and the Confidence which we placed in it, have induced us to attend to the Request made to us for supplying his Army with such Provisions as they wanted at Cuttac, where it might have been greatly distressed without such Assistance.

16. We have been particular in acquainting you with our Sentiments regarding the Rajah of Berar, because, from Suspicions of his Intentions, grounded on the Situation of his Troops, so near our Borders, you might be inclined to apprehend that these Provinces were in Danger of an Invasion from them; and because we desire to be justified as



a late Occasion, which we have taken to show our Confidence in the British Government and to add to its Importance in the Opinion of the other Country Powers, by the Choice which we have made of it to be the Guarantee for the faithful Observance of a proposed Treaty with the Maratta State. Of this Treaty you have also been informed by our Advice of the 10th ultimo, and it appears in Conf. 26th and 27th Sept. the Proceedings noted in the Margin. We trust that you will approve the Terms of it---they were the best that we could offer in the Situation of Affairs at that Time; and if accepted, we shall hope to see a Peace firmly established throughout Ind, or a War so vigorously supported by the Alliance which the purpose, as to give an early and very prosperous Turn to the present Troubles, and such Issue to them as we think fit to command.

17. We have hitherto been successful in our Endeavours to preserve the Neutrality the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, notwithstanding his Engagement with the confederate Powers. The Rajs of Berar has not taken, and, as has been before observed, we believe will not, take any Part against us; and if the Marattas could be persuaded to abandon the temporary Alliance which they have formed with their natural, and still lately, inveterate Enemy, Hyder Ally, whose Succession cannot be considered by them without the Degree of Jealousy, we should hope to be soon able effectually to crush the alarm Efforts of this extraordinary Usurper, to add to the Number of his Conquests, and in the Event of his Oppressions, without Reason or Pretence.

18. You were informed in our General Letter of the 3d of March, of the Operations of the Army serving under General Goddard at the latest Period from which we had received authenticated Accounts of them. Continuing the Narrative, we have now to inform you, that agreeable to the Plan concerted with him by the President and Select Committee of Bombay, and notwithstanding the dubious Conduct of Futy Sing R. Guicowar, when Offers were first made to him by Brigadier General Goddard, a Treaty of Alliance was concluded with him on the 20th January last, generally corresponding with the Objects that appear in Mr. Horoby's Plan, dated 30th March 1779.

Considering this Alliance an Event of considerable Importance to the Interest of the Company, and as having tended to facilitate, in a great Degree, the successful Operations of our Troops in the Province of Guzerat, we bestow only a just Praise on the Officer who negotiated, when we declared our Opinion, that he has rendered an essential Service to the Company in concluding it. Some Correspondence having passed between Brigadier General Goddard and the Select Committee of Bombay, and between us and them, respecting the Partition of Territory stipulated in the Treaty, we refer you for a full Account of it to the Proceedings on which it is recorded, and to our Consultations of the 2d May and the 2d October, for the Orders which were sent to General Goddard, on the Subject of his Reply to them. The Treaty with Futy Sing, amended and ratified by us, will found on our Proceedings of 5th June. Two Copies have been transmitted to Brigadier General Goddard, so far different from each other, that in the one the Articles which form the 6th and 7th Numbers of the Treaty are omitted, and in the other, concluded with certain Corrections, which we found it necessary to make in them; and we have left it to his Discretion, to obtain the Signature of the President and Council of Bombay, and of Futy Sing, either of them; adding his own to that which may receive their Concurrence, and returning the other cancelled to the President and Council of Bombay, to be sent back to

19. We beg Leave to refer you to the Consultation noted in the Margin, for the further Observations which we made on the Provisions of the Treaty concluded with Futy Sing, for our Orders respecting them, and the Replies in Conf. 15 May. to those Orders by the President and Select Committee of Bombay, and Brigadier General Goddard.

20. The Treaty with Futy Sing had not long been concluded, before the Gann marched his Forces to the City of Ahmedabad, the Capital of Guzerat. His Success at this Place, which he took by Storm on the 15th of February, after a Siege of Ten Days, completed the Reduction of the rich Province of Guzerat, for the Advantage of the Company, and the Ally Futy Sing, and to the entire Loss of it to the Maratta State. On the Army's quitting Ahmedabad, a Detachment of our Forces was left there in Garrison; and we have directed, that Futy Sing should be required to fix a Subsidy for the Expence of these Troops during their Continuance there, to make full Payment of it from the Time when they were left at Ahmedabad, and to discharge any extra Expence incurred by the Company in the Capture of the Place. The Detachment under the Command of Brigadier General Goddard having crossed the River Myhe, on their Return to the Southward to Ahmedabad, was joined by the Forces of the Madras Establishment, consisting of Europeans, commanded by Colonel Brown.

20. On their Arrival on the South Side of Mohir, it was found that Malajee Scindia and Tuckjee Holkar, with their Forces, consisting of about 40,000 Horse, after entering Olandah, had proceeded towards Surat; within 30 Miles of this Place, they had advanced, when receiving Intelligence of the Siege of Ahmedabad, they bent their Course to the Northward, in hopes of arriving in sufficient Time to succour the Besieged; but finding their Expectations disappointed, by the early Capture of the Place, and that the General with his Army was marching quickly towards them, they had moved off with their whole Force towards Poonah, a strong, and by them deemed an impregnable Fort, situated on a high and bare Hill. Here they continued for some Time; and during their Stay there was some Negotiation for an Peace between the Two Chiefs and General Goddard. The intercourse commenced by their Release of Messrs. Farmer and Stewart from the Confinement which they had long suffered, as Hostages for the Performance of the Engagements made at Wurgoom, and the Mission of a confidential Person, named Abajee Shabjee, charged with Letters to the General, and accompany these Gentlemen to the English Camp. A particular Account of the Correspondence between the General and the Maratta Chiefs, appears in his Letters to the President and Secret Committee, of the 10th, 15th, and 17th March; It commenced, on the Part of Scindia, with general Expressions of his Friendship for the English, on Account of the Proof which he had given of it, in the Regard shown them at Wurgoom, his Perseverance in the same Sentiments towards them to the present Period, manifested by his Treatment of Messrs. Farmer and Stewart, during their Residence in his Camp, and the Liberty which he had granted them to return; and a Desire to be informed if our Intentions were of a hostile or friendly Nature towards the Peshwa and his Offspring. The Replies made by General Goddard were as general as the Propositions to which they were Answers; stated the Cause of Quarrel with the Minister, to whose pernicious Councils he ascribed it, and its Consequences. It is necessary to observe, that at this Period there was a supposed Enmity between Nana the Minister, and Malajee Scindia, and that the same was avowed by Abajee Shabjee, the confidential Person before named as charged with Letters to the English Camp; though it is said, by General Goddard, that there is no Reason to believe that no such Enmity actually existed, and that it was declared merely to answer Purposes expected from it. The Proposals at last made by Scindia, through his confidential Agent, were to this Effect: That the Agreement said to have been made between Ragoba and Scindia, at Tiliagang, after the Retreat of the English Army to Bombay, should be revived.—In this Agreement, the former is said to have consented to relinquish all Claims to any Share in the Administration of Poonah, and to retire towards Jancy, where he would receive an Allowance from the Peshwa's Revenue of Twelve Lacks of Rupees per Annum; that the Success should be struck in the Name of the young Peshwa Madarow Narrain; and that Badjarow, the Son of Ragoba, should be appointed his Dewan; but being only Four Years of Age, and therefore too young to transact the Business of the Office himself, the Care and Management of it should be left entirely to Scindia. This Agreement, it was proposed, should now be put in Force, that Ragoba should immediately go to Jancy, and young Badjarow accompany Scindia to Poonah, in order to fix the Administration in the Manner above mentioned. The Answer made by General Goddard to these Proposals, was to the following Effect: "That the English could not, consistently with their Honour, nor ever could, agree to put any Restraint on Ragoba, or compel him to leave their Dominions against his own Consent; That however much they might be induced to unite in the proposed Settlement, they must be perfectly satisfied respecting the Safety of young Badjarow; That every thing must be quietly settled at Poonah, before his Presence would be expedient, or even necessary there; and that, admitting even the English did agree to assist in putting the Power of the State into the Hands of Scindia, it was necessary that he also should, on his Part, and in the Name of the Peshwa, consent to the Performance of certain Conditions favourable to their Interests, as well in Consideration of the important Advantages he was to receive through their Means, as to compensate for the heavy Expence of the Wars, which formerly, and in particular at this Time, they had been involuntarily compelled to wage with the Maratta State." With this Answer, and general Assurances of a sincere Disposition towards an Accommodation, on Terms of an honourable Nature, the Maratta Agent was dismissed on his Master's; it does not appear that any further Correspondence passed between the Two Camps.

21. In a Letter written by him to General Goddard, on Receipt of the Advice which have been there quoted, we explained to him the Principles which we required him to follow, with respect to Ragoba; deeming our Obligations to this Chief little more than

negative,



negotiate, entirely confined to the perfect Protection of his Person, and a future Pledge for his Subdience. These Points having been stated, we positively insisted, that Consideration of the supposed Rights or Interests of Ragoba should ever be a Bar or a Hindrance to a peaceable Accommodation with the Maratta State. The Provision stipulated for him in the Treaty of Poorender, being in our Opinion adequate to his Rank, Wounds, and placing him in a State of Safety and Independence, we should have approved of the Offers made to General Goddard by Mhadajee Scindia, for the Restoration of Ray at Jancy, with such a Provision for his Subdience, if that Fortitude and his Dependence on such a Portion of it, was equal to the clear Revenue intended to be appropriated to Use, were assigned to him absolutely and independently of any other Contract.

23. These are the Principles which we laid down with respect to Ragoba; and we have confirmed them in late Letters to Brigadier General Goddard, desiring him to assure Ragoba that he may depend upon our Protection during the War in which we are involved with the Marattas, and our Regard to his personal Safety and Interest, as far as it may be in our Power to provide for him after it.

24. You will observe, in the Perusal of the General's Complaint, the Reasons which he assigns, for the large Allowance which he had allotted to Ragoba; and as these are stated by him as his Justification upon an important Point, we do him thereby Justice in referring your Attention to them. Our Orders had been positive and repeated for the Discontinuance of the Stipend allotted to Ragoba; but the necessity of affording some Allowance appearing to the General in a strong Point of View, and to the President and Select Committee of Bombay, whose view and Opinion he received on this Occasion, we have come for the Reasons stated to us, to the reduced Allowance given by the General to Ragoba of 12,000 Rupees a Month.

25. With respect to the Operations of your Troops under the Command of General Goddard, from the Capture of Ahmedabad, we shall be as brief as possible (in order, reserving you for a fuller Detail to his own Account.

26. In the Morning of the 31<sup>st</sup> April, Brigadier General Goddard, taking with him Part of his Army, consisting of 200 Europeans, 20 Companies of Grenadier Sepoy Battalions of Sepoys, and the Mugal and Candahar Cavalry, surprised and stormed Maratta Camp, obliging the Enemy to make a quick Flight.—On the 3<sup>rd</sup> May, he forced, with Two Battalions of Sepoys, surprised a Body of the Enemy, consisting of 4,000 Horse, commanded by two principal Officers, named Baghlaty Scindia and Pa Punt, whose Design was to watch the Motions of our Army, and to lay waste the Country; and he dispersed the Whole.

27. About the same Time Lieutenant Welch having been detached with the Regiments of Cavalry, the Candahar Horse, and the 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion of Sepoys, against General Punt, a Maratta Officer, who with a Body of 4,000 Horse, 3,000 Foot, and 31 Pieces, had been ravaging and greatly infesting the Environs of Surat, performed Service with complete Success; and, what redounds to the Credit of his Gallantry and Conduct, with the Assistance only of the Cavalry, for the Infantry were left pursuing a Distance, his Intention being to push forward with all possible Expedition, and to reach the Camp of the Enemy before Day break: He put them all to a precipitate Flight, possessed himself of their whole Camp, their Guns, their Tents, and their Baggage. Lieutenant Welch has since distinguished his Conduct in the Capture of Paragore, and other Services, and shewn himself an active and good Officer.

28. We have only generally to observe, in Addition to this Recital, that the unhappy Talk of pursuing a Maratta Force, without the Possibility of bringing them to Engagement, has induced Brigadier General Goddard, since his Succession, which made the Company and their Army complete Masters of Guzerat, to employ his chief Force for the Defence of the acquired Countries, and in securing the Possessions of revenue from it; and we have the Happiness to know, at the same Time that we in the heavy Expence which has been necessarily incurred in the Prosecution of the War, the Operations of your Forces in the Course of it, have retrieved the Character which they lost by the melancholy Disaster which befall them in January 1779, and placed in the First Degree of Credit and Estimation.

29. The Necessity of maintaining so large a Force at the Expence of the British Treasury, has occasioned so quick a Drain of it as to make the further Support or Charge almost impossible; and it seems to us only reasonable that every Accessible Revenue which might immediately arise to the Company, from the Operations and

costs of the Army, should be appropriated exclusively to the Payment of its Expences, we informed the Gentlemen of Bombay of our Expectations in this Particular; and have the Pleasure to know from their late Letters, that they have assigned the first Collections from the Pergunnahs, under the Management of the Chief and Council at Surat, solely to that Purpose.

30. The Necessity of a Reduction of Expence, no less than a Belief that the Gentlemen at Fort Saint George would require the Services of the Troops under Colonel Brown, detached from that Presidency, to make a Part of General Goddard's Army, induced us on the 20th April, to direct that they should be sent back, as soon as he could dispense with their Services. They consist of One Company of European Artillery, Seven of Infantry, and One Battalion of Sepoys. The same Consideration of lessening Expence, induced us to order the Reduction of the 1st Regiment of Cavalry with General Goddard's Army. They had not been at that Time even noticed to us as a useful Corps to the Operations of the Detachment, and the Expence attending it was very considerable; but the strong Recommendation which we have since received of their Merits from General Goddard, grounded on their late Activity and Services, and the Desire which he has expressed for their Continuance in his Army, have prevailed on us to revoke our Orders to him of the 20th April to disband them.

31. We have not yet sufficiently considered the last Advices from General Goddard, or those from Bombay, respecting the future Operations of their Troops, and the other Subjects to which they relate, to reply to them; but they appear on

Conf. 3d Oct.

23d Nov.

the Proceedings noted in the Margin. The whole Army under the Command of Brigadier General Goddard, was probably embarked from Surat the Beginning of October; we entertain a Hope that the

are now in Possession of Bassien, and by the Assistance of the Bombay Troops of the Country around it. At this Distance from the Scene of Action, it has not been possible for us to prescribe a fixed Plan of Operations for General Goddard's Forces after the Capture of Bassien. Well acquainted as he is with our general

Conf. 9th Oct.

Sentiments, we have thought it best to leave him generally to his own Discretion in this Respect, excepting where he shall receive Orders from the Commander in Chief, which we have directed him to obey; and in the Event of the Arrival of a French Armament on the Coast of Malabar, when he is positively ordered to employ his Force for the Assistance of the Presidency of Bombay.

Conf. 26th Oct.

32. We thought it necessary on the 16th ultimo, to empower Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, and did accordingly empower him, to issue such Orders as he should judge expedient, to every Detachment that has or may be made from the Military Establishment of this Presidency, for the general Service of the War in which the Company's Forces are engaged.

33. We are happy to inform you, that our Successes against the Marattas have not been limited to the Operations in Guzerat. The same Spirit which has animated your Forces in that Country, and the same Gallantry and good Conduct which has distinguished their Commanders, has shewn itself in the Detachment of your Troops employed in the Service of our Ally, the Rana of Ghode.—The Capture of Labaar Fort, the 28th April, and the subsequent and very important Capture of the Fortrels of Guilor, of which you were advised in a separate Letter, written to you under Date the 24th August, by a neutral Ship, reflect the highest Honour on the Officer in Command of your Troops, as well as those subordinate to him. We have thought it necessary to reward the Service of Captain Popham, by promoting him to the Rank of Major; and we have granted a Commission accordingly, specifying particularly in the Body of it, for what Services it was given him, his Title to the Rank which he held by it, not being in the regular Course of Succession. His Conduct during the whole Course of this Service, has been so meritorious, that we think it a Duty incumbent upon us, to recommend him particularly to your Favour. We have directed that the Fort of Gualior should continue in Possession of your Troops during the Continuance of the War.

Conf. 12

19

26

29

13th

20

11th Sept.

13th Nov.

} June.

} July

34. Long before the Capture of Gualior, we had resolved on the Relief of the Battalion of Drafts, acting under the Command of Captain Popham, by four regular Battalions detached from the Brigades; and the Command of the Troops so detached, was given to Major Carnac.—Some Difference of Opinion having arisen, on a Proposition made by the Governor General, for an Increase of this Force, and on the Powers and Instructions to be granted to Major Carnac, we beg Leave to refer you, for an Explanation, to the several Minutes which are entered in the Consultation, noted in the

Margin;

**Conf. 12th June.** Margin ; content now to inform you generally, that the Instructions  
**13th Nov.** given to Major Carnac, were as proposed on the 12th June; that the Battalion of Drafts, formerly serving under Captain Popham, are appointed to the Establishment ; and that the whole Force, consisting of Seven Battalions of Sepoys, is now under the Command of Major Carnac, as well as the Corps of Foreign Rangers, formerly on Duty as a Guard to the Commander in Chief.

35. Our Endeavours have been exerted to obtain for the Nabob Vizier, complete Payment of the Company's whole Demand upon him for the last Year ; but without Effect.

**Conf. 3d and** The Distress of his Situation, and his Inability to attend to the Re-  
**30th April.** quisitions made of him now described in so strong Colours, that we have been obliged to relax in some Degree from our Demand upon him for the present, though not without an Expectation that the Claims of the ensuing Year will have been entirely provided for, together with the Debt of the foregoing, at the late Settlement. Having strongly recommended to Mr. Purling, to urge his Excellency to the Diminution of some large and unnecessary Expences, which we observed in a State of his Finances transmitted to us, we trust that the Advice given him will have a good Effect, and that better Economy for the future will enable him to discharge his entire Debt to the Company, without Distress to himself. Mr. Purling has lately remitted to us the Sum of Five Lacks of Fyzabad Rupees, which is safely arrived here, and placed in our Treasury.

36. We have thought it necessary to require from the Rajah of Benares, the same Subsidy for the ensuing Year that he paid in the last, as his Proportion in the Expence of the War. He for some Time hesitated to comply with the Demand, and we were obliged to resolve on Measures of Compulsion ; but he has since paid the Account, and we have stopped the Execution of those Measures. The Support which he receives from this Government, to whom he owes all that he possesses ; the known Affluence of his Circumstances, notwithstanding his Pretexes to the contrary ; and the Interest which he possesses in chief

**Conf. 2d Nov.** over all other Persons subject to us in the Company's Prosperity and Success, have induced us to require of him the Assistance of such a Body of Cavalry as he can spare for the Company's Employ ; under a Promise made to him, that their Services will not be required beyond

**Conf. 2d Nov.** the Continuance of the War. We have also strongly recommended to the Nabob Vizier to require from Fyzoola Cawn, the Quota of Troops, consisting of 5000 Horse, stipulated by Treaty to be furnished by the latter ; and we do not doubt of his ready Obedience to the Requisition.

37. We have at present no more to add to the Advices herewith sent you from this Department, and to those which we had the Honour to transmit you by the Tryal Packer. In our next Dispatches, we shall hope to be able to inform you of the Event of the Offers made by us to the Maratta State, and to send you a prosperous Account of the State of your Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel.

We are,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful

humble Servants,

Warren Hastings.

Edw. Wheler.

Fort William,

the 29th November, 1780.



F O U R T H  
R E P O R T  
FROM THE  
COMMITTEE OF SECRECY  
APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO  
THE CAUSES OF THE WAR  
IN THE  
C A R N A T I C,  
AND OF  
THE CONDITION OF THE BRITISH  
POSSESSIONS IN THOSE PARTS.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for J. DEBRET, (Successor to Mr. ALMON,)  
opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.



# F O U R T H R E P O R T FROM THE COMMITTEE OF SECRECY, &

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The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the Cause of the War that now subsists in the Carnatic, and of the present Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts; and report the same, with their Observations thereupon, to the House; and who were instructed to enquire into the Rise, Progress, Conduct, and present State of the Maratta War, and all other Hostilities in which the Presidency of Bengal now are or have been engaged in the Support of that War; and the Effects which the said War and Hostilities may have produced in Bengal, and the other Settlements and Possessions of the East-India Company,

**I**N the original Plan of their Report, proposed, after giving Account of the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, with the military Transactions that happened in Consequence thereof, and the Intelligence which the Company's Servants had received of the hostile Intentions of that Prince; to state the Conduct of the Company's Servants, as far as it appears to have had any Influence on the Transactions, under Three Heads; Military, Political, and Revenue.

Of these Three general Heads, the First makes the Subject of the former Report; the Second will be separately considered. In the present Report, your Committee propose, as far as the Materials they have had Access to enable them, to mention such Particulars respecting the Revenue of the Company, under the Presidency of Fort St. George, as may be of Importance for the Information of the House.

Your Committee, however, beg Leave to observe, that this Part of their Business has been much abridged, in Consequence of the Variation which they thought it necessary to make upon their original Plan. In the Introduction to their Second Report, they informed the House



That having found several special Matters relating to the Conduct of the Two last Governors of Fort Saint George, and of their respective Councils, which appeared proper to be communicated to the House; they thought it their Duty to make a Report of the special Matters as early as possible, and without waiting to complete their General Report. Of those special Matters, which make the Subject of the Second Report, a very considerable Part relates to the Conduct of the Company's Servants in the Management of the Revenues; and in that View was originally intended to be introduced under this general Head. To introduce the same Matters here again, would occasion an unnecessary Repetition. To that Part of the Second Report, therefore, your Committee beg Leave to refer for Information in these Particulars; proposing here, after mentioning what appears to have been the State of the Treasury at the Time of the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, to give only a general View of the Nature, Amount, and Expenditure, of the Revenues; with such Observations respecting them, as did not fall within the Plan of that special Report.

Your Committee find, That at the Time of Hyder Ally's Irruption into the Carnatic, the State of the Treasury of Fort Saint George, and of the Money at their Command, was by no Means such as could enable the Presidency, from its own Resources, to resist so formidable an Attack. Mr. Sadlier, in his Minute of July

Fort St. George 29th, 1780, charges the President and Council with Minutes of Conf. having taken "no Pains to replenish an empty 29th July 1780. "Treasury; that the Nabob had declared he had "no Money; that the Rajah of Tanjore had made

"the same Declaration; that the Masulipatam Districts of the Northern Circars were so far from being able to furnish the Supplies, "that Arrears of Tribute then amounted to Seventeen Lacks of "Pagodas; that Sitteram Rauze, the most wealthy Zemindar under "the Company, had not paid his Kists, and instead of his being pressed "to pay them, a Remission of Tribute was voted to him; that Ball "Kittna was in Arrears, nor was it believed that he would be ever "induced to make good his Engagements."—Mr. Sadlier adds, "That notwithstanding that bad State of the Revenue, Money might "be raised, and enough of it too, had Government acted with Spirit "and Resolution; but that both were wanting when both were most "required—That the Nabob's Territories had remained in Peace "ever since the Year 1769; that considerable Additions had been "made to them since that Time; that his Expences were by no "Means adequate to his Revenue—he asks, What then is become of "the Overplus?—that his Revenues had been diminishing annually; "that the Revenues of the other Countries subject to Madras, had "been diminishing in the same Proportion; that their Specie had "been transported to China and to Europe, at the Rate of Ten and "Fifteen Lacks of Pagodas annually; but that though much had "been carried away, enough still remained, and that the Means were "still within their Reach, if they would but exert themselves with "Activity and Spirit."

This

This melancholy Picture of the Finances, drawn by Mr. Sadlier, remains uncontradicted; nor, though an Answer is made to his Minute by the Governor and Commander in Chief, is any Reply made to this Part of the Charge contained in it.

Your Committee find, That in a Letter dated 26th July, the Governor had applied to the Nabob Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 1. to know what Assistance might be depended upon from him, to resist the Attack of Hyder Ally, and particularly to know what Supplies of Money might be depended upon from him, and at what Period; adding, That however desirous he might be to defend the Company's and his Highness's Forts and Possessions, it would in a great Measure depend upon the ample Supplies of Money his Highness could furnish him with at that critical Juncture.

To this Demand the Nabob returns a very long Answer, stating his utter Inability to advance any Money; imputing his Distress to his being de- See Appendix to 1st Report, N<sup>o</sup> 8. prived of the Tanjore Country, to the Anticipations he had been under the Necessity of making on his Revenues, and the Depredations of the Enemy's Cavalry; and concludes with intreating the Governor to use every Exertion in his Power to procure what might be immediately wanted, which he would discharge in Time of Peace, considering himself, in every Respect, as Principal in the War then waged against the Carnatic.

This Account of the Nabob's Distress, is confirmed by Sir Eyre Coote; who, in his Letter to the Committee of Correspondence at the India-House, dated 30th November, 1780, after describing the bad State in which he found the Affairs under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, upon his Arrival there, and the total Want of all necessary Supplies, adds, Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Committee of Correspondence, Nov. 30th, 1780. "I naturally turned my Eyes towards the Nabob Mahomed Ali; but figure my Disappointment, when, instead of finding him in a Situation to assist our Exigencies, I learnt from his own Mouth, that he had neither Men, Money, nor Influence, and that he looked to the Company for the Support of both his Interest and Credit."

A similar Application was made to the Rajah of Tanjore, but with as little Success. He excused Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 2. himself on the Ground of Want of Money, and Aug. 7th, 1780. the Oppression his Country had suffered under the Nabob, which had left him so little in Condition to assist the Company with Money, that it was with Difficulty he had paid his Subsidy of Four Lacks.

Your Committee find, that in this Exigency, Application was made to the Supreme Governor and Council for Assistance, and particularly for a Supply of Money, which was urged in the most pressing Terms. The Select Committee of Fort Saint George, informs the Governor-General and Council, in their Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 3. Letter of the 26th of July, 1780, that it would be impossible for them to draw Resources from the Country, so as to be able

able to act with Vigour and Effect: And in that of Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 3. the 14th of September, that they had no Means whatever to answer the extraordinary Expences of the War; and that it would be totally impossible for them to carry it on, unless they could be sure of Supplies of Money from Bengal.— They add, “ That it would be a great Relief, if a Sum of Money

“ could be sent immediately after the Receipt of Secret Proceed- “ these Dispatches.” And Sir Edward Hughes, ings of the Go- in his Letter of the same Date, to the Governor- vernor General General and Council, after mentioning the Ne- and Council, 22d cessity of sending a Supply of Troops from Bengal; Sept. 1780. adds, “ Nor will Troops alone save this sinking

“ Settlement; for I am assured by the Governor, “ that they have no Money in the Treasury, nor any evident Means “ of raising it, in any Proportion adequate to their present Exi- “ gencies.”

And your Committee find, that the President and Council express themselves in the same manner with respect to their Finances, in their Dispatches to the Court of Directors. In the

Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 4. Letter from the Select Committee of Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated October 15, 1780, they write that, “ They had been put to the greatest Distress “ for the Want of Money to carry on the War.”

Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 4. And in their General Letter of the same Date; they inform the Directors of the Means they had taken to supply that Want—That they had issued Advertisements for receiving Loans from the Inhabitants, on certain Terms which they mention: But that the Supply, by that Means obtained, proving inadequate, and having no Hope of any immediate Relief that could be deemed effectual, they had been under the unavoidable Necessity, as the last Resource, to draw Bills on the Directors to the Amount of £. 200,000.

Your Committee find, that the Consequence of Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 5. the Application to Bengal, was a Supply of Fifteen Lacks of Rupees, which the Governor-General and Council sent by Sir Eyre Coote. But they find that this Sum, being intended wholly to answer Military Expences, was entrusted not to the President and Council of Fort Saint George, but to Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief; and that a Paymaster was appointed by the Governor-General and Council, to whom the immediate Charge of it was committed: But the Governor-General and Council authorized Sir Eyre Coote to make use of this Money, in supplying the Requisitions of the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, if he should be satisfied of the Expediency of doing so.

And your Committee find, that these Supplies Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 5. appear still to have been insufficient: For in a Letter of the 29th of November, to the Court of Directors, the Select Committee writes, “ That they can place but little De- “ pendence on any Resource, but that of Bengal, for carrying on the “ War; and that as to the Expences of the Civil Department, they “ have

A. 1784.

# D E B A T E S.

“ have very slender Hope of procuring sufficient to answer them  
“ any Quarter.”

And Sir Eyre Coote, in a Letter dated 10th of November 1780, to the Governor-General and Council, informs them, that “ by the nearest Computation he could make, the future Disbursements at Fort Saint George would rather exceed Seven Lacks of Rupees per Month, every Cowrie of which must come from Bengal, as he found there were no sources there, from which a single Pagoda could be expected.”

Your Committee, observing this Distress for Money at Fort George at this particular Period, ordered the Servants of the India Company to lay before them, a State of the Treasuries of different Presidencies for the last Four Years.

In Obedience to this Order, there was laid before your Committee a State of the several Treasuries, for Four Years preceding the Period to which they could be made up. That of Madras is made to the 25th of March 1780, and is as follows :

30th June 1777	—	Pag. 4,29,552	at 81.	£. 17
31st January 1778	—	3,57,794	—	14
28th February 1779	—	2,36,916	—	9
25th March 1780	—	2,88,238	—	11

Your Committee are aware, that as this Account is made up to the 25th of March, which your Committee was informed was the lowest Period to which the Materials at the India-House admit its being brought, it cannot be considered as giving any satisfactory Information with respect to the State of the Treasury, at the Time of the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic ; and as there is no Reference in the Periods to which the State is made up each Year, a very exact Comparison can be made of the State of the Treasury in these respective Years. But so far your Committee think themselves warranted to observe from this Account, that on the 25th March the State of the Treasury was not such, as, upon a Comparison with the Situation at other Periods, implied any particular Attention to the Object.

It is proper that your Committee should observe, that on several Occasions preceding the Period of Hyder Ally's Irruption, the President and Council at Fort Saint George appear to have represented the Difficulties with respect to Money. The Revenues under that Presidency are stated as barely sufficient for their Peace Establishment ; even those Revenues are not to be depended upon in Case of an emergency, owing to the Irregularity of the Payments, particularly from the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore. On the 31st of December 1778, they informed the Governor General and Council, by Letter, that they had written particularly to the Court of Directors, on the Subject of their Engagements with the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore ; and requested that they would fall on

Means of relieving them from the Embarrassments they were exposed to, in defending such extensive Territories, without having the least Command over one Resource belonging to them—That, in the mean Time, they flattered themselves that the Governor General and Council would yield them every Aid in their Power, and particularly at a Period when they were obliged to make Exertions much beyond their natural Strength; and when they had nothing to trust to for supporting them, but Engagements to be performed, and Revenues to be collected.

At a Consultation on the 14th January 1779, Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 6. at which Sir Eyre Coote, then at Madras on his Way to Bengal, was present, the President—after mentioning Sir Eyre Coote's Presence as a fortunate Circumstance, because, having an Opportunity, from his own Observation, to form a Judgment of their Resources, and of the Difficulties they had, and still have, to struggle with, he might, from his own Knowledge, be able to enforce their Representations to the Supreme Council—refers to former Minutes, in Evidence of their Difficulties; apologizes for the Necessity they had been under of drawing Bills upon the Company, from the Impossibility of raising Money in any other Manner, for paying the Arrears due to the Troops: And adds, That notwithstanding the Money borrowed, they had then an empty Treasury—That if the Nabob should fail in his Engagements, the most serious Consequences were to be apprehended—That they had represented their Situation to the Governor General and Council; and that, if they did not receive a Supply, they would be under the Necessity of drawing on Europe—That it was absolutely necessary to act with Vigour, in order to obtain Money from those Channels from whence it ought to flow; and by a determined Plan of Economy, and a Reduction of all Expence, to endeavour to supply the Treasury—That though it would be improper and dangerous to reduce their Military Force at the Commencement of a War, yet, that he had no Hesitation to give it as his Opinion, that their Establishment was too great for their Resources.

In a subsequent Minute, of Date the 4th of Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 7. February 1779, at which Sir Eyre Coote was also present, the President lays before the Board, the Intelligence he had received of the bad Success of the Bombay Army against the Marattas, and the Necessity thence arising, of taking into Consideration their own State and Resources, as well for the Defence of the Carnatic as for affording Assistance to any other Parts of the Company's Possessions, or of those of their Allies;—mentions his frequent Representations of the Difficulties they had to struggle with; and that the utmost they could expect, was to supply their Exigencies on a Peace Establishment, and to provide their Investments. That their Situation had been represented to the Governor General and Council; but that they should still address them in a more particular Manner on the Subject, and request that they would not only afford them Assistance from the Bengal Treasury, in order to enable their Army to take the Field (should Circumstances make it necessary) but that they would

would give them their Opinion on such Points as they had submitted to their Consideration; and in particular, the Mode of securing the regular Payment of the Subsidies from the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore.

In a Minute of the same Date, Sir Eyre Coote expresses his Concurrence with the President, in the Necessity there was of making this Representation to the Government of Bengal.

Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 7.

And your Committee find, that, upon other Occasions, the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, have been stated in the same Manner, as barely equal to their Establishment in Time of Peace, and providing the Investment, but not to the contingent Expences of War; and accordingly it appears, that to enable that Government to carry on the Expedition against Pondicherry and that to Mahé, they received a Supply of Twenty Lacks of Rupees from Bengal.

Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 8.

Letter from the President and Council of Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, April 3d, 1780.

Your Committee next proceeded to enquire more particularly into the Nature of the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, and the different Sources from which these Revenues arise: And your Committee find, that the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, properly so called, consist of Three general Heads:

First, Revenues issuing out of Lands.

Secondly, Duties and Customs.

Thirdly, Farms of exclusive Privileges.

And your Committee find, that the Lands subject to the Presidency of Fort Saint George, are,

First, The Lands immediately contiguous to the Presidency, consisting of the District round Fort Saint George, of which the Company had been long in Possession; and the Jaghire Lands, which were acquired from Mahomed Ali Cawn, Nabob of the Carnatic, by Grant, dated October 29th 1763, and confirmed to the Company by the Mogul's Firmaun, dated the 12th of August 1765.

Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 9.

Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 9.

Secondly, The Territory of Cuddalore, or Fort Saint David's.

Thirdly, The Districts of Masulipatam and Nizampatam, with the Five Circars of Elur, Rajahmundry, Mustaphanagur, Chica-cole, and Mortezanagur Condavir or Guntoor, commonly called the Five Northern Circars.

And your Committee find, that the Districts of Masulipatam and Nizampatam were acquired from the Subah of the Decan by a Grant, dated May 14th 1759; and that the Five Circars were granted to the Company by the Mogul's Firmaun, dated the 12th of August 1765, and afterwards confirmed to them by Treaty with the Nizam or Subah of the Decan, to whose Government they had been subject. By this Treaty, dated 12th November 1766, the Circar of Mortezanagur or Guntoor, which had been, previous to the Treaty, granted in Jaghire by the

Append. N<sup>o</sup> 10.

Append. N<sup>o</sup> 10.

Append. N<sup>o</sup> 10.



Nizam to his Brother Bazalet Jung, is reserved to that Prince during his Life; and the Company engages to pay to the Nizam for the Three Circars of Elur, Rajahmundry, and Mustaphanagur, Five Lacks of Rupees Yearly, and Two Lacks for each of those of Mortezanagur and Chicacole; the first of which was in the Possession of Bazalet Jung, and the other, not then reduced to Obedience, as soon as the Company should be put into Possession of them; making in all Nine Lacks Yearly.

And your Committee find, that, by a subsequent Append. N<sup>o</sup> 10. Treaty, dated the 23d Day of February 1768, between the Company, the Nizam, and the Nabob of the Carnatic, in which the Northern Circars are confirmed to the Company, the Annual Payment to the Nizam for the Four Circars of which the Company was then in Possession, is reduced to Two Lacks of Rupees for Six Years, and One Lack more, if during that Time they should obtain Possession of the Circar of Guntoor; and after the Six Years, Five Lacks for the Four Circars, with Two more when Guntoor should come into their Possession; making in all Seven Lacks.

Select Letter from Fourthly, The Company did, in the Year 1778, Fort St. George, acquire from the Rajah of Tanjore the Territory 17th Oct. 1778. of Nagore.

Your Committee find, that this District, which lies upon the Sea Coast in the Kingdom of Tanjore, and is valued at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Lacks of Rupees Yearly, was obtained from the Rajah, in lieu of a Grant of Lands round Devicottah, which the Rajah had voluntarily offered to the Company, in Gratitude for being restored to his Dominions, under the Government of Lord Pigot.

Lastly, The Company has, since the Commencement of the present War, acquired from the French, Pondicherry and Karrical, with their Territories.

And your Committee having made Inquiry into the Nature of the Territorial Possessions of the Company, find, that these Possessions are distinguished chiefly into Two Kinds, known by the Names of the Havilly or Government Lands, and the Zemindary Lands.—That the Havilly or Government Lands, are Lands which belong in full Property to the Government (in this Case the Company) and to which no Rajah or Zemindar has any Right: And these Lands are either possessed by the Government itself, or let out to Renters for a certain Annual Rent.

That the Zemindary Lands are the Possessions of certain Rajahs or Chiefs, who pay an Annual Tribute, as settled by a Rent Roll, or Jummabundy, to the Government, according to the Value of their Possessions.

And your Committee find, that though the Amount of the Tribute in the Zemindary Lands is variable, and settled only by temporary Agreements between the Government and the Zemindars, either for One or more Years; yet that these last are understood to have a permanent



permanent Claim to the Possession of their Lands, and a Right transmitting them to their Heirs.

In a Letter from the President and Council of Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, Append. N<sup>o</sup> 1 dated 8th Mar. 1769, in which they state the Distinction between Zemindary and Havilly Lands; it is said, That the Tribute paid by the Zemindars, ought to be certain and invariable, though that has not always been strictly observed; and Changes of Government have always introduced Changes in the Tribute—thus add, That this is of no great Consequence, for besides these fixed Tributes, (supposing they were so) the Supreme Government has always demanded, and Custom has given Sanction and Title to, a further Sum, as a Nazâr or Free Gift; and that these two Sums, the Tribute and Nazâr, are what they mean when they speak of settling the Jummabundy with the Zemindars.

Your Committee do not find in the Records of the Company which they have perused, any other Mention of this Nazâr or Free Gift, paid to the Government, distinct from the Tribute; nor do either the Agreements made with the Zemindars, or the Accounts of the Revenues transmitted Home, make any Mention of it.

Your Committee find a Passage in the Revenue Consultations Fort Saint George, of Date 31st August 1774, which, as it tends to explain the Nature and Origin of the Rights of the Rajahs or Zemindars to the Possession of their Lands in the Northern Circars, where alone there are any Zemindaries under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, and to illustrate the State of the Company's Possessions in that Quarter, they will here insert: "The Zemindars in general are hereditary Landholders, who, on certain Conditions, have held the Lands they now possess in their Families for a considerable Number of Years; some however cannot claim such long Right, but have been created Zemindars by the Subahs, who have governed Hyderabad, since the Death of Nizam ul Mulk.

"During the Rigour of the Moorish Government, they were obliged, by the Condition of their Tenure, to assist the Subah with a certain Number of Troops for Military Services, and to pay a Tribute besides, in Proportion to the Value of their Countries; but as the Government became weakened, they often refused Obedience, until compelled by Force, and their Refusal often ended in their Expulsion from their Zemindaries; but even in such Cases, the Government found the Attachment of the People to the Zemindars so strong, that they could seldom collect any Part of the Revenues; and in general, they rather chose to give the Lands again to one of the Family, than to annex them to the Crown.

"This Weakness of the Moorish Government, gave frequent Opportunities to the principal Zemindars to increase their Power. They seized upon the Lands of those who were unable to resist them, and so far, as to wrest the Havilly or Government Lands from the Government itself—By these Means many of them became possessed of large Tracts of Country, and maintained a considerable

“ Number of Troops, particularly the Zemindar of Vizianagram,  
 “ in the Chicacole Circar.

“ In this Situation we found the Zemindars when we obtained the  
 “ Mogul's Phirmaunds. Unaccustomed to ready Compliance with  
 “ any Requisitions of Government, and apprehensive of suffering by  
 “ a Change of Masters, it is easy to conceive how little they were  
 “ disposed to obey the new Orders of the Mogul. The Board confi-  
 “ dering these Difficulties, and the Inconveniences which might a-  
 “ rise to the Company, were they forcibly to possess themselves of the  
 “ Country, in Opposition to the Will of the Zemindars, thought it  
 “ most prudent and adviseable, upon every Account, to make such  
 “ Agreements with them as might secure a reasonable Tribute, and  
 “ yet leave them in an honourable Situation, by confirming them in  
 “ the Rights and Privileges they had enjoyed, and yielding to them  
 “ a competent Maintenance out of the Produce of their Countries.—  
 “ This was explained at a Meeting with some of them; and the  
 “ Zemindars of the Elur and Mustaphanagur Circars, in consequence  
 “ submitted, and entered into an Agreement, which may be seen on  
 “ Reference to the Circar Consultations for 1766. The Zemindars  
 “ of Rajahmundry and Chicacole held out some Time longer, and  
 “ Troops were sent against them; but at length they submitted, and  
 “ the same Mode of Settlement took Place with them, as with the  
 “ Zemindars above-mentioned.”

Your Committee find, in the Consultations of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, in their Revenue Department, of Date January 11th 1777, certain Questions sent to the Chief and Council of Mazulipatam, to be by them put to some of the principal Zemindars dependent on that Settlement, with respect to the Rules of Succession in Zemindaries.—They find, in a subsequent Consultation, of Date the 23d of May 1777, the Answers returned to these Questions by Four of the principal Zemindars; which, as they tend to illustrate the Ideas entertained of the Rights of these hereditary Landholders, with the Rules of Succession established among them, your Committee judged proper to insert in the Appendix.

Your Committee find, that the Right of these hereditary Landholders to the Possession of their Lands, has been recognized by the Court of Directors; who, in their Orders for establishing the Committee of Circuit, 12th April 1775, say, “ That it was by no Means  
 “ their Wish to deprive the hereditary Rajahs or Zemindars of their  
 “ annual Income; on the contrary, that they meant to secure it to  
 “ them.” They add, “ That if any of the Zemindars should prefer  
 “ receiving their Income from the Company, and relinquish their  
 “ hereditary Claims, they had no Objection to allowing them such  
 “ Stipends, as should be found reasonable, in lieu of the Benefits  
 “ arising from their Zemindaries.”

Besides the Havilly and Zemindary Lands, from which the Company draw a Revenue, your Committee find, that there are various Parcels of Land in the Circars which are held by the Possessors under the Name of Inaums, or Charity Lands, whether granted originally  
 for

for charitable Purposes, on Account of Services performed, or as a Gift. The Committee of Circuit, (the Institution and Object of which has been explained in a former Report) in their Letter to the President and Council of Fort Saint George, of Date the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1777, state the Amount of these Charity Lands in the Chicacole Circar, at 40,000 Rupees a Year; and give it as their Opinion, That the Titles to many of these Charity Lands, founded on supposed Grants in the Time of the Moorish Government, had either flowed from the Governors of the Province, who had no Right to make such Grants, or from Collusion with the Revenue Officers, or the Holders of the Grants, from a Conviction that their Claims would not stand the Test of Examination, being contented, for a momentary Gratification, to lend their Names for the Purpose of carrying on an Imposition on Government.

Your Committee next proceeded to enquire into the Nature of the Second Branch of the Revenue, viz. the Customs and Duties.—Your Committee find to consist chiefly of a Duty of 5 or 2½ per Cent according to the Quality of the Goods, imported by Sea or by Land; in respect of which Distinction, these Goods either come under the Sea or Land Customs.

Your Committee find, That these Customs or Duties have usually been received by Collectors appointed by the Company.—They find, however, that in February 1779, Advertisements have been put out for letting them at Rent for Five Years; and a Variety of Proposals appear to have been given in, in consequence of these Advertisements.—This Plan, for which a Decay or Falling off in the Revenue was given as the chief Motive, appears to have been much objected to by the Merchants and Traders of Madras, as hurtful to Trade, and unusual in a Free Government. The Consideration of it was therefore remitted to the Directors at Home; who do not appear to have made any Alteration in the Mode of Collection.

And your Committee find, That the Farms of exclusive Privileges, which make the Third Branch of the Revenue, are, exclusive of Trade in certain Articles, such as Beetle Nut, Tobacco, &c. and for which an annual Payment is made to the Company.

Besides the Three great Branches of the Revenue above-mentioned, there falls to be reckoned, as Part of the Resources of the Company under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, such Proportion of military Expences as is defrayed by the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore.—And your Committee find, That by Agreement between the Company and the Nabob, that Prince is engaged to defray the Expence of Ten Battalions of Sepoys in the Carnatic, besides that of all his Garrisons:—And that the Rajah of Tanjore pays annually, by Agreement, Four Lacks of Pagodas, for the Expence of the Company's Troops in his Country.

Military  
from Fort  
George, 25  
1773.  
Letter from  
Rajah of  
in Consul  
24th April

And your Committee find that these Revenues are either accounted for immediately at the Presidency, or at one or other of the six

nate Stations, at which a Chief and Council reside—That of these subordinate Stations, there are Four under the Presidency of Madras; viz. One at Cuddalore; One at Mazulipatam, for the Circars of Elur, Rajahmundry, and Mustaphanagur; and the Chicacole Circar is divided into Two Districts, that to the South being under the Management of a Chief and Council residing at Vizagapatam, and that to the North, commonly called the Itchapore District, under a Chief and Council residing at Ganjam.

Your Committee having ascertained the Nature of the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, with the Sources from which they flow, proceeded next to enquire into the Produce of these Revenues; and with that View they gave Directions that there should be laid before them, an Account of the Territorial and other Revenues received by the Presidency of Madras, from 1st May 1763 to the last Accounts received, distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Heads under which these Revenues are received, and the Balances under each Head at the End of each Year. This Account they think it proper to lay before the House.

An ACCOUNT of the Territorial and other Revenues received by the Presidency Madras from 1st May 1763 to the last Accounts received; distinguishing each Year and distinguishing the Heads under which it is received, and the Balances under each Head at the End of each Year.

1763-4.		Received under each Head in the Year.	Balance of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Receipts
		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
<b>Fort St. George.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	213,426	190,854			
Customs and Duties	-	63,686	2,005			
Farms and Licences	-	46,110	13,085			
				323,222	205,944	323,2
<b>Cuddalore.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	14,650	10,650			
Customs and Duties	-	3,864	—			
Farms and Licences	-	8,800	3,400			
				27,314	14,050	27,3
<b>Mafulipatam.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	98,656	122,169			
Customs and Duties	-	6,198	4,571			
Farms and Licences	-	1,155	1,816			
				106,009	128,556	106,0
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	3,922	No Accounts are received of the Balances of this Year.			
Customs and Duties	-	226				
Farms and Licences	-	644				
				4,792	—	4,7
			Pag.	461,337	348,550	460,3
					Commission	6,2
					Pag.	454,0

	Received under each Head in the Year.	Balance of each Head.	Total Gross Re- ceipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
<b>1764-5.</b>					
<b>Fort St. George.</b>	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Land Revenues -	242,073	295,863			
Customs and Duties -	57,201	2,205			
Farms and Licenses -	26,143	9,871			
			325,417	307,939	322,217
<b>Cuddalore.</b>					
Land Revenues -	19,333	8,850			
Customs and Duties -	6,014	—			
Farms and Licenses -	8,030	3,050			
			33,377	11,900	33,377
<b>Mafulipatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	88,373	146,371			
Customs and Duties -	12,341	3,809			
Farms and Licenses -	1,816	1,485			
			102,530	151,665	102,530
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	4,838	No Ac- counts received.			
Customs and Duties -	145				
Farms and Licenses -	984				
			5,967	—	5,967
		Pag.	467,291	471,504	464,091
				Commission	6,596
				Pag.	457,495
<b>1765-6.</b>					
<b>Fort St. George.</b>					
Land Revenues -	390,180	294,463			
Customs and Duties -	73,103	2,205			
Farms and Licenses -	35,470	10,381			
			498,753	307,049	497,753
<b>Cuddalore.</b>					
Land Revenues -	11,584	8,850			
Customs and Duties -	5,233	—			
Farms and Licenses -	7,642	3,050			
			24,459	11,900	24,459
<b>Mafulipatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	88,365	171,761			
Customs and Duties -	11,490	3,809			
Farms and Licenses -	1,486	1,285			
			101,341	176,855	101,341
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	3,542	No Ac- counts received.			
Customs and Duties -	58				
Farms and Licenses -	762				
			4,362	—	4,362
		Pag.	628,915	495,804	627,915
				Commission	14,267
				Pag.	613,648

	Received under each Head in the Year.	Balances of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
<u>1766-7.</u>	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
<b>Fort Saint George.</b>					
Land Revenues -	375,250	311,396			
Customs and Duties -	61,689	2,045			
Farms and Licenses -	36,376	26,737			
			473,315	340,178	472,315
<b>Cuddalore.</b>					
Land Revenues -	14,637	10,550			
Customs and Duties -	5,092	—			
Farms and Licenses -	6,483	2,567			
			26,212	13,117	26,212
<b>Mafulipatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	104,025	183,272			
Customs and Duties -	9,669	4,685			
Farms and Licenses -	1,285	—			
			114,979	187,957	114,979
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	4,703	No			
Customs and Duties -	300	Accounts			
Farms and Licenses -	517	received.			
			5,520	—	5,520
<b>Northern Circars.</b>					
Land Revenues -	351,545	358,630			
			351,545	358,630	332,705
		Pag.	971,571	899,882	951,731
				Commission	8,368
				Pag.	943,363
<u>1767-8.</u>					
<b>Fort Saint George.</b>					
Land Revenues -	304,962	397,664			
Custom and Duties -	54,398	2,175			
Farms and Licenses -	35,492	29,904			
			394,852	429,743	387,848
<b>Cuddalore.</b>					
Land Revenues -	25,486	7,700			
Customs and Duties -	4,533	—			
Farms and Licenses -	6,000	2,565			
			36,019	10,265	33,215
<b>Mafulipatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	100,739	206,715			
Customs and Duties -	7,925	6,638			
Farms and Licenses -	1,350	450			
			110,014	213,803	109,786
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	3,447	No			
Customs and Duties -	84	Accounts			
Farms and Licenses -	779	received.			
			4,310	—	4,272
<b>Northern Circars.</b>					
Land Revenues -	419,525	434,880			
			419,525	434,880	418,200
		Pag.	964,720	10,88,691	953,311
				Commission	—
				Pag.	953,321



		Received under each Head in the Year.	Balances of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
<u>1768-9.</u>		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort Saint George.						
Land Revenues	-	252,509	523,684			
Customs and Duties	-	72,048	3,109			
Farms and Licenses	-	35,833	34,771	360,390	561,564	355,227
Cuddalore.						
Land Revenues	-	18,456	9,700			
Customs and Duties	-	5,237	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	6,000	2,566	29,693	12,266	29,053
Masulipatam.						
Land Revenues	-	105,502	214,615			
Customs and Duties	-	11,006	6,638			
Farms and Licenses	-	1,800	450	118,308	221,703	115,452
Vizagapatam.						
Land Revenues	-	5,907	No			
Customs and Duties	-	233	Accounts			
Farms and Licenses	-	527	received.	6,667	—	6,667
Northern Circar.						
Land Revenues	-	490,972	659,155	490,972	659,155	431,100
			Pag.	10,06,030	14,54,688	937,499
					Commission	13,200
					Pag.	924,299
<u>1769-70.</u>						
Fort Saint George.						
Land Revenues	-	479,553	394,157			
Customs and Duties	-	61,040	2,320			
Farms and Licenses	-	41,803	31,157	582,396	427,634	462,036
Cuddalore.						
Land Revenues	-	29,220	14,436			
Customs and Duties	-	4,920	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	6,000	2,566	40,140	17,002	28,690
Masulipatam.						
Land Revenues	-	124,778	191,668			
Customs and Duties	-	11,471	5,829			
Farms and Licenses	-	2,250	450	138,499	197,947	138,499
Vizagapatam.						
Land Revenues	-	4,776	No			
Customs and Duties	-	63	Accounts			
Farms and Licenses	-	691	received.	5,530	—	5,530
Northern Circars.						
Land Revenues	-	801,280	548,134	801,280	548,134	714,805
			Pag.	15,67,845	11,90,717	13,49,560
					Commission	90,285
					Pag.	12,59,275

		Received under each Head in the Year	Balances of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Net Receipts.
1770-7.		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort Saint George.						
Land Revenues	-	381,671	288,792			
Customs and Duties	-	68,506	2,795			
Farms and Licenses	-	36,834	23,568			
				487,013	315,155	474,02
Cuddalore.						
Land Revenues	-	28,817	14,422			
Customs and Duties	-	4,382	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	6,000	2,000			
				39,199	16,422	39,19
Masulipatam.						
Land Revenues	-	111,198	187,927			
Customs and Duties	-	9,774	4,543			
Farms and Licenses	-	2,807	785			
				123,779	193,255	123,09
Vizagapatam.						
Land Revenues	-	5,760	No			
Customs and Duties	-	285	Accounts			
Farms and Licenses	-	778	received.			
				6,213	—	5,79
Northern Circars.						
Land Revenues	-	879,296	750,555			
				879,296	750,555	819,29
			Pag.	15,351,508	12,75,387	14,55,40
					Commission	49,50
					Pag.	14,05,89
1771-2.						
Fort Saint George.						
Land Revenues	-	381,003	6,210			
Customs and Duties	-	67,037	2,045			
Farms and Licenses	-	53,652	1,117			
				501,692	9,372	494,89
Cuddalore.						
Land Revenues	-	21,791	2,100			
Customs and Duties	-	4,928	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	7,067	633			
				33,786	2,733	33,78
Masulipatam.						
Land Revenues	-	133,122	166,419			
Customs and Duties	-	13,603	5,686			
Farms and Licenses	-	3,143	785			
				149,868	172,900	149,86
Vizagapatam.						
Land Revenues	-	3,238	9,230			
Customs and Duties	-	141	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	303	480			
				3,682	9,710	68
Northern Circars.						
Land Revenues	-	866,930	766,280			
				866,930	766,280	788,93
			Pag.	15,55,958	960,995	14,71,16
					Commission	74,01
					Pag.	14,97,14

	Received under each Head in the Year.	Balances of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts
<u>1772-3.</u>	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
<b>Fort Saint George.</b>					
Land Revenues -	396,785	—			
Customs and Duties -	70,486	—			
Farms and Licenses -	43,895	1,541	511,166	1,541	501,517
<b>Cuddalore.</b>					
Land Revenues -	21,405	2,100			
Customs and Duties -	3,665	—			
Farms and Licenses -	7,600	633	32,670	2,733	32,670
<b>Mazulipatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	92,380	134,373			
Customs and Duties -	13,913	3,972			
Farms and Licenses -	3,143	—	109,445	138,342	109,445
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	1,692	13,870			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	572	225	2,264	14,095	2,264
<b>Northern Circars</b>					
Land Revenues -	855,512	418,719	855,512	418,719	762,488
		Pag.	15,11,057	575,430	14,08,384
				Commission	85,304
				Pag.	13,23,080
<u>1773-4.</u>					
<b>Fort Saint George.</b>					
Land Revenues -	388,264	2,310			
Customs and Duties -	63,053	—			
Farms and Licenses -	42,600	2,391	493,917	4,701	485,845
<b>Cuddalore.</b>					
Land Revenues -	20,540	2,100			
Customs and Duties -	3,888	—			
Farms and Licenses -	7,600	633	32,028	2,733	32,028
<b>Mazulipatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	79,307	166,795			
Customs and Duties -	8,967	4,829			
Farms and Licenses -	2,357	786	90,631	172,410	90,639
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>					
Land Revenues -	1,653	16,396			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	372	—	2,025	16,396	2,025
<b>Northern Circars.</b>					
Land Revenues -	889,615	502,484	889,615	502,484	790,097
		Pag.	15,08,216	698,724	14,00,626
				Commission	88,720
				Pag.	13,11,906



		Received under each Head in the Year.	Balance of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
<u>1776-7-</u>						
<b>Fort Saint George.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	375,485	108,181			
Customs and Duties	-	47,422	936			
Farms and Licenses	-	42,200	4,621			
				465,107	113,738	459,454
<b>Cuddalore.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	16,585	2,100			
Customs and Duties	-	3,439	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	4,850	1,017			
				24,874	3,117	24,874
<b>Masulipatam.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	131,194	94,689			
Customs and Duties	-	17,084	2,829			
Farms and Licenses	-	3,143	1,571			
				151,421	99,089	151,421
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	2,564	15,430			
Customs and Duties	-	74	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	252	303			
				2,890	15,733	2,890
<b>Northern Circars.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	963,712	575,053			
				963,712	575,053	854,731
			Pag.	16,08,004	806,730	14,93,370
					Commission	85,000
					Pag.	14,08,370
<u>1777-8.</u>						
<b>Fort Saint George.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	338,993	153,674			
Customs and Duties	-	49,236	2,536			
Farms and Licenses	-	66,859	3,568			
				455,088	159,778	453,282
<b>Cuddalore.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	20,029	8,700			
Customs and Duties	-	3,006	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	4,668	1,017			
				27,703	9,717	26,452
<b>Masulipatam.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	100,000	109,084			
Customs and Duties	-	14,605	2,829			
Farms and Licenses	-	3,143	1,571			
				117,748	113,484	107,103
<b>Vizagapatam.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	2,783	15,805			
Customs and Duties	-	—	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	685	157			
				3,468	15,962	3,468
<b>Northern Circars.</b>						
Land Revenues	-	333,985	11,90,213			
				333,985	11,90,213	162,691
			Pag.	937,992	14,89,154	752,996
					Commission	45,000
					Pag.	707,996

		Received under each Head in the Year.	Balance of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
<u>1778-9.</u>		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort St. George.						
Land Revenues	-	521,929	121,783			
Customs and Duties	-	42,985	791			
Farms and Licenses	-	62,653	1,311	627,567	123,885	626,595
Cuddalore.						
Land Revenues	-	24,979	8,700			
Customs and Duties	-	3,459	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	3,806	1,017	32,244	9,717	32,244
Masulipatam.						
Land Revenues	-	74,792	138,009			
Customs and Duties	-	12,209	6,829			
Farms and Licenses	-	1,571	2,357	88,572	147,195	87,144
Vizagapatam.						
Land Revenues	-	4,400	14,206			
Customs and Duties	-	—	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	438	126	4,838	14,382	4,838
Northern Circars.						
Land Revenues	-	584,000	13,50,996	584,000	13,50,996	556,320
			Pag.	13,37,221	16,46,125	13,07,142
					Commission	71,621
					Pag.	12,35,520
<u>1779-80.</u>						
Fort St. George.						
Land Revenues	-	388,052	No Books			
Customs and Duties	-	44,211	received.			
Farms and Licenses	-	34,957		487,220	—	485,720
Cuddalore.						
Land Revenues	-	15,398	—			
Customs and Duties	-	2,799	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	4,837	—	23,034	—	23,034
Masulipatam.						
Land Revenues	-	44,064	—			
Customs and Duties	-	13,832	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	786	—	58,682	—	57,282
Vizagapatam.						
Land Revenues	-	—	—			
Customs and Duties	-	—	—			
Farms and Licenses	-	229	—	229	—	229
Karrical.						
Land Revenues	-	9,650	—	9,650	—	8,446
Nagore.						
Land Revenues	-	62,87	—	62,875	—	62,875
Northern Circars.						
Land Revenues	-	656,259	—	656,259	—	608,781
			Pag.	12,97,949	—	12,46,367
					Commission estimated	70,000
					Pag.	11,76,367

East India House,  
17th December, 1781.  
Errors excepted.

## Charges of Collection, exclusive of Commission

		Pagodas.
1763- 4	- -	1,000
1764- 5	- -	3,200
1765- 6	- -	1,000
1766- 7	- -	19,840
1767- 8	- -	11,399
1768- 9	- -	68,531
1769-70	- -	218,285
1770- 1	- -	80,106
1771- 2	- -	84,795
1772- 3	- -	102,673
1773- 4	- -	107,590
1774- 5	- -	219,446
1775- 6	- -	183,735
1776- 7	- -	114,634
1777- 8	- -	184,991
1778- 9	- -	30,080
1779-80	- -	51,582

East India House,  
31st December 1781.

Errors excepted,  
John Annis,  
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

The Charges of Collection annexed to the above Account, make the Difference between the Gross and the Nett Receipts. In these Charges your Committee find, that, besides Surveying Charges, Repairs, Presents to the Renters, and Allowances to them on Account of Losses, are comprehended the Payments made on Account of the Pish-cush, or Annual Tribute due to the Nizam for the Northern Circars; with certain Pensions payable out of the Revenues.

The Commission, which appears by the above Account to be deducted from the Nett Receipts, is a Commission upon the Revenues allowed to the Company's Servants.

Your Committee find, in the General Letter to Append. N<sup>o</sup> 13. Fort Saint George of the 25th of March 1768, the Commission regulated in the following Manner:

The Sum of 60,000 Pagodas Yearly, out of the Revenues, was to be divided into One hundred Shares, proportioned among the Company's Civil and Military Servants as follows:

For the Governor, Twenty-one Shares.

For the Second in Council, Five Shares and an Half.

For the rest of the Council, not having Chiefships, Two Shares and an Half each.

The



The Commander in Chief, Eleven Shares.

The Colonels each, Four Shares.

The Lieutenant Colonels each, Two Shares and an Half.

The Majors each, One Share and a Quarter.

Out of what remained of the above Fund unappropriated, there was appointed to be paid a Gratuity of Three Shillings a Day to each Captain, Two Shillings to each Lieutenant, and to Ensigns and Lieutenants Fire-workers One Shilling a Day each.

The Deficiency of the Fund to make good the above Payments, was directed to be supplied out of the Company's Cash; and the Surplus, if any, should remain to be carried to the Credit of the Company till further Orders.

And your Committee find, that, by the General Letter of 23d March 1770, a Variation was made, Append. N<sup>o</sup> 14. both upon the Amount and the Distribution of the Commission. Instead of the specific Sum of 60,000 Pagodas, 5 per Cent. was ordered to be taken from the nett Territorial Revenues, to be divided among the Civil and Military Servants as follows:

One Twenty-fourth Part to be first drawn, and paid as a separate Share to Major General Coore, Commander in Chief in India.

The Remainder to be divided into One hundred Shares, proportioned as follows:

To the Governor, Twenty-one Shares.

To the Second in Council, Five Shares and an Half.

To the rest of the Council, not having Chiefships, as far as the Establishment of 12 Members of Council, each Two Shares and an Half.

To Brigadier General Joseph Smith, as the First Colonel, Eleven Shares.

To the other Colonels, equally among them, Eight Shares.

To the Lieutenant Colonels, Twelve Shares and an Half, to be equally divided.

To the Majors, to be equally divided, Six Shares and a Quarter.

The unappropriated Shares, and such as might fall by the Death or Relinquation of Major General Coote or Brigadier General Smith, being to be carried to the Credit of the Company.

The Commission allowed to the Company's Servants appears to have remained upon this Footing till the Year 1777; in which Year your Committee find, That a new Regulation was made with respect to the Payment of the Company's Servants. The General Letter to Fort Saint George, of the 11th Append. N<sup>o</sup> 15. of June in that Year, after narrating, that much of the present Confusion had arisen from the private Engagements of the Company's Servants, and their Concerns, Dealings, and Transactions, on their own separate Account, with the Princes and Natives of the Country; and strictly forbidding the Governor, or any of the Council, to carry on or to be concerned, either by themselves or others, in any Dealings or Transactions, by way of Traffic or Commerce, for his or their Use, Benefit, or Advantage, or for the Use or Benefit of any other Person, the Trade and Commerce of

the Company only excepted; or to lend Money upon Mortgage to any of the Country Powers, or to any Person employed or entrusted by them; proceeds to direct, That, in Consideration of the above-mentioned Restrictions, every future Governor should be allowed a Salary of 40,000 Pagodas, and each of the Council 16,000 Pagodas, and that in full of all Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments, and Advantages whatsoever; except such Field Allowances as the Directors should think fit to make to any Person who should have a military Command, and likewise except that the Governor should have the Advantage of continuing to reside in the Fort House, together with the Use of the Company's Plate and Furniture, and the Commission on Coral, in Use to be taken by former Governors.

This Regulation, which seems not to have extended to the military Department, continued in Force till the 11th of January 1781; during which Period, no Commission appears to have been payable to the Company's Civil Servants. But your Committee find, from the General Letter of that Date, that the former System was again re-

verted to, with respect to all the Company's Ser-  
 Append. N<sup>o</sup> 16. vants, except the Governor. The Salary of 40,000

Pagodas by the Year is continued to Lord Macartny, then appointed Governor, in Consideration of his being totally restricted from every Kind of Dealing, Transaction, or Commerce, in Money or Goods, the Trade and Commerce of the Company excepted. But with regard to the other Members of Council, the Orders given in the General Letter of the 11th of June 1777, respecting the Salary of 16,000 Pagodas yearly, is revoked; and the same Salaries and Allowances ordained to be paid to them, as were in Use to be paid to the Members of Council prior to that Period; and all the Members of Council, below the President, are allowed to trade, in the same Manner as they might have done before the Restrictions in the said Letter of the 11th of June 1777.

In order that the House may be enabled to see still more in Detail the Particulars of which the Three great Branches of the Revenue consist, your Committee will here insert, a particular Accompt relative to each; the First shewing to whom each Head of the Territorial Revenue has been let on Lease, or by whom it has been managed, with the Rent payable on each Lease, from May 1763; the Second, a particular Accompt of the Duties and Customs: and the Third, An Accompt of the Revenues arising from the exclusive Farms and Licences: These Two last Accompts, commencing in 1767, and ending, as well as the first, in 1779, which is as low as the Materials at the India House permit of their being brought.



Names of the Farms.	Names of the Farmers.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.	Total per Annum.	Remarks.
1763-4. Cuddalore.			Pagodas.	Pagodas	
Trevendeporam -	Sadasheverord -	{ 5 Years, Aug. 1761 to July 1766 -	9,300		
Fort St. David's Bounds -	Do -	Do -	7,156		
Mafulipatam.				16,450	
Nellapillee, and Towns -	Condrogulla Jogapah -	{ 1 Year, 1 June 1763 to 31 May 1764 -	2,310		
Bandarmalanka, and Towns -	Mooslacontee Vencatram -	Do -	3,355		
Goorganapillee -	Mauderauze Bogana -	Do -	330		
Sokanapillee and Ramaserum -	Modalareddy Naigue -	Do -	1,705		
Innogodroo -	{ Madalareddy Naigue and Bodapetty Gorauze }	{ 1 Year to 31 May 1764 -	2,200		
Nizampatam -	Meer Mahomed Banker -	Do -	26,286		
Devee Island -	Madalreddy, and Bodapetty -	Do -	10,670		
Six Islands of Devee -	Do -	Do -	3,080		
Antraviddee -	Madalreddy Naigue -	Do -	715		
Gondore and Auculanada -	Do, and Bodapetty Gorauze -	Do -	11,660		
Tondore and Bondora -	Arnachunda Rauze -	Do -	18,150		
Tumedee and Peddanah -	Do -	Do -	9,350		
Narlapore Salt Farm -	Do -	Do -	3,850		
Mafulipatam and Pon-tacca Salt Farms -	{ Ruftum Ally Cawn, and Meer Seid Huffein }	{ 1 Year, to 10th Nov. 1764 -	20,000		
Narlapore Town -	Vencataram Rauze -	{ 1 Year, to 29th Dec. 1764 -	600		
				1,14,261	
				Pagodas 4,98,961	





Place	Period	Value	Pagoda
Devce	5 Years, 1 June 1765 to 31 May 1770	25,300 11,880	1,24,327
Six Islands	-	11,660	4,99,707
Innogodroo	-	3,168	-
Sakanapille and Ramasferum	-	2,255	-
Nellapillee and Georganapillee	-	1,760	-
Antravidee	-	2,475	-
Bandarmalanka, &c.	-	770	-
Tondore and Bandora	5 Years, to 31 May 1770	3,630	-
Tumdee and Pedana	-	18,706	-
Narapore Salt	-	9,680	-
Masulipatam and Ponracca Salt	-	3,850	-
Narapore Town	3 Years, 29 Nov. 1764 to 28 Nov. 1767	18,571	-
	5 Years, 28 Dec. 1765 to 27 Dec. 1770	628	-
Fort Saint George.	7 Years, from Aug. 1764 to July 1771	-	-
Poonamallee	5 Years, — Aug. 1766 to July 1771	44,350	-
Deve Cotah	-	11,000	-
Saint Thomé	-	4,800	-



Names of the Farms.	Names of the Farmers.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.	Total per Annum.	Remarks.
1766-7 continued.	Brought over	- - -	Pagodas. 60,150	-	
Trivetore	- - -	- - -	3,010	-	
Egmore	- - -	- - -	1,600	-	
Perembore	- - -	- - -	1,655	-	
Paddy Fields & Salt Pans	- - -	- - -	815	-	
Jaquer	- - -	- - -	3,24,000	-	
	Guntoor Vencatachillum	7 Years, to July 1771	-	3,91,230	
Caddalore.					
Trevendeporam	Moodoo Kistnah Pillah	5 Years, Aug. 1766 to July 1771	9,400	-	
For Saint David's Bounds	Do - - -	Do.	5,500	14,900	
Masulipatam.	As last Year	- - -	94,756	-	
Masulipatam and Pon-racca Salt	Meer Sied Huffein	3 Years, 29 Nov. 1764 to 28 Nov. 1767	20,000	1,14,756	
Northern Circars.					
Rajamundry Circar	Huffein Aly Cawn, and } Jogue Pandat - - -	3 Years, Sept. 1766 to } Sept. 1769 - - -	1,31,450	-	{ 1st Year, Pag. 131,450— { 2d, 131,450—3d, 158,950. { 1st Year, 143,550—2d, { 143,550—3d, 171,050.
Ellore and Mustaphanagar	Huffein Ally Cawn	Do.	1,43,550	-	
Cicacole	Vackerooy Ragorauze	1 Year, Sept. 1766 to Sept. 1767	1,50,269	-	
Vizianagram (in Cicacole)	Rajah Sitteramrauze	Do	78,302	5,03,571	
				Pagodas 10,24,457	



Names of Farms & mindaries.

1768-9 continued.		Brought over				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
Masulipatam	-	As last Year	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Masulipatam and Ponnacca Salt	-	Mossaconter Caumagee	-	{ 1 Year, Nov. 1767 to Nov. 1770	-	94,736	-	399,536	-
Northern Circars. Under Masulipatam.	-	-	-	-	-	14,571	-	309,327	-
Rajamahdri	-	Hussain Ally Cawn, and Jogue Pundat	-	{ 3 Years, Sept. 1766 to Sept. 1769	-	1,58,930	-	-	-
Ellore and Mustaphanagur	-	Hussain Ally Cawn	-	Do.	-	1,71,050	-	-	-
Cicacole, Caffimcotah, &c. Viziangrum (in Cicacole)	-	Dobbier Accajee Pundat	-	-	-	57,143	-	-	-
	-	Sitteramrauze	-	{ 1 Year, Sept. 1768 to Sept. 1769	-	92,588	-	-	-
Sattiarerem (in Do)	-	Pykarow	-	-	-	22,429	-	-	-
Cowlow, &c. (Villages in Mulaphanagur.)	-	Jaffier Beg Cawn	-	-	-	2,200	-	-	-
Tekuly (in Cicacole)	-	Jugget Roo	-	{ 2 Years, Sept. 1767 to Sept. 1769	-	8,571	-	512,931	-

Under Ganjam, being the  
Itchapoor District of Ci-  
scoote.

Itchapoo Havilly Lands	Accagee Pundat
Moherty	Narrander
Daracoot	Rajender Sing
Goomfur	Kiffen Bunge
Sourerah	Raya Sing
Beroudi	Mahurtā
Houmndah	Santaraw
Hautgur	Hurry Chunder
Callicoot	Murda Ransē
Vixiangur	Beemedoo
Seegur	Hurry Kiffen Sing
Paloor	Gazender
Mundisaw	Rajahmunny
Jerridah	Santaraw
Turiah	Ragonand Soot
Chigutty	Rajender Doo
Seaurunghi	Hurry Chunder
Pellantia	Chotterow
Bourawanghi	Nishwanh
Borrager	
Restored Villages	Vencagee Pundat
namu in the Purgunahs	Gaudé Purshotum, &c.
Bargunah of Gouriab, &c.	Shankunder Chowdry

Year, Sept. 1768 to Sept.  
1769

Year, Sept. 1768 to Sept.  
1769

24,286  
20,857  
12,077  
14,287  
2,028  
2,143  
1,101  
18,121  
17,169  
25,016  
3,988  
1,513  
5,998  
3,772  
4,715  
16,175  
5,429  
6,429  
1,332  
1,714  
8,143  
5,143  
2,000

2,03,436

7,16,367

The Sums here set down,  
include the full Tributes of  
the different Zemindars for  
the Year 1768-9; that is,  
from Sept. 1768 to Sept.  
1769; and Part of the  
Tribute for the former Year:  
The remaining Part was  
collected by Force from the  
Zemindars, by Narrandoo,  
Zemindar of Kimnecdy,  
who raised Disturbances in  
the Circar

A. 1761.

D E B A T T A











Total Annum.	Remarks.
Pagodas	Pagodas
5,60,506	
1,78,571	<p>14,236—2d and 3d 18,857</p>

**Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.**

1770-71 continued.

Under Masulipatam.	
Nozced and Havilly of Ellore	
Vondelstorum	
Havilly Lands of Rajah-mundry	
Do - Mustaphanagur	
Dutch Factory at Pallicote	
Do - Jaggernaut Poram	
The rest as last Year	
Under Vizagapatam, viz.	
Chiesacole.	
Visianagrum, &c.	
Sattiareram	
Tekaly	
Havillet Lands	
Kimmedy	
Under Ganjam.	
Rchapour Havilly Lands	
Turish	
Mundefaw	
Bourauringhi	
Jellandra	
Jerridab	
Souranghi	
Chigutty	
Palour	

Port Saint George.	1771-2.	1 Year, Aug. 1770 to Sept. 1771	1 Year, Aug. 1771 to July 1772	5 Years, Aug. 1771 to July 1776	1 Year, Aug. 1771 to July 1772	5 Years, Aug. to July 1776	Cm. over
Port Saint George.							
Poonamallee							
Saint Thomas							
Irvelore							
Egmore							
Pennamore							
Paddy Fields and Salt Pans							
Deve Cotah							
Jagweer							
Cuddalore.							
Trevendeporam							
Fort Saint David's Bonda							
Maunurrah							
Santarow							
Rajender Sing							
Hurry Kiffen Sing							
Narrainder							
Kiffen Bunge							
Hurry Chunder							
Raya Sing							
Munda Rause							
Beemadon							
Perannund Sing							
1,619							
857							
7,243							
3,143							
2,857							
2,572							
10,572							
1,428							
9,715							
13,429							
2,857							
1,45,204							
8,84,281							
Pagoda							
13,99,344							
42,350							
5,100							
2,700							
1,100							
1,800							
600							
11,525							
3,24,000							
12,600							
5,600							
19,200							
4,09,775							



Ichapour Havilly	Shanfunder Chowdry	{ 1 Year, Sep- 1771 to Sep. 1772	=	42,857 1,04,633	1,47,490	9,34,373
The Rest as last Year						
1772-3-						
Fort Saint George	As last Year			22,225		Pagodas 14,55,881
Poonamallee	To the Nabob	{ 1 Year, Aug. 1772 to July 1773		44,350		
Jegues	Do.			3,24,000		3,90,575
Cuddalore	As last Year			=		19,200
Masulipatam	As last Year			=		1,11,733
Northern Circars.						
Under Masulipatam	As last Year			5,97,801		
Valoor Samatoo	{ Timagee Pundat, and Sevagee Pundat	{ 1 Year, Sept. 1772 to Sept. 1773.		8,360	6,06,161 1,83,142 1,47,490	9,36,793
Under Vingapatam	As last Year			=		
Under Ganjam	As last Year			=		
1773-4-						
Fort Saint George.	As last Year			22,225		Pagodas 4,58,301
Poonamallee	To the Nabob	{ 1 Year, Aug. 1773 to Sept. 1774.		44,350		
Jegues	Do.			3,24,000		3,90,575
Cuddalore	As last Year					

1773-4 continued.

Masulipatam.

Nizampatam

Devee - - -

Gondore Anclanada

Innogodroo -

Antravidee -

The rest as before

Northern Circars.

Under Masulipatam

Havilly of Ellore -

Rajamundry -

Mudaphanagur -

Valloor Sematoo -

Doon - -

Nooreed -

Mulgatona, &c.

Chaker Mehat -

Deera Cotah -

Matca Narfiva Opparow

Caldindee Trepettirauze

{ Camidenah Paupiarow,  
and China Paupiarow }

Erlagudda Codant Ram

100,171

97,680

26,647

17,193

Do

Do

Do

Do

-

-

-

-

1st and 2d Years each Pag.

100,171; 3d, 101,821.

1st and 2d Years each Pag.

97,680; 3d, 99,880.

1st and 2d Years each Pag.

26,647; 3d, 27,197.

1st and 2d Years each Pag.

17,193; 3d, 17,743.

A. 1782.

D E B A T E S.

Nandigamah	Vasireddy Ramanah	1st Year	16,500	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 16,500; 3d, 16,675.
Mylaveram	{ Sooranah Marinaro, and Vencatramarow	Do.	5,637	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 5,637; 3d, 5,692.
Beroara	{ Callivacollue Timena- row and Ramarow	Do.	4,558	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 4,558; 3d, 4,778.
Chintallapooty	{ Joopellah Mullerow, Vencatrow, and Nar- sinharow	Do.	5,098	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 5,098; 3d, 5,208.
Medoor Gutto, and Jem- malavoy	{ Vallankey Mulleraw, Vencatrow, &c.	Do.	5,996	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 5,996; 3d, 6,216
Munagalab	Kilsara Marinarow	Do.	1,600	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 1,600; 3d, 1,656.
Lingegarab	Codant Ram, and Marahurry	Do.	209	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 209; 3d, 216.
Tellacacherlah	{ Uppalapatty Vencata- pettirauze	Do.	495	—	—	
Peddapore, and Tautipauka	Vackevey Jaggapettirauze	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776	138,567	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 138,567; 3d, 140,767.
Pettahpore	Row Vencatrow	Do.	68,002	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 68,002; 3d, 68,992.
Ramachenderperam	{ Cacarlannwoy Ratna- chenderauze	Do.	12,423	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 12,423; 3d, 12,919.
Cotah	{ Cacarlamoody Venca- pettirauze	Do.	14,788	—	—	
Pelliarain	Reddy Mungapettycho	Do.	8,536	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 8,536; 3d, 9,086.
Gooralah	Reddy Latchmiasraindoo	Do.	8,635	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 8,635; 9,350.
Corcondah	Mundapetty Trippettirauze	Do.	7,219	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 7,219; 3d, 7,549.
Casacorro	{ Condralgulla Venca- trow Jaggemant	—	5,698	—	—	
Venampallam	Angara Bramajee Kistnow	—	2,808	—	—	

12d Yearn each Page  
; 3d, 2,684.

1773-4 continued

Vegayamayctah -  
Iallamoody and Palloo  
Penangapillee -  
Vellah -  
Vencataypollam -  
Muccamalah -  
Vondeleforam -  
Ootapullee -  
Parer -  
Dutch Factories -  
Northern Circars -  
Visagapatam -  
Visianagrum -  
Sattieveram -  
Tekaly -  
Chicacole and Jellao  
Havilly -  
Caffincoatah - De  
Kinneedy -





Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.	Total per Annum.	Remarks.
1774-5 continued.					
Under Ganjam	As last Year	-	-	-	-
Itchapoor Havilly Lands	Juggabundy Chowdry	-	1,04,033	-	-
Refored Villages of Gobasur	Gungader Chowdry	-	45,715	-	-
Do - Hautgur	Baremdayoo Santary	-	2,715	-	-
Do - Moherry	Damodoo Mahunty	1 Year, Sept. 1774 to Sept. 1775.	500	-	-
Do - Vizianagur	Cherna Chowdry	-	428	-	-
Do - Houmraah	Antana Puntaloo	-	569	-	-
			30	-	-
			1,53,590	9,45,048	
1775-6.					
Fort Saint George	As last Year	-	-	Pagodas 14,66,536	
Cuddalore	As last Year	-	-	3,90,575	
Mafulipatam.			-	19,200	
Devre	Antonio de Souza	8 Years, from 1 June 1775 to 31 May 1783	Pagodas 19,800	-	
Nellapillee and Gobrga-napillee	Mr. Anthony Sadleir	5 Years, Do to 31 May 1780	4,125	-	
Antraviddee	Balabadraruz	8 Years, 1 June 1775 to 31 May 1783	1,595	-	

Place	Year	Revenue	Remarks
Gondare and Anglanada	1850	21,500	
Six Islands of Devet	1851	12,310	
Lampogodira	1852	3,465	
	1853	2,848	
Sakenapillee and Ramasera	1854	2,200	
Bandennalanka and Towns	1855	4,400	
Tondore and Bandore	1856	12,700	
Tumedee and Pedana	1857	9,680	
Narimpoore Salt	1858	3,850	
Malulipatam and Pondra Salt	1859	11,714	
Narimpoore Town	1860	629	
Northern Circars	1861	1,16,887	
Under Malulipatam.			
	1st Year	14,575	
	2nd Year	2,310	
	3rd Year	5,500	
	Do	6,875	
	Do	4,675	
	Do	1,01,821	
	Do	99,380	
	Do	27,197	
	Do	17,743	
	Do	16,575	
	Do	5,692	
Devra Cotah	3 Years, to Sept. 1776		
Nandigamaht			
Mylavetom			

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 Remarks.
 

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 names of the Farms,  
 mindaries, &c.
 

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2773-6 continued

Berava  
 Chintalapooddy  
 Medoor Gutto and Je  
   malavoy  
 Munagalah  
 Lingagera  
 Tellicacherlah  
 Peddapore and Tautip:  
 Pettapore  
 Ramachenderporam  
 Cota  
 Pollaram  
 Gootalah  
 Corcondah  
 Cafanacorrah  
 Velamapollam  
 Vagaynapettah  
 Jalimooddy and Palico  
 Paangapillee  
 Vellah

Vencataypollam	Sadaallee Cawn	-	-	-	220	6,15,618		
Muccamalah	Damodeadofs	-	-	-	38	1,88,570		
Vondelefforam	Boochenah Pundat	-	-	-	165			
Cotapillee	Conaty Tripetty	-	{ 3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776.	- 3d Year	2,684			
Paroor	Culdindee Tripetterauze	-	-	-	16,759			
Dutch Factories	-	-	-	-	396			
Nellatore, &c. Villages	Somapah	-	{ 1 Year, Sept. 1775 to Sept. 1776	-	935			
Under Vizagapatam	As last Year	-	-	-	-			
Under Ganjam	As last Year	-	-	-	1,41,776			
Goomfur	Kiffen Bunge	-	-	-	14,286			
Restored villages of Goomfur	Latchemah Bunge	-	-	-	2,000			
Hautgur	Bandarvo Santaroy	-	{ 1 Year, Sept. 1775 to Sept. 1776	-	1,257			
Moherry and Hoummah	Madoo Praharauze	-	-	-	1,657			
Vizianagur	Colloor Ballarum	-	-	-	1,943			
						1,62,919	9,67,107	
						Pagodas	14,93,769	
Fort Saint George.	As before	-	{ 1 Year, Aug. 1776 to July 1777	-	-		3,90,573	
Cuddalore.	As before	-	Do	-	-		19,200	
Masulipatam.	As before	-	-	-	-		1,16,887	
Northern Circars.								
Under Masulipatam.								
Havilly of Ellore	{ Chief and Council of Masulipatam	-	{ Calculated at a Medium of last 3 Years	-	14,025			

Can over

1776-7.



1777-8.

Fort Saint George.

Poonamallee

Saint Thomas

Tumetore

Egmore

Pensmore

Paddy Fields and Salt Pans

Deve Cotah

Jaguer

Cuddalore.

Trevendeporam

Port Saint David's Bounds

Masulipatam.

Devee

Nellapillee

Antravildee

Tondore and Bundora

Tumetree and Pedanah

Narfapore Town

De Salt Path

Six Islands of Devee

Masulipatam and Pen-

sacca Salt

The Nabob

Tanacooty Pillah

Nella Permaul and Conary

The Nabob

Nella Permaul and Conary

Do

As before

Culdindoe Trippetterauze

Mr. Samuel Statham

{ 1 Year, Aug. 1777 to  
July 1778{ 10 Years, 1 Aug. 1777 to  
31 July 1787{ 10 Years, Do to Do  
{ 1 Year, Aug. 1777 to  
July 1778{ 10 Years, Aug. 1777 to  
July 1787  
Do Do{ 2 Years, 1 June 1777 to  
31 May 1779{ 1 Year, 1 Dec. 1777 to  
30 Nov. 1778

44,350

7,000

2,850

1,310

1,510

920

13,600

3,240,000

14,390

7,265

25,550

14,520

8,480

880

2,420

3,300

11,714

3,95,541

21,655



Under Ganjam.	Under Charge of Chief and Council of Ganjam	Estimated at the former Rent			
Itchapoor Havilly	Do. - Do.	Do. -	42,857		
Mundefaw	Do. - Do.	Do. -	5,735		
Jellantra	Do. - Do.	Do. -	4,572		
Jeridah	Do. - Do.	Do. -	2,286		
Vizianagur	Munnidoo	{ 1 Year, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1778	7,143		
Pretapaghire	Jaggernautdoo	Do. - Do.	6,285		
Restored villages of Goomfur	{ Under Charge of Chief and Council	{ Estimated at the former Rent	1,151		
Hautgur	Nebanpoody Dunamanow	{ 1 Year, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1778	1,196		
Mokerry and Hoummah	Vancataramadoo	Do. -	1,593		
Nizianagur	Ramdofs	Do. -	1,571		
The rest as last Year			84,346	1,58,715	9,76,413
				Pagodas.	15,03,901
1778-9.					
Fort Saint George.					
As last Year			27,190		
Poonamallee	The Nabob	{ 3 Years, Aug. 1778 to July 1781	40,000		
Jagueer	Do. -	Do. -	3,24,000		
Cuddalore	As last Year	-			3,91,190
Masulipatam.	As last Year	-			21,655
					1,10,293
Northern Circars.					
Under Masulipatam.					
Havilly of Ellore					
Rajamundry.					
Mutaphanagur	As last Year	-			
Valoot Samatoo			34,430		
Doos					



Names of the Parms, Zes  
Mandara, &c.

1778-79 continued.

Noozed

Mulgatone

Chabar Mehal

Devra Cotah

Nandigamah

Mylavaram

Bezara

Chintalapooddy

Medoor Gutto and Jam-  
malavoy

Munagalah

Lingagera

Tellicacherla

Hedaspore

Pettahpore

Rasachenderpore

Qotah

Kallazam

Gootalah

Place	Year	Value
Mundapetty Tripettaraue	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783	8,220
Condraigulla Vencatroe		6,295
Angara Bramajec Kiftnow		3,080
Vendravoo Somapah		1,619
Tellalah Bramajec		99
Sabbineveis Neganah		258
Cauzy Mahomed Ruffey		169
Sadacally Cañn		220
Damoderdos		38
Vencatty Narfiava		206
Conary Narfiavloo		3,405
Culdinder Tripettaraue		18,127
Nellapathraue		200
		396
		6,55,753
Viedrauwand	5 Year, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783	1,13,714
Do		25,714
Jugguttoo	Do.	5,714
Sitteramraue	10 Years, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1787	67,743
Juggemaudo	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783	24,574
		2,38,858

The Brothers, Viedrauwand and Sitteramraue, promised, as an Acknowledgement for the Cwile granted in the Name of Guazettaraue, to make a 1 of Rupee

Remarks.

Who  
which  
Beli  
from  
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and

Total, Pag. 76,600  
by 3 lacs, 76,600 Rs.

Names of the Farmers, Zamindars, and Renters, etc.

1778-9 continued.

Under Census

Brought over

As before

Refined Villages of Mo-  
hary and Hounmah

Chuniojes

Hautgur

Armagetty

Wizianagar

Amachilam

Slaves

By Kishore Pandef and  
J. Kishorey Pishah

A. 1782.

D E B A T E

200

# AN ACCOUNT of Customs and Duties received at Fort Saint George and Subordinates, from May 1767, to the last Accounts received.

	Sea and River Customs.	Land Customs.	Mine Customs.	Bank- Bill Duty.	Mea- suring Duty.	Town Duty.	Total.
May.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
to 1768	40,518	19,285	5,107	320	1,300	259	67,799
1768	59,719	21,212	5,500	650	8,091	352	88,524
1769	49,769	22,727	3,102	—	2,374	322	77,494
1770	51,875	44,019	3,660	—	2,165	428	102,947
1771	57,949	82,457	3,679	—	1,290	334	145,709
1772	59,326	80,695	3,296	2,875	1,600	272	148,064
1773	50,129	80,824	2,976	830	1,600	249	136,508
1774	65,267	88,512	4,028	—	400	174	158,181
1775	58,582	80,300	3,824	425	2,400	—	145,591
1776	40,417	28,773	5,168	254	2,200	107	78,019
1777	44,080	28,902	3,647	223	—	—	76,841
1778	35,592	18,485	4,576	—	—	—	58,653
1779	35,116	24,694	5,059	325	2,050	—	67,244

End-India House,  
6th July 1781,  
and

12th Decemr. 1781.

(Errors excepted)

Jahs Amis,  
Auditor of Indian Accounts.



Your Committee, in the Course of their Enquiries into the Receipt of the Revenues under the Presidency of Madras, could not but observe the very large Arrears due by the Renters and other Possessors of Lands, and which appear to have rapidly increased of late, particularly in the Northern Circars. And your Committee, being desirous to ascertain the Progress of these Balances, called for a particular State of them, as they stood at the respective Terminations of the Governments of Lord Pigot, Mr. Stratton, Mr. Whitehill, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, and at the Date of the last Advices; in Obedience to which, the following Account was produced:

A STATE of the Balances of the Northern Circars, as they stood at the End of Lord Pigot's Government, of Mr. Stratton's, of Mr. Whitehill's, of Sir Thomas Rumbold's, and as they stood according to the last Advices.

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At the End of Lord Pigot's Government, 24th August 1776.

		Pag.
Masulipatam	Northern Circars	2,79,604
Vizagapatam	Northern Circars	72,293
Ganjam	Northern Circars	2,71,672
		<u>Pag. 6,23,479</u>

At the End of Mr. Stratton's Government, 31st August 1777.

Masulipatam	Northern Circars	2,50,942
Vizagapatam	Northern Circars	2,52,858
Ganjam	Northern Circars	3,21,909
		<u>Pag. 8,25,709</u>

At the End of Mr. Whitehill's Government, 7th February 1778.

Masulipatam	Northern Circars	3,84,283
Vizagapatam	Northern Circars	1,93,891
Ganjam	Northern Circars	3,77,021
		<u>Pag. 9,55,195</u>

Sir Thomas Rumbold resigned the Government of Madras the 4th of April 1780; the last Accounts received of the Balances due from the Circars, are dated the 29th of February 1780, at which Time they stood as follows:

			Pag.
Masulipatam	-	Northern Circars	- 9,92,962
Vizagapatam	-	Northern Circars	- 3,24,156
Ganjam	-	Northern Circars	- 4,02,482
			<hr/>
			Pag. 17,19,600
			<hr/>

East India House,

18th May 1781.

Errors excepted,

John Annis,

Auditor of Indian Accounts.

From the above Account it appears to your Committee, that the Balances due from the Circars have not only been constantly increasing during the Period to which the Account relates, but that during each succeeding Government they have advanced more rapidly than under the preceding; the Average Increase under the Government of Mr. Stratton being exceeded by that under Mr. Whitehill's Government, in the Proportion of Three to Two, and by that under Sir Thomas Rumbold by nearly Two to One, in the same Period of Time.

No exact Account of the Balances to a later Period appears hitherto to have been received at the India House; but in a Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Civil Department, to the Court of Directors of the 9th of January 1781, the Balances due by the Zemindars and Renters under Masulipatam alone, are said to amount, including the Teeps due, to no less than Madras P. 15,28,597. 17.

General Letter  
from Fort Saint  
George, 9th Jan.  
1781, Par. 14, 28.

To what Causes this growing Deficiency in the Revenues of the Northern Circars ought chiefly to be imputed, your Committee cannot take upon them to say. They observe in the Letters to the Presidency from the subordinate Councils, much said of the Poverty and large Debts of many of the Zemindars; the refractory Disposition of others, particularly in the Chicacole Circar are also represented, as contributing to swell the Arrears. Your Committee beg Leave to refer to what is said in the Second Report, with respect to the Poverty of many of the Zemindars. The President and Council of Fort Saint George, in their Letter to the Court of Directors of the 17th of October 1778 write, that few of the Zemindars, except those whose paternal Inheritance was too considerable to be wasted, were in Circumstances of Responsibility to answer their Engagements to the Company.

2d Report, Page  
10.

Append. N° 17.

They say that various Causes had contributed to produce that Effect; but that One alone was sufficient to account for it; the Practice of exacting in Advance from the Zemindars Two-thirds of their Annual Jemabundy (Rent) and the Necessity by that Means laid upon them

of

of taking up from the Soucars (Bankers) or any other who would lend them, considerable Sums of Money at an exorbitant Interest of Two or Three per Cent. per Month, giving Assignments on the Harvest, by Way of Security for Repayment.

Another Cause is in the same Letter mentioned as having contributed to the Distress of the Zemindars, and that is, the short Term of the Settlements made with them for their Lands, which had led them to attend only to their own immediate Interest, without regarding the Consequences to the Revenue in future.

The great Exportation of Specie from the Country, which is stated by Mr. Sadlier at 10 or 15 Lacks of Pagodas per Annum, and which does certainly take place to a great Amount, must tend to render Payments more difficult.

Under this Head of the Arrears, your Committee must refer to what has been said in the Second Report, with respect to the Measure of calling down the Zemindars to Madras, leaving it to the House to judge upon what is there said, how far that Measure may have contributed to swell their Amount. Other Facts stated in that Report, and in its Supplement, seem to imply that private Exactions have also contributed to the same Evil. That such Exactions have actually been made by the Servants of the Company, the Facts here alluded to seem to leave no Doubt. To what Amount they may have gone, it is impossible for your Committee to say. To investigate that Matter to its full Extent would require other Kind of Evidence than the Records at the India House, or the Witnesses they have had it in their Power to examine, could be expected to afford.

Since this Report was drawn up and ready to be presented to the House, your Committee have had an Opportunity of examining Edward Cotsford, Esquire, who is recently returned from India, where he had resided from the Month of August 1778 to the latter End of the Year 1780, as Chief of Masulipatam. The whole of his Evidence, and the Answers given by him to the Questions put to him by the Committee, respecting the present State of the Company's Possessions on the Coast of Coromandel, are inserted

Append. N<sup>o</sup> 23. in the Appendix. Some Part of those Answers tends to throw no small Light upon the present Subject.

Mr. Cotsford being asked, If, under the Mahomedan Government, the Zemindars and Renters were subject to any Payments besides the Rents of the Districts which they held? answered, That he believed the Deputies of the Government did receive, over and above the Tribute payable to the Government, a further Sum, under the Name of Nazar, or Present, which they pretended was for the Payment of their Troops; but that their Ability to procure this Nazar, was in Proportion to the Strength of their Army—That these Presents were arbitrary, and bore no certain Proportion to the Tribute payable to the Government.

Being asked, If, after the Circars came under the Government of Europeans, any Remains of the Nazar, or Presents, existed? he said, He believed it did exist; and that he thinks he had seen a Paper of  
Mr.

Mr. de Bluff's, in which a Part of the Tribute was brought to Account under the Head of Present.

Being asked, If after that Country came to be under the British Government, the same Practice had continued? he said, He believed it had existed in a greater or less Degree ever since.

Being asked, Under what Head those Presents were entered in the Company's Accounts? he said, There was no such Head of Account, nor did he understand that any such Articles were ever brought to the Credit of the Company; that those Presents are considered as a Perquisite of the Station, and not in any Respect as a Part of the Tribute.

Being asked, Whether, upon the Supposition of the Zemindars not having been called down to settle their Tribute at Madras, he would have thought himself at Liberty, in Consilience with his Duty, to accept such Gratuities from the Zemindars? his Answer was, That he should have thought it his first Duty to enforce the Payment of the Company's Tribute, without suffering his own Interest to interfere with it, but that he did not mean to say, he should have declined the customary Advantages of his Situation.

Your Committee will make no Commentary upon this Evidence; but leave it to the House to consider, how far, when combined with the Facts stated in the Supplement to the Second Report, it tends to explain the Distress of the Zemindars.

To whatever Causes the general Distress of the Zemindars, and the increasing Difficulty of obtaining Payment from them, is owing, the Fact seems to your Committee to be certain.

The Negotiations of the Chief and Council of Masulipatam with the Zemindars and Renters of that District, and the Means used by them to enforce Payment of their Balances, as contained in their Revenue Consultations, from June to December 1780, brought Home by the last Dispatches are exceedingly voluminous. It appears in these Consultations, that after various fruitless Endeavours to obtain Payment from sundry of the principal Zemindars, the Chief and Council had found it necessary to proceed to Measures of Compulsion, by confining their Persons under Guards of Sepoys, and threatening to sequester their Estates. By these Measures they seem to have got the Security of Soucars for Part of the Arrears; but they at the same Time inform the President and Council, that most of those whose Tributes had been lately raised, had intimated an Intention of applying for a Reduction of them to the Rate at which they had formerly stood; and at the same Time express their Apprehensions that, unless some Measure of that Kind were adopted, they would not in future be able to procure Payment without a Renewal of the same Sort of Violence they had lately been compelled to employ; a Measure which, however effectual it might be to bring Money into the Treasury, they consider as productive of ruinous Consequences, by alienating the Minds of the People, and filling the Country with secret Enemies.

Letter from Masulipatam, 25th Sept. 1775, in Fort Saint George Consultations, 3d October 1780.

From



From the Account above inserted, respecting the Persons to whom the territorial Revenues have been let on Lease, it appears, that the Jaghire Lands, with the District of Poonamallee, being by far the greatest Part of the Territory immediately under the Presidency, has been almost uniformly let to the Nabob: For Guntoor, Vincatachillum, to whom these Lands appear to have been let

General Letter for Seven Years in the Year 1764, seems to have from Fort Saint been merely an interposed Name for the Nabob, George, 16th Jan. who gave his own Security for the Rent. Your 1765; Par. 17. Committee find in the Records of the Company, D<sup>o</sup> 22d Jan. 1767. frequent Representations made by the Governor

and Council to the Directors, of the Disadvantages arising from these Lands being possessed by the Nabob. Even before the Expiry of the Lease to Vincatachillum, these Disadvantages had been insisted upon; and upon the Expiration of

Append. N<sup>o</sup> 18. that Lease in 1771, the Governor and Council write, that, "It is beyond a Doubt, that the

"Advantages that might be reaped from such territorial Possessions, "will never be obtained so long as the Nabob has any thing to do "with them." They represent the Inhabitants as undergoing continual Oppressions; that the Lands, though capable of great Improvements, experienced none; that the great Reservoirs, by which the Lands are supplied with Water, were going to Decay; that almost all the Weavers who manufactured the Madras Investment, resided within the Jaghire; and that more might be induced to come, had they proper Encouragement, which it was not in their Power to give them; that they had as little Influence in these Lands, as in those of the immediate Property of the Nabob; and that, except the mere Rent, no one Benefit was derived from them; and that in case they should have Occasion for their Produce, they had no more Reason to expect it, than from the Nabob's Country.

In the Letter from Fort Saint George, to the Directors, dated the 14th of October, 1775, these Lands are represented as in a most wretched State, and the Inhabitants as much oppressed. And,

Append. N<sup>o</sup> 19. Sir Eyre Coote, in his Letter to the Committee of Correspondence at the India House, of the 30th of November 1780, lamenting the Necessity there was of both the Army and Inhabitants being, in the State in which the Country then was, maintained chiefly by Supplies from Bengal, states that Necessity, as a convincing Proof of the bad Policy of renting these Lands to the Nabob, and thereby rendering themselves entirely dependent upon him for every Kind of Supply.

For farther Particulars respecting these Lands, and the Conduct of the late Government of Madras, in letting them anew to the Nabob for Three Years, your Committee beg Leave to refer to the Second Report, Page 37.

In the same Report (Page 26) it has been seen, that when the Government of Madras had obtained Possession of the Guntoor Circar from

from Bazalet Jung, that Country too was agreed to be let to the Nabob.

Your Committee having stated the Nature and Amount of the Revenues, under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, proceeded next to inquire into their Expenditure. And your Committee having found, in the Third Report of the Committee of Secrecy appointed in the Year 1773, to inquire into the State of the East India Company, a General State of the Receipts and Disbursements at each of the Chief Settlements of the Company in India, for Ten Years preceding the Month of April 1771, thought, that the most distinct Method for them to follow, would be to lay before the House, a similar State of Receipts and Disbursements for the Presidency of Fort Saint George, commencing at the Period at which that in the Report of the former Committee ended. Such a State therefore commencing in May 1771, and ending in April 1778, which your Committee was informed was as low as it could be brought, having been produced in Compliance with the Orders of your Committee, by Mr. John Annis, Auditor of Indian Accompts, the same is here laid before the House,



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49,526  
52,508  
51,104  
48,729  
47,118  
45,662  
40,368

3,415 4,123

Total of Cir. 123

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The Sums in the foregoing Account being exprest in British Money, in Conformity to the similar Accounts in the Third Report of the former Committee of Secrecy, of which this is a Continuation, your Committee think it proper to mention, with a View to a Comparison between this Account and the former, relative to the Receipts of the Company, that Two Pagodas and an Half are equal to One Pound Sterling.

By the foregoing State, it appears how much of the Revenue has been annually expended upon the Civil and Military Charges and Fortifications; and consequently how much has remained to be applied to the Purchase of the Investment for Europe, and to the other Purposes of the Company.

In order to shew still more distinctly the Application of the Company's Revenues, unmixed with their Commercial Receipts, your Committee will here subjoin an Account, in which are entered, first, the Nett Revenues, as in the preceding General State, and then the Civil and Military Charges; with the Expence of Buildings and Fortifications; distinguishing such Part of the Military Charges as is put to the Account of the Nabob, from those that are defrayed out of the Company's proper Revenues.

The same Account shews the Difference between the Nett Revenues and the Charges borne by the Company for each Year to which it relates.



ANNUAL AMOUNT of Civil and Military Charges incurred by the East-India Company at Fort Saint George, and Subordinates, from May 1767 to the last Accounts received:—Also the Amount of the Difference between the Nett Revenues and Charges.

CHARGES.									
				Military.			Buildings and Fortifications.	Total Charges defrayed by the Company.	Revenues more than Charges.
				Total Amount.	Defrayed by the Nabob.	Defrayed by the Company.			
				Civil.					Charges more than Revenues.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
May.									
1767	—	—	—	68,042	560,485	391,334	29,636	489,012	107,682
1768	—	—	—	41,154	809,041	619,825	30,492	691,471	321,751
1769	—	—	—	57,345	519,822	381,097	29,050	467,492	—
1770	—	—	—	49,865	452,178	301,856	82,672	434,393	—
1771	—	—	—	49,926	633,440	291,709	65,841	407,446	—
1772	—	—	—	52,508	544,185	342,586	55,021	309,138	—
1773	—	—	—	51,104	677,114	407,848	86,774	407,144	—
1774	—	—	—	48,729	594,908	302,831	113,783	454,589	—
1775	—	—	—	47,118	474,559	282,339	16,410	345,867	—
1776	—	—	—	48,662	521,005	334,266	150,254	533,182	—
1777	—	—	—	90,368	522,655	313,455	82,007	485,830	202,632
1778	—	—	—	92,743	835,018	634,530	76,651	803,924	309,716
£. s. d.	—	—	—	697,564	7,144,410	4,313,353	818,571	5,829,488	897,642

Deduct Revenues more than Charges — 897,642

Total Charges more than Revenues — £. s. d. 44,139

Auditor's Office,  
10th July 1781.

Errors excepted.  
John Annis,  
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

It is proper to observe, for the better understanding this Account, and the general State of Receipts and Disbursements, that your Committee was informed, that in the Account last inserted, the Sums stated as defrayed by the Nabob in Part of the Military Charges, are the Sums with which he is debited on that Head; whereas the Sums entered in the Third Column of Receipts, in the General State of Receipts and Disbursements, are the Payments actually made by the Nabob.

From a Comparison between the Free Revenue, which, by the Account last inserted, appears to have remained to the Company, after defraying the Civil and Military Charges, and Expence of Buildings and Fortifications, with the Expence of the Investment for Europe, as entered in the last Column but One of the General State of Receipts and Disbursements, it is manifest that, except in One Year (viz. the Year 1772-3) during the whole Period to which the Account relates, the Surplus Nett Revenues, above the Charges, have never been equal to the Purchase of the Investment for Europe.— It further appears, that in the Two first and Two last Years of the Account, within the former of which the first War with Hyder Ali happened, and within the latter the Expeditions to Pondicherry and Mahé, those Charges and Expences exceed the Nett Revenues in no less than £. 941,781. It appears upon Calculation, that the Average Surplus Revenue for each of the Eight Years from 1769 to 1777, during which the Company was at Peace, is £. 112,205; whereas the Average of the Investment, calculated upon the whole Period of the General State of Receipts and Disbursements, is £. 249,554 Yearly, or more than double the former Sum: And taking in the Four Years of War above-mentioned, the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, exclusive of their Commercial Receipts, have been so far from sufficient to furnish an Investment, that in the whole Period since 1767, they have fallen short of the Charges by £. 44,139.

Your Committee observing no Notice taken in the Account last inserted, of that Part of the Military Charges which is defrayed by the Rajah of Tanjore, were informed by Mr. Annis, the Auditor of Indian Accounts, that the said Account of Charges is exclusive of those incurred in Tanjore, with the Exception of £. 96,100, or Pagodas 2,40,250, in the Year 1776-7—That this Exception was occasioned by an Error in the Accounts sent Home from Madras, which stated that no Expences on Account of Tanjore were included therein; but that by subsequent Accounts received, it was found that the above Sum of £. 96,100 had been included in the Military Charges of that Year, which consequently ought to have been stated at £. 424,905, instead of £. 521,005, as in the Account.

With the Exception of this Error, the Omission of the Tanjore Charges makes no material Difference in the Result, with respect to the Company. The Addition of those Charges would have had the Effect of making the total Amount of Charges appear so much higher; but the Company's Share of those Charges, and the Difference between that Share and the Nett Revenues, would have remained the same; with the Exception only of the Sum, in which the Subsidy  
from

Your Committee will here subjoin the present Military Establishment under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, with the Pay of the several Corps ; by which the Expence of that Military Establishment will appear at One View.

C T.

# ATIVE:

**Grand  
Total.**



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George, for Seven Years, from May 1771 to April 1778.

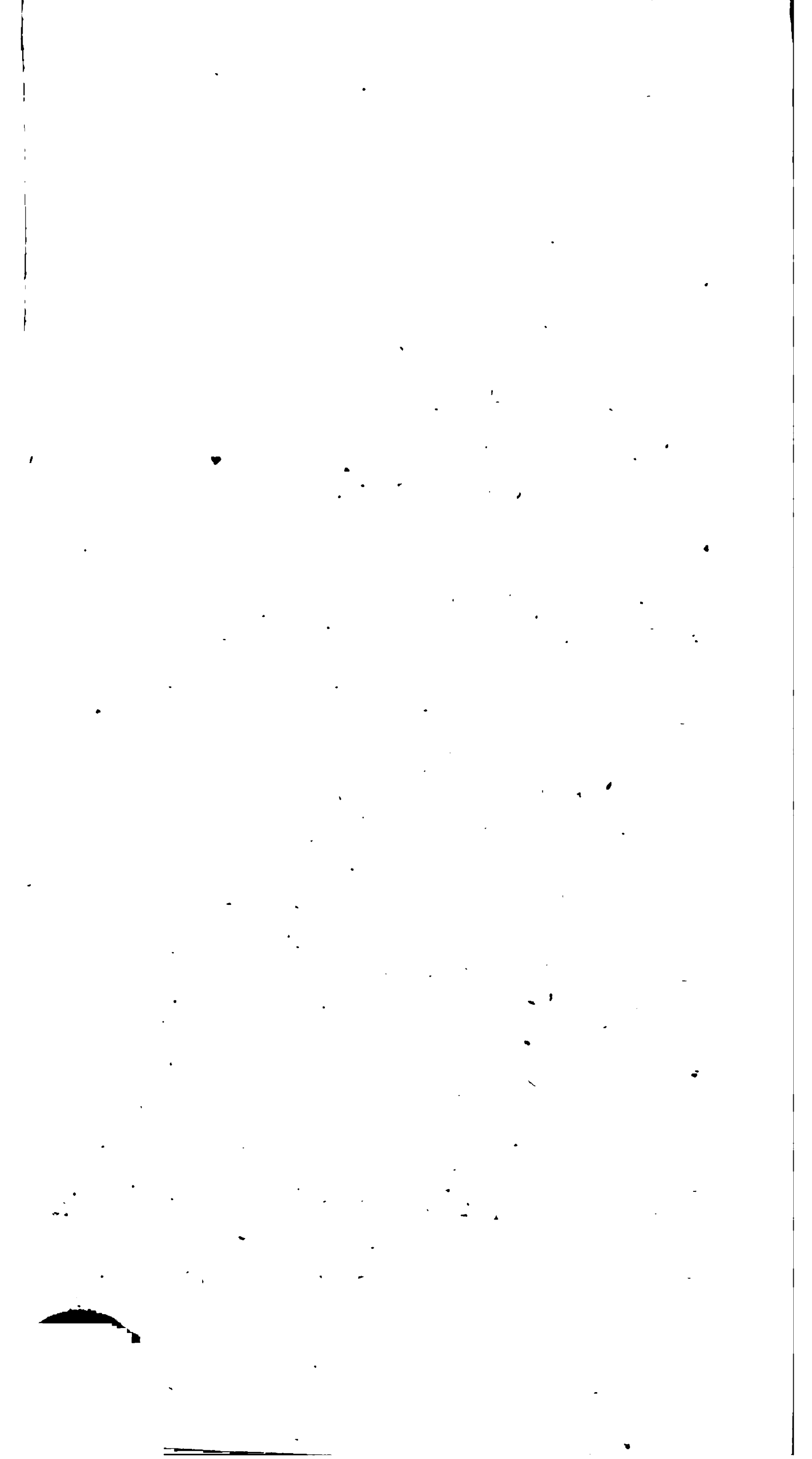
D I S B U R S E M E N T

Civil and Military Charges.			Amount of Payments on several Accounts; Stores supplied for the Nabob, &c.	Bond Debt discharged in the Year.	Amount of sundry Losses arising on Batta, Losses at Factories on Indian Goods, &c.	Amount of Losses on European Goods sold in the Year.	
Civil.	Military.	Buildings and Fortifications.					
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
9,026	633,440	65,811	2,450	—	15,045	262	1
2,508	544,185	55,031	17,162	—	22,737	—	3
1,104	677,114	86,774	12,699	—	48,059	76	
8,729	594,908	113,783	744	6,623	45,875	7,180	
7,118	474,559	16,410	828	17,072	14,530	3,937	1
8,662	550,663	150,254	18,050	407	23,838	4,580	
0,368	648,870	82,007	904	256	34,307	4,682	8
8,415	4,123,739	570,070	52,837	24,358	204,391	20,717	17

Total of Civil and Military Charges and Buildings.

	£.
71	749,177
72	651,724
73	814,992
74	757,420
75	538,087
76	749,579
77	821,245
	<u>£.5,082,224</u>

Part Fourth and stat of £.26 Ally C was pai Manilla the An belonge to £.1: counts.



Pay, Gratuity, Additional Pay, Batta, and other Allowances, of the different Ranks in the several Corps composing the Army on the Madras Establishment.

For a Month of 30 Days.			Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional Pay.	Batta when on Command, &c.	Horse Allowance.	Oil and Peon Allowance.
Cavalry	Captain	-	55 11 20	11 9	-	48	-	2 1
	Lieut.	-	33 27	7 18	-	32	-	1 15
	Cornet	-	30	3 27	-	24	-	1 15
	Serjeant	-	9	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Corporal	-	7	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Private Trooper	-	5	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
Artillery	Lieut. Colonel	-	79 24 60	†	-	150	-	2 1
	Major	-	60 24 30	-	-	120	-	2 1
	Captain	-	41 24	11 9	-	48	-	2 1
	Lieut.	-	20 30	7 18	-	32	-	1 15
	Lieut. Fireworker	-	15	3 27	-	24	-	1 15
	Serjeant	-	7 18	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Corporal	-	6 9	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Drummer	-	3 27	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Bombardier	-	5 22 40	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Gunner	-	5	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
European Infantry	Mattrofs	-	3 27	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Colonel	-	93 27	-	-	180	-	2 1
	Lieut. Colonel	-	75	-	-	150	-	2 1
	Major	-	56 9	-	-	120	-	2 1
	Captain	-	37 18	11 9	-	48	-	2 1
	Lieut.	-	18 27	7 18	5 15	32	-	1 15
	Ensign	-	15	3 27	4	24	-	1 15
	Serjeant	-	6 9	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Corporal	-	4 13 40	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Drummer	-	4 13 40	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
poys	Private Centinel	-	3 4 40	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Captain	-	37 18	11 9	-	48	-	2 1
	Lieut.	-	18 27	7 18	-	32	-	1 15
	Ensign	-	15	3 27	-	24	-	1 15
	Serjeant	-	7 9	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Commandant	-	32	-	-	5	-	-
	Subadar	-	17	-	-	5	-	-
	Jemautdar	-	5	-	-	2 18	-	-
	Havildar	-	3	-	-	1 4 20	-	-
	Naick	-	2 12	-	-	1 4 20	-	-
	Drummer	-	3	-	-	2 29 20	-	-
	Puckalley	-	1 25 16	-	-	1 4 20	-	-
	Sepoy	-	1 25 16	-	-	1 4 20	-	-

\* Batta is only allowed to the Troops when on March, in the Field, or on particular casions, except to Officers commanding.

† N. B. Besides, the above Field Officers share in the Commission on the Revenues, follows, viz.

Colonel	-	-	Per. 1,555 15 40 per Annum,
Lieut. Col.	-	-	1,337 34 26 Do
Major	-	-	665 17 12 Do



For a Month of 30 Days.		Pay.	Gratuity	Additional Pay.	Batta when on Command, &c.	Horse Allowance.	Oil and Peon Allowance.
						Pag.	
Engineers	Lieut. Colonel	75 — —	— —	— —	150 — —	12	2 1 —
	Major	56 9 —	— —	— —	120 — —	6	2 1 —
	Captain	37 18 —	11 9 —	— —	48 — —	6	2 1 —
	Lieut.	18 27 —	7 18 —	— —	32 — —	6	— 15 —
	Ensign	15 — —	3 27 —	— —	24 — —	—	— 15 —
Lascars	Head Serang or Commandant	10 — —	— —	— —	2 18 —	—	— —
	Serang	7 — —	— —	— —	2 18 —	—	— —
	Tindal	2 18 —	— —	— —	1 24 —	—	— —
	Lascar	1 30 —	— —	— —	1 4 20	—	— —

Staff and contingent Allowances to the Commissioned, Warrant, and Non-commissioned Staff of the several Corps composing the Army on the Madras Establishment.

For a Month of 30 Days.		Contingent Allowances.				
		Staff Allowance.	Writers.	Oil and Peon.	Horse.	Stationary.
		Pag. f. c.			Pag. f.	
Artillery	Adjutant	18 27 —	—	—	6	18
	Quarter-Master	15 — —	—	—	—	—
	Surgeon	21 7 —	—	—	—	—
	Inspector of Stores	37 18 —	—	—	—	—
	Director of Laboratory	10 — —	—	—	—	—
	Conductor	15 — —	—	—	—	—
	Serjeant Major	4 — —	—	—	—	—
	Quarter-Master Serjeant	4 — —	—	—	—	—
	Drum Major	2 — —	—	—	—	18
Cavalry	Adjutant	18 27 —	—	—	—	18
	Quarter-Master	21 20 10	—	—	—	—
	Surgeon	15 12 60	—	—	—	—
	Serjeant Major	4 — —	—	—	—	—
	Quarter Master Serjeant	4 — —	—	—	—	—
	Rough Rider	6 9 —	—	—	—	—
	Farrier	6 — —	—	—	—	—
	Camp Colourman	2 30 70	—	—	—	—
European Infantry	Adjutant	18 27 —	—	—	Pag. 6	f. 18
	Quarter-Master	15 — —	—	—	—	18
	Surgeon	21 7 —	—	—	—	—
	Serjeant Major	4 — —	—	—	—	—
	Quarter-Master Serjeant	4 — —	—	—	—	—
Sepoys	Drum Major	1 24 —	—	—	—	—
	Adjutant	17 1 —	—	—	6	18
	Serjeant Major	2 — —	—	—	—	—
	Quarter-Master Serjeant	2 — —	—	—	—	—
General and Warrant Staff	Commissary General	37 18 —	—	—	—	—
	Judge Advocate General	37 18 —	—	—	—	—
	Adjutant General	75 — —	Pag. 40	—	12	—
	Assistant Do.	18 27 —	—	—	—	—
	Town Major	37 18 —	30 2	1	—	—
	Town Adjutant	18 27 —	5	—	—	P. 1
	Aide du Camp	37 18 —	—	—	6	—
	General's Secretary	37 18 —	20	—	—	—

## ESTABLISHMENT of the Troop of Cavalry.

Strength.	Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Pay.	Gratuity.	Batta when commanding	Staff Allowance.	Stationary.	Oil and Peon Allowance.	Total.
		Pag. f. c.						
1 Captain	—	55 11 20	11 9	48	—	—	2 1	116 21 20
1 Lieutenant	—	33 27	7 18	32	—	—	15	73 24
1 Cornet	—	30	3 27	24	—	—	15	58 6
2 Sergeants	9	18	—	—	—	—	—	18
3 Corporals	7	21	—	—	—	—	—	21
32 Private Troopers	5	160	—	—	—	—	—	160
		318 2 20	22 18	104	—	—	2 31	447 15 20
S T A F F.								
1 Adjutant	—	—	—	—	18 27	—	—	19 9
1 Quarter-Master	—	—	—	—	21 20 10 18	—	fan.	22 2 10
1 Surgeon	—	—	—	—	15 12 60	—	15	15 27 60
1 Serjeant Major	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	4
1 Quarter-Master Serjeant	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	4
1 Rough Rider	—	—	—	—	6 9	—	—	6 9
1 Farrier	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	6
1 Camp Colourman	—	—	—	—	2 30 7	—	—	2 30 70
		—	—	—	78 27 60 1	—	15	80 6 60
Total Staff								
Contractor for Horses.								
37 Horses, at 8. 18. per Day	—	314 18	—	—	—	—	—	314 18
Total Expence of the Troop, for 1 Month								
	Pag.	632 20 20	22 18	104	78 27 60 1	1	3 10	842 4
Grand Total, Do. — Do for 1 Year								
	Pag.	7,590 27	270	1,248	945 9	12 39 12	—	10,105 12

ESTABLISHMENT of the Regiment of Artillery.

A. 1782.

D E B A T E S.

173

Strength.	Pay of each per Month.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Staff Allowance.	Batta when commanding.	Horse Allowance.	Stationary.	Oil and Peon.	Total.
1 Colonel by Brevet	79 24 60	159 13 40	—	—	300 —	—	—	4 2	463 15 40
1 Lieutenant Colonel	—	60 24 30	—	—	120 —	—	—	2 1	182 25 30
2 Major	—	375 —	101 9	—	—	—	—	18 9	494 18
9 Captains	—	291 24	105	—	—	—	—	5 30	402 18
14 Lieutenants	—	240 —	60	—	—	—	—	6 24	306 24
16 Lieutenant Fireworkers	—	367 18	—	—	—	—	—	—	367 18
49 Serjeants	—	293 27	—	—	—	—	—	—	293 27
47 Corporals	—	116 9	—	—	—	—	—	—	116 9
31 Drummers	—	320 22 40	—	—	—	—	—	—	320 22 40
57 Bombardiers	—	570 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	570 —
114 Gunners	—	1,245 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,245 —
332 Matrosses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S T A F F.									
1 Adjutant	—	4,039 30 30	266 9	—	420 —	—	—	36 30	4,762 33 30
1 Quarter Master	—	—	—	18 27	—	6	18	—	25 9
1 Surgeon	—	—	—	15 —	—	—	18	—	15 18
1 Inspector of Stores	—	—	—	21 7	—	—	—	—	21 7
1 Director of Laboratory	—	—	—	37 18	—	—	—	—	37 18
1 Conductors	—	—	—	20 —	—	—	—	—	20 —
4 Serjeant Major	—	—	—	60 —	—	—	—	—	60 —
1 Quarter Master Serjeant	—	—	—	4 —	—	—	—	—	4 —
2 Drum Majors	—	—	—	4 —	—	—	—	—	4 —
Total									
Total Expence of the Reg. for 1 Month.									
Grand Total, Do of Do for 1 Year,									
Total									
Grand Total, Do of Do for 1 Year,									

Total Expence of the Reg. for 1 Month. Ps.

Grand Total, Do of Do for 1 Year, Ps.

4,039 30 30

48,478 4 40

266 9

3,195 —

184 16

2,213 12

420 —

5,040 —

6 1

72

36 30

442 —

191 16

4,954 13 30

4,762 33 30

59,452 16 40

## ESTABLISHMENT of the Corps of Engineers.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Horse Allow nce.	Oil and Peon	Total.
1	Lieut. Colonel	—	75 — —	—	12 — —	2 1	89 1 —
1	Major	—	56 9 —	—	6 — —	2 1	64 10 —
2	Captains	37 18 —	75 — —	22 18 —	12 — —	4 2	113 20 —
1	Lieutenant	—	18 27 —	7 18 —	6 — —	— 15	32 24 —
7	Ensigns	15 — —	105 — —	26 9 —	42 — —	2 33	176 6 —
Total of the Corps of Engineers for 1 Month			330 — —	56 9 —	78 — —	11 16	475 25 —
Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps			3,960 — —	675 — —	936 — —	137 12	5,708 12 —

## ESTABLISHMENT of Lascars attached to Artillery and other Corps.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Total.
1	Commandant	10 — —	10 — —
41	Serangs	7 — —	287 — —
12	Tindals	2 18 —	317 18 —
2320	Lascars	2 — —	4,640 — —
Total Establishment of Lascars for 1 Month			5,254 18 —
Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps.			63,054 — —

EXPENCE

## EXPENCE of INVALIDS.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Pay.	Gratuity.	Oil and Peon Allowance.	Total.
1	Captain	—	37 18	—	—	37 18
2	Lieutenants	18 27	37 18	—	—	37 18
33	Serjeants	7 —	231 —	—	—	231 —
12	Corporals	6 —	72 —	—	—	72 —
6	Bombardiers	5 9	31 18	—	—	31 18
35	Gunners	4 27	166 9	—	—	166 9
47	Mattrosses	3 18	164 18	—	—	164 18
Total Artillery		Pagodas	740 9	—	—	740 9
European Infantry.						
1	Captain	—	37 18	11 9	2 1	50 28
1	Lieutenant	—	18 27	7 27	— 15	26 33
1	Ensign	—	15 —	3 27	— 15	19 6
1	Adjutant	—	18 27	7 27	— 15	26 33
99	Serjeants	6 —	594 —	—	—	594 —
12	Drummers	4 —	48 —	—	—	48 —
583	Rank and File	3 —	1,749 —	—	—	1,749 —
Total European Infantry		Pagodas	2,481 —	30 18	3 10	2,514 28
Sepoys.						
6	Commandants	32 —	192 —	—	—	192 —
1	Serjeant Major	—	10 —	—	—	10 —
1	Serjeant	—	7 9	—	—	7 9
2	Drummers	3 —	6 —	—	—	6 —
27	Subadats	17 —	459 —	—	—	459 —
40	Zemaultdars	5 —	200 —	—	—	200 —
50	Havildars	3 —	150 —	—	—	150 —
50	Naicks	2 12	116 24	—	—	116 24
675	Sepoys	1 25 16	1,147 18	—	—	1,147 18
Total Sepoys,		Pagodas	2,288 15	—	—	2,288 15
Total Expence of Invalids for 1 Mo. Ps.			5,543 16	30 18	3 10	5,543 16
Grand Total Do. Do. for 1 Year, Pags.			66,416 —	366 —	39 12	66,521 12

## ESTABLISHMENT of Artificers.

Number

462 Artificers—not being particularized in the Returns, the Expence cannot be ascertained.

## ESTABLISHMENT of Bheasties, Bildahs, Leoapecks, and Cookies.

Number

1,500 Bheasties, &amp;c.—not being particularized in the Returns, the Expence cannot be ascertained.

## ESTABLISHMENT of Sibindy Militia.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional Allowance.	Oil and Peon Fa.	Total.
1	Lieutenant	—	38 27 —	7 18 —	5 15 15	—	32 3 —
1	Ensign	—	35 — —	3 27 —	4 — 15	—	23 6 —
4	Serjea. Majors	4 — —	40 — —	—	—	—	40 — —
3	Serjeants	7 9 —	21 7 —	—	—	—	21 7 —
45	Subadars	27 — —	765 — —	—	—	—	765 — —
52	Jemautdars	5 — —	260 — —	—	—	—	260 — —
21	Drummers	3 — —	63 — —	—	—	—	63 — —
13	Puckallys	1 25 16	22 3 48	—	—	—	22 3 48
126	Havildars	3 — —	378 — —	—	—	—	378 — —
126	Naigues	2 12 —	294 — —	—	—	—	294 — —
3,948	Sepoys	1 25 16	6,711 21 48	—	—	—	6,711 21 48
Total Establishment of Militia for 1 Month			8,588 23 16	11 9 —	9 15 30	—	8,610 5 16
Grand Total Do. for 1 Year, Ps.			1,03,063 26 32	135 — —	113 — 10	—	1,03,321 26 32

N. B. The Havildars, Naigues, and Sepoys, not being specified in the Returns, the Proportion is estimated in the above Account.

## ESTABLISHMENT of General and Warrant Staff.

Strength.		Staff Allowance per Month of 30 Days.	Contingent Allowances.				Total.
			Writers.	Horse.	Stationary.	Oil & Peon.	
		Pags.					
1	Commissary General	37 18	—	—	—	—	37 18
1	Judge Advocate	37 18	—	—	—	—	37 18
1	Adjutant General	75 —	40	12	—	—	127 —
1	Assistant Do.	18 27	—	—	—	—	18 27
1	Town Major	37 18	30	—	—	2 1	69 9
1	Town Adjutant	18 27	5	—	—	—	24 27
1	Aid du Camp	37 18	—	6	—	—	43 18
1	General Secretary	37 18	20	—	—	—	57 18
Total Establishment of General and Warrant Staff for 1 Month		300 —	95	18	1	2 1	416 1
Grand Total Do. Do. for 1 Year		3600 —	1,140	216	12	24 12	4992 12



## GENERAL ABSTRACT of the Pay of the Army, agreeable to the foregoing Establishments of the several Corps.

	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional Allowance.	Staff Allowance.	Batta when commanding.	Contingent Allowances.			Sum Total for a Month of 30 Days.	Grand Sum Total for a Year.
						Writers.	Horse.	Stationary.		
Troop of Cavalry	632 20 20	22 18	—	78 27 60	104	—	—	1	842 4	10,105 12
Regiment of Artillery	4039 30 30	266 9	—	184 16	420	—	6	1	4,954 13 30	59,452 16 40
European Infantry	11,767 18	1,012 18	—	307 18	2,040	—	24	4	15,317 28	1,83,813 12
3 of Sipoys	55,525 12	1,740	1,283 9	3,015 29	—	—	174	14	59,932 19	7,19,190 12
Engineers	330	56 9	—	—	—	—	78	—	475 25	5,728 12
Lancers attached to Corps	5,254 18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,254 18	63,054
Invalids	5,509 24	30 18	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,543 16	66,521 12
Sibendi Militia	8,588 23 16	11 9	9 15	—	—	—	—	—	8,610 5 16	1,03,321 26 32
General and War. Staff	—	—	—	300	—	95	18	1	416 1	4,992 12
Grand Totals.	91,648 1 66	3,139 5	1,292 24	1,886 18 60	2,564	95	320	21	1,01,346 21 46	12,16,159 6 72
L. Rs.	16,660	1,256	517	755	1,025	38	128	8	40,539	—

Major General, Commander in Chief

5,000

Pagodas

12,21,159

6 72

L. Rs.

488,464

—

East-India House,  
12d June, 1781.

(Errors: excepted)

John Annis,  
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

Your Committee having stated such Particulars, respecting the Receipt and Expenditure of the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, as the Materials they had Access to have enabled them, called for an Account of the Debts due by the East India Company at that Presidency for each Year, since the Year 1771, to the latest Period to which it could be made up. This Account, as delivered in by Mr. John Annis, Auditor of Indian Accounts, they now lay before the House,

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AMOUNT of Debts due by the East India Company at Madras,  
at the following Periods.

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## 1771-2.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,36,220
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	8,697
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Deposit of the Captors of Manilha	-	-	-	1,37,044
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,915
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	3,081

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Pagodas 2,89,202

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## 1772-3.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,89,342
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Deposit of the Captors of Manilha	-	-	-	1,37,044
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,557
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	3,081

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Pagodas 3,37,078

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## 1773-4.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,88,116
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Deposit of the Captors of Manilha	-	-	-	-
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,498
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391

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Pagodas 1,96,059

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1774-5.

1774-5.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,73,692
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,495
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391

Pagodas 1,81,632

1775-6.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,31,012
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,476
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391

Pagodas 1,38,933

1776-7.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,29,995
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	6,093
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391

Pagodas 1,42,533

31st January 1778.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,36,362
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	6,093
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391

Pagodas 1,48,900

28th February 1779.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	2,81,715
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	6,093
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391

Pagodas 2,94,254

A. 1782.

## D E B A T E S.

183

29th February 1780.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	4,06,878
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	2,572
Sundry Estates	-	391
		<hr/>
		Pagodas 4,15,895
		<hr/>

30th November 1780.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	6,29,302
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-
Sundry Estates	-	391
		<hr/>
		Pagodas 6,35,747
		<hr/>

East India House,  
21 January 1782.

Errors excepted.

John Annis,  
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

Your Committee might here conclude what they have to say respecting the Revenues of the Company under the Presidency of Madras; but, considering how large a Part of the Resources of the Company under this Presidency depends upon the Payments from the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, they think it not foreign to the Object of this Report, to lay before the House such Information as they have been able to obtain, respecting the Revenues of these Two Princes.

In a Letter from the President and Council of Fort Saint George to the Governor General and Council of Bengal, dated the 7th of December 1774, the Territories of the Nabob, including Tanjore, then in his Possession, are estimated at upwards of Two Crores of Rupees.

Mr. William Petrie, who has resided for above Fifteen Years in India, and was for some Time Secretary to the Political Department of the Government of Madras, having been desired to give such Information as he could, respecting the Revenues of the Nabob of Arcot, informed your Committee, That while he was in the Station above-mentioned, the Amount of the Nabob's Collections was a Subject which came frequently under the Consideration of the Board—That an exact Account was often wished for, but, he believed, never obtained—That he had seen various Estimates, some at 36 Lacks of Pagodas Annual Revenue, others at 32, and some lower—That he

understood,

## ESTABLISHMENT of the Corps of Engineers.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Horse Allowance.	Oil and Peon	Total.
1	Lieut. Colonel	—	75 — —	—	12 — —	2 1	89 1 —
1	Major	—	56 9 —	—	6 — —	2 1	64 10 —
2	Captains	37 18 —	75 — —	22 18 —	12 — —	4 2	113 20 —
1	Lieutenant	—	18 27 —	7 18 —	6 — —	— 15	32 24 —
7	Ensigns	15 — —	105 — —	26 9 —	42 — —	2 33	176 6 —
Total of the Corps of Engineers for 1 Month			330 — —	56 9 —	78 — —	11 16	475 25 —
Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps			3,960 — —	675 — —	936 — —	137 12	5,708 12 —

## ESTABLISHMENT of Lascars attached to Artillery and other Corps.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Total.
1	Commandant	10 — —	10 — —
41	Serangs	7 — —	287 — —
12	Tindals	2 18 —	317 18 —
3320	Lascars	2 — —	4,640 — —
Total Establishment of Lascars for 1 Month			5,254 18 —
Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps.			63,054 — —

EXPENCE

Supposing the Carnatic to be properly managed, in Point of the Rent and Revenue, it will yield every Year, about } Pagodas 30,00,000

In the Year 1776, the nett Collection, about Pagodas 26,00,000  
In the Year 1777, D<sup>o</sup> Do - 22,00,000

Of the Establishment and Expences of the Nabob, your Committee has not been able to obtain any accurate Information. They observe that Mr. Sadlier, in his Minute of the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1780, quoted above, says, that the Nabob's Expences are by no Means adequate to his Revenues—That his Country had remained in Peace ever since the Year 1769; and yet that his Revenues had been daily diminishing.

It is certain that the Nabob is very much in Debt to Individuals, independent of the Demands of the Company. The Amount of his Debts to Individuals cannot be exactly ascertained; besides that, from the Nature of the Thing, they must be variable. The President and Council of Fort Saint George, in their Letter upon this Subject to the Governor General and Council of Bengal, of Date February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1779, say, “It is conjectured that the Nabob's whole Debt, which has been accumulating ever since his first Connection with the Company, amounts at this Time to Fifty Lacks of Pagodas.” They add, “He has indeed acquired in his Hands, by Degrees, a very considerable Share of the Property belonging to Individuals in the Settlement, Europeans and Natives; and from the Plan he has invariably pursued, of borrowing as much, and paying as little as he can, his Debt continues to swell daily; and threatens, by its Enormity, to become a perpetual Incumbrance on the Carnatic.”

Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Governor General and Council, 25<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1779.

Your Committee find, in the Records of the Company, much Correspondence between the Presidency of Madras and the Nabob, upon the Subject of his Debts and Arrangements with his Creditors; which shews, in a very strong Light, to how great a Degree he is distressed. This Situation of the Nabob's Finances is represented by the President and Council to the Directors, as very alarming. In their Letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1777, they say, “The Nabob's Affairs at present appear much embarrassed by the Debts he has contracted; and the large Assignments granted upon the Carnatic, as a Security for those Debts. Whatever Causes may have produced this Embarrassment, it can admit of no Doubt, that whilst the Revenues of his Country, upon which we principally rely for Support, are absorbed by private Creditors, the Company's Affairs must be endangered, even in Time of Peace; but in Case of a War, we need not say what must be the Consequence of the Nabob's Inability to apply any Part of his Revenues to the Support of the heavy Charges that would thereby be incurred.”

Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George, in their Military Department, to the Court of Directors, dated 19<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1777, Par. 16<sup>th</sup>.

## ESTABLISHMENT of Artificers.

Number

462 Artificers—not being particularized in the Returns, the Expence cannot be ascertained.

## ESTABLISHMENT of Bheasties, Bildahs, Leoapecks, and Cookies.

Number

1,500 Bheasties, &amp;c.—not being particularized in the Returns, the Expence cannot be ascertained.

## ESTABLISHMENT of Sibindy Militia.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional Allowance.	Oil and Peon Rs.	Total.
1	Lieutenant	—	18 27 —	7 18 —	5 15 15	—	32 3 —
1	Ensign	—	15 — —	3 27 —	4 — 15	—	23 6 —
4	Serjea. Majors	4 — —	40 — —	—	—	—	40 — —
3	Serjeants	7 9 —	21 7 —	—	—	—	21 7 —
45	Subadars	17 — —	765 — —	—	—	—	765 — —
52	Jemautdars	5 — —	260 — —	—	—	—	260 — —
21	Drummers	3 — —	63 — —	—	—	—	63 — —
13	Puckallys	1 25 16	22 3 48	—	—	—	22 3 48
126	Havildars	3 — —	378 — —	—	—	—	378 — —
126	Naigues	2 12 —	294 — —	—	—	—	294 — —
3,948	Sepoys	1 25 16	6,711 21 48	—	—	—	6,711 21 48
Total Establishment of Militia for 1 Month			8,588 23 16	11 9 —	9 15 30	—	8,610 5 16
Grand Total Do. for 1 Year, Ps.			1,03,063 26 32	135 — —	113 — 10	—	1,03,321 26 32

N. B. The Havildars, Naigues, and Sepoys, not being specified in the Returns, the Proportion is estimated in the above Account.

“ Company’s Security to Messrs. Call, Majendie,  
 “ and Taylor, Three of the Company’s Servants, Fort St. George  
 “ for so considerable a Sum as Four Lacks of Military Conf.  
 “ Pagodas; at a Time too, when the Gentlemen, 23d Feb. 1778.  
 “ then in Government observe, that they are ap-  
 “ prehensive they shall be distressed even for sufficient to defray their  
 “ own current Charges, and supply the Sums absolutely wanting for  
 “ the Investment.” He adds, “ When they had gone such a Length,  
 “ as they say, to accomplish so desirable an End as the Reduction of  
 “ his Highness’s Forces, unnecessarily kept up, would it not have  
 “ been proper they should have seen the Money wholly applied to  
 “ that Purpose? But, on the contrary, we find nothing on the Re-  
 “ cords, but vague, uncertain Declarations, that his Highness has  
 “ made a considerable Progress in the Reduction of his Troops; and  
 “ this large Sum becomes a further Burthen upon the Revenues and  
 “ Resources of the Carnatic.” Upon the Presi-  
 “ dent’s Motion, therefore, it was resolved, “ That Fort St. George  
 “ the Security given by the late Administration Mil. Conf. 4th  
 “ to Messrs. Call, Majendie, and Taylor, for the Mar. 1778.  
 “ Sum of Four Lacks of Pagodas, do not receive  
 “ the Sanction of the Government, but wait to be determined by the  
 “ Company’s own Authority.”

And your Committee find, that the Court of  
 Directors, in their Letter to Fort Saint George, Letter from the  
 of the 17th of April 1778, expressly disavow the Court of Direc-  
 Transaction, as being a direct Breach of their Or- tors, 17th April  
 ders, and entered into without any Authority from 1778, Par. 7th,  
 them.

The Irregularity in the Payment of the Nabob’s Troops gave Rise  
 to a Transaction somewhat similar, and about the same Period, which  
 also affords an Example of the distressed State of the Nabob’s Finances.  
 The Nabob’s Second Regiment of Cavalry, quartered at Mellore,  
 exasperated at their Pay being Eighteen Months in Arrear, had, in  
 the Month of November 1776, gone off in a Body, with their Arms  
 and Accoutrements. Lieutenant Colonel James, then commanding  
 at Trichinopoly, alarmed at this Event, and with a Report that Two  
 other Regiments were ready to pursue the same Measures, did, by the  
 Advice of the Nabob’s Manager, immediately send after them, in-  
 viting them to return; and promising, upon their so doing, to pay  
 them instantly Five thousand Pagodas, and to be answerable for One  
 thousand every Month, until their Affairs should be settled by the  
 Nabob. He sent, at the same Time, to each of the other Two Re-  
 giments, 1500 Pagodas, in order to pacify them; promising to do all  
 he could to assist them in their Distress. The At-  
 tempt of Lieutenant Colonel James, to bring back Fort St. George  
 the Regiment of Cavalry, failed; but, upon the Mil. Department,  
 Matter being reported to the President and Coun- 25th Nov. 1776.  
 cil, they “ ordered their Secretary to acquaint  
 “ him, that his Conduct in sending and promising Money to the  
 “ mutinous Cavalry of the Nabob, merited their entire Approbation.”



The Means used to keep the other Two Regiments quiet, appear to have been effectual for a very short Time; for in the Month of April 1777, your Committee find that a general Mutiny broke out in one of them, commanded by Captain Dugald Campbell, in which Captain Campbell himself and several of the Officers were wounded, and all of them put into close Confinement; and their Lives threatened, in case of any Attempt being made to relieve them. In this Extremity, it appears that Lieutenant Colonel James did, upon his own Credit, advance them Ten thousand Pagodas, which had the Effect to pacify them for the Time; in which his Conduct was approved of by Colonel Stuart, then Acting Commander at Tanjore; and, upon his Report, by the President and Council at Fort Saint George.

Besides these Sums, it appears that Money had been advanced at other Times by Lieutenant Colonel James, for the Pay of the Nabob's Troops; which Advances he sets forth, in a Representation to the President and Council, on the 11th of April 1778, to have been made in Dependence upon the Promises of Amcer Ul Omrah, the Nabob's Son, for his Re-payment.

It appears, however, that during the Course of Three Years and an Half, Colonel James had applied in vain to the Nabob, for Payment of this Debt, then amounting, as by an Account given in by him to the President and Council, to upwards of Forty thousand Pagodas. He frequently represented, during the same Time, the Hardship of his Case to the President and Council; the President and Council as often urged the Nabob to discharge the Debt, who excused himself on account of the Difficulties and Distresses in which he was involved.

But your Committee find, that in the Month of November 1780, upon the Nabob's refusing to repay the Money in a short Time, the Company's Bond was given by the President and Council to Colonel James, for Pagodas 40,742. 25 fs. 60 cs. the Sums to which the Debt then amounted.

In the above Cases, in which the Security of the Company was interposed for the Nabob, the Reasons given by the President and Council appear upon the Face of the Transactions themselves. But your Committee find another and a more recent Instance, so late as the 26th of June 1780, in which the President and Council appear to

have paid a Debt of the Nabob's, amounting to Pagodas 25,880½, for no other Reason that appears upon the Face of the Transaction, than that the Creditor was desirous to have his Money, and the Nabob wished the Company to advance it. The Debt here alluded to was due to Colonel James Capper, and consisted, as the Nabob himself explained it, principally of Disbursements which Colonel Capper had made in England, upon his Highness's Account, when he last went Home with Dispatches from the Presidency. The Nabob adds, That the Colonel soon after his Return to India had settled Accounts with him, taking his Bond as an Acquittance of his Demand: That the Bond would

Staff and contingent Allowances to the Commissioned, Warrant, and Non-commissioned Staff of the several Corps composing the Army on the Madras Establishment.

				Contingent Allowances.				
				Staff Allowance.	Writers.	Oil and Peon.	Horse.	Stationary.
For a Month of 30 Days.				Pag. f. c.			Pag. f. c.	
Artillery	{	Adjutant	-	18 27	—	—	6	18
		Quarter-Master	-	15	—	—	—	—
		Surgeon	-	21 7	—	—	—	—
		Inspector of Stores	-	37 18	—	—	—	—
		Director of Laboratory	-	20	—	—	—	—
		Conductor	-	15	—	—	—	—
		Serjeant Major	-	4	—	—	—	—
		Quarter-Master Serjeant	-	4	—	—	—	—
Cavalry	{	Drum Major	-	2	—	—	—	18
		Adjutant	-	18 27	—	—	—	18
		Quarter-Master	-	21 20 10	—	—	—	—
		Surgeon	-	15 12 60	—	—	—	—
		Serjeant Major	-	4	—	—	—	—
		Quarter Master Serjeant	-	4	—	—	—	—
		Rough Rider	-	6 9	—	—	—	—
		Farrier	-	6	—	—	—	—
European Infantry	{	Camp Colourman	-	2 30 70	—	—	—	—
		Adjutant	-	18 27	—	—	6	18
		Quarter-Master	-	15	—	—	—	18
		Surgeon	-	21 7	—	—	—	—
		Serjeant Major	-	4	—	—	—	—
Sepoys	{	Quarter-Master Serjeant	-	4	—	—	—	—
		Drum Major	-	1 24	—	—	—	—
		Adjutant	-	17 1	—	—	6	18
		Serjeant Major	-	2	—	—	—	—
General and Warrant Staff	{	Quarter-Master Serjeant	-	2	—	—	—	—
		Commissary General	-	37 18	—	—	—	—
		Judge Advocate General	-	37 18	—	—	—	—
		Adjutant General	-	75	—	40	12	—
		Assistant Do.	-	18 27	—	—	—	—
		Town Major	-	37 18	—	30 2 1	—	—
		Town Adjutant	-	18 27	—	5	—	—
		Aide du Camp	-	37 18	—	—	6	—
	{	General's Secretary	-	37 18	—	20	—	—
			-					P. 1

1774-5.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,73,692
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,495
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391
				<hr/>
				Pagodas 1,81,632

1775-6.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,31,012
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	1,476
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391
				<hr/>
				Pagodas 1,38,933

1776-7.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,29,995
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	6,093
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391
				<hr/>
				Pagodas 1,42,533

31st January 1778.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	1,36,362
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	6,093
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391
				<hr/>
				Pagodas 1,48,900

28th February 1779.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	-	-	2,81,716
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	-	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	-	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-	-	6,093
Sundry Estates	-	-	-	391
				<hr/>
				Pagodas 2,94,254

A. 1782.

## D E B A T E S.

183

29th February 1780.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	4,06,878
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	2,572
Sundry Estates	-	391
		<hr/>
Pagodas		4,15,895
		<hr/>

30th November 1780.

Pag.

Debt at Interest	-	6,29,302
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	-	3,809
Prize Mignione	-	2,245
Sundry Debts	-	-
Sundry Estates	-	391
		<hr/>
Pagodas		6,35,747
		<hr/>

East India House,

21 January 1782.

Errors excepted.

John Annis;

Auditor of Indian Accounts.

Your Committee might here conclude what they have to say respecting the Revenues of the Company under the Presidency of Madras; but, considering how large a Part of the Resources of the Company under this Presidency depends upon the Payments from the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, they think it not foreign to the Object of this Report, to lay before the House such Information as they have been able to obtain, respecting the Revenues of these Two Princes.

In a Letter from the President and Council of Fort Saint George to the Governor General and Council of Bengal, dated the 7th of December 1774, the Territories of the Nabob, including Tanjore, then in his Possession, are estimated at upwards of Two Crores of Rupees.

Mr. William Petrie, who has resided for above Fifteen Years in India, and was for some Time Secretary to the Political Department of the Government of Madras, having been desired to give such Information as he could, respecting the Revenues of the Nabob of Arcot, informed your Committee, That while he was in the Station above-mentioned, the Amount of the Nabob's Collections was a Subject which came frequently under the Consideration of the Board—That an exact Account was often wished for, but, he believed, never obtained—That he had seen various Estimates, some at 36 Lacks of Pagodas Annual Revenue, others at 32, and some lower—That he understood,

## ESTABLISHMENT of 1 Regiment of European Infantry.

Strength.	Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Staff Allowance.	Batta when commanding	Horse Allowance.	Stationary.	Oil and Peas.	Total.
1 Colonel	—	93 27	—	—	180	—	—	2 1	275 28
4 Lieutenant Colonels	—	300 —	—	—	600	—	—	8 4	908 4
2 Majors	75 —	112 18	—	—	240	—	—	4 2	356 20
25 Captains	50 9	937 18	281 9	—	—	—	—	50 25	1,269 16
21 Lieutenants	37 18	393 27	157 18	—	—	—	—	8 27	560 —
18 Ensigns	18 27	270 —	67 18	—	—	—	—	7 18	345 —
44 Sergeants	15 —	275 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	275 —
44 Corporals	6 9	192 18	—	—	—	—	—	—	192 18
42 Drummers	4 13 40	183 27	—	—	—	—	—	—	183 27
1,000 Private Centinels	4 13 40	3,125 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,125 —
	3 4 40	5,883 27	506 9	—	1,020	—	—	8 5	7,491 5
S T A F F.									
2 Adjutants	18 27	—	—	37 18	—	12	1	—	50 18
2 Quarter-Masters	15 —	—	—	30 —	—	—	1	—	31 —
3 Surgeons	21 7	—	—	63 21	—	—	—	—	63 21
2 Serjeant Majors	4 —	—	—	8 —	—	—	—	—	8 —
2 Quarter Master Sergeants	4 —	—	—	6 24	—	—	—	—	6 24
4 Drum Majors	1 24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	Total	153 27	—	12	2	—	167 27
Total Expense of 1 Reg. for 1 Month Rs.									
		5,883 27	506 9	153 27	1,020	12	2	8 5	7,658 32
Do. Do. of 2 Do. for Do. Ps.									
		11,767 18	1,012 18	307 18	2,040	24	4	162 10	15,317 28
Grand Total Do. of 2 Reg. for 1 Year, Ps.									
		1,41,210 —	12,150 —	3,690 —	24,480	288	48	1,947 12	1,83,813 12



## ESTABLISHMENT of the Corps of Engineers.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Horse Allow. nce.	Oil and Peon.	Total.
3	Lieut. Colonel	—	75 — —	—	12 — —	2 1	89 1 —
1	Major	—	56 9 —	—	6 — —	2 1	64 10 —
2	Captains	37 18	75 — —	22 18 —	12 — —	4 2	113 20 —
3	Lieutenant	—	18 27 —	7 18 —	6 — —	— 15	32 24 —
7	Ensigns	15 —	105 — —	26 9 —	42 — —	2 33	176 6 —
Total of the Corps of Engineers for 1 Month			330 — —	56 9 —	78 — —	11 16	475 25 —
Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps			3,960 — —	675 — —	936 — —	137 12	5,708 12 —

## ESTABLISHMENT of Lascars attached to Artillery and other Corps.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Total.
1	Commandant	10 — —	10 — —
4	Serangs	7 — —	287 — —
12	Tindals	2 18 —	317 18 —
2320	Lascars	2 — —	4,640 — —
Total Establishment of Lascars for 1 Month			5,254 18 —
Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps			63,054 — —

## EXPENCE of INVALIDS.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Pay.	Gratuity.	Oil and Peon Allowance.	Total.
1	Captain	—	37 18 —	—	—	37 18 —
2	Lieutenants	18 27 —	37 18 —	—	—	37 18 —
33	Serjeants	7 1 —	231 — —	—	—	231 — —
12	Corporals	6 — —	72 — —	—	—	72 — —
6	Bombardiers	5 9 —	31 18 —	—	—	31 18 —
35	Gunners	4 27 —	166 9 —	—	—	166 9 —
47	Mattrosses	3 18 —	164 18 —	—	—	164 18 —
Total Artillery		Pagodas	740 9 —	—	—	740 9 —
European Infantry.						
1	Captain	—	37 18 —	11 9 —	2 1 —	50 28 —
1	Lieutenant	—	18 27 —	7 27 —	— 15 —	26 33 —
1	Ensign	—	15 — —	3 27 —	— 15 —	19 6 —
1	Adjutant	—	18 27 —	7 27 —	— 15 —	26 33 —
99	Serjeants	6 — —	594 — —	—	—	594 — —
12	Drummers	4 — —	48 — —	—	—	48 — —
583	Rank and File	3 — —	1,749 — —	—	—	1,749 — —
Total European Infantry		Pagodas	2,481 — —	30 18 —	3 10 —	2,514 28 —
Sepoys.						
6	Commandants	32 — —	192 — —	—	—	192 — —
1	Serjeant Major	—	10 — —	—	—	10 — —
1	Serjeant	—	7 9 —	—	—	7 9 —
2	Drummers	3 — —	6 — —	—	—	6 — —
27	Subadats	17 — —	459 — —	—	—	459 — —
40	Zemauldars	5 — —	200 — —	—	—	200 — —
50	Havildars	3 — —	150 — —	—	—	150 — —
50	Naicks	2 12 —	116 24 —	—	—	116 24 —
675	Sepoys	1 25 16	1,147 18 —	—	—	1,147 18 —
Total Sepoys,		Pagodas	2,288 15 —	—	—	2,288 15 —
Total Expence of Invalids for 1 Mo. Ps.			5,509 24 —	30 18 —	3 10 —	5,543 16 —
Grand Total Do. Do. for 1 Year, Pags.			66,416 — —	366 — —	39 12 —	66,521 12 —



Allies are called upon to act with the utmost Vigour in repelling this Attack. I trust you will shew yourself particularly zealous in a Cause, in which the Welfare of your Government, as well as that of the Company and the Nabob, are so much interested. A large Supply of Money is absolutely necessary to carry on the military Operations; and to this Object I shall be thankful if you will contribute amply, and soon. The Nabob's Country has always suffered considerably by the Incurfions of Hyder's Horse: Your's being as yet uninvaded, I flatter myself you will find less Difficulty in furnishing Money to the Company. I request also that you will encourage as much as possible, the Exportation of Grain to Madras. The Duties in that Article are taken off at this Port, a Circumstance which will, no Doubt, when known to the People of your Country, induce them to send large Supplies. May your Happiness daily increase. What can I say more?

## A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 3.

*Extract of a Letter from Fort Saint George to the Governor General and Council of Fort William, dated the 26th July, 1780.*

**Extract Fort Saint George Select Conf. 26th July 1780.** **O**UR last Letter (of which we inclose a Duplicate) gave you Information of the Approach of Hyder Ally, with a large Army, towards our Frontiers. We now transmit Two Papers of Intelligence just received from the Nabob, by which you will learn that he has actually detached Part of his Cavalry into the Carnatic, and is preparing to follow with his whole Army.

We are taking Measures for assembling our Troops in a proper Situation to oppose this Attack, and defend the Country in the best Manner we are able; but the Alarm already occasioned by the Report of an Invasion, and the Ravages which have been actually committed by Hyder's Horse, have driven the People from their Habitations, and put an entire Stop to the Tillage of the Ground.

Under these Circumstances it will be impossible for us to draw Resources from the Country, in any Degree equal to the Expences which this War must inevitably produce; and if we do not obtain a speedy Supply of Money from you, we see no Probability of our being able to act with Vigour and Effect proportionate to the Exigency of our Situation.

*Extract of a Letter from Fort Saint George to the Governor General and Council of Fort William, dated 14th September 1780.*

**Extract Fort Saint George Select Conf. 14th Sept. 1780.** But besides Troops, our Occasions for Money are very pressing. We have no Means whatever to answer the extraordinary Expences of this War; and it will be totally impossible for us to carry it on, unless we can be sure of receiving Supplies of Money from you. We earnestly request your immediate Attention to this Object; and that you will do us the Favour to inform us to what Extent we can be assisted. It would be a great Relief to us if a Sum of Money could be sent immediately after the Receipt of these Dispatches.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 4.

*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors; dated 15th October 1780.*

**W**E have been put to the greatest Distress for the Want of Money to carry on the War, owing to a total Failure in our usual Resources. The Carnatic waste, by the Incursions of the Enemy. The Nabob pleads this in Excuse for not discharging any of his Engagements.

The Rajah of Tanjore, whose Country hath not been disturbed in any Shape, has yet given us no Assistance; nor have we yet obtained any Supply of Money from Bengal, though the Governor General and Council have expressed an Intention to assist us.

Under these Circumstances we had no Alternative for supplying the various Exigencies of the Service, but that of borrowing from Individuals, and taking up Money for Draughts upon England. The Resolutions we came to on this Subject, will be communicated to you from the Civil Department.

*Extract of the General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors; dated the 15th of October 1780.*

On a Review of the State of your Treasury, when Hyder Ally invaded the Carnatic in July last, we judged it absolutely necessary to issue Advertisements for receiving Loans from the Inhabitants of this Settlement, for which Company's Bonds were to be granted, payable in Eight Months after Date, bearing an Interest of Eight per Cent. per Ann.

But the Supply raised by this Means proving very inadequate to the heavy Expences of Government, and having no Hope of any immediate Relief that could be deemed effectual, either from the Northern Subordinacies, from the Nabob, or from Bengal; in this Exigency, after much Deliberation, however averse we are in any Instance to act contrary to your Orders, we found ourselves under the unavoidable Necessity, as the last Resource, to draw Bills on your Honours to an Amount not exceeding £. 200,000.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 5.

*Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, at Fort William in Bengal, in their Secret Department, to the Court of Directors, dated the 13th of October 1780.*

**W**ITH Respect to the Treasure which we have sent to them, as it is a handsome, so we trust it will be a seasonable Supply. We have not spared the Sum of Fifteen Lacks of Rupees, the Amount of the Supply, without great Inconvenience to ourselves. The Demands on us at Home are large and pressing; but on a general Consideration of the Company's Interests, we have not hesitated, and shall not hesitate, to use every Exertion within our Power and Ability, both in this and every other Instance, to contribute our utmost to support them. The Treasure which has been dispatched we have consigned to the Commander in Chief; and we have nominated a Paymaster for the immediate Charge of it. It is intended for the Payment of the Troops under Sir Eyre Coote's Command, and is wholly to answer military Expences: But we have empowered him also to make use of it in supplying the Requisitions of the President and Select Committee, if he shall agree in the Expediency of doing so.

*Extract*

*Extract of a Letter from the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated 29th November 1780.*

We cannot obtain any Money from the Nabob, or the Rajah of Tanjore: The Nabob is indeed, we believe, very much distressed, by a total Failure in the Revenues of that Part of the Carnatic which has been subject to the Incursions of Hyder's Horse; but the Rajah of Tanjore has not yet had a Grain of his Country touched. Thus, from our past Disappointments and present Prospects, we can place but little Dependence on any other Resource than that of Bengal, for carrying on the War; and as to the Expences of the Civil Department, we have very slender Hope of procuring sufficient to answer them from any Quarter.

## A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 6.

*Extract of Fort Saint George Select Consultations, dated the 14th January 1779.*

Par. 105. **T**H E Arrival of Sir Eyre Coote at this Presidency, on his Way to Bengal, at so critical a Juncture, I esteem on many Accounts a fortunate Circumstance. He will be able to form a Judgment from his own Observation of your real Situation, with Respect to Resources, and the Conduct both of the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore; and I most earnestly recommend to him, to take a View of our Proceedings both before and since the Capture of Pondicherry, that he may be fully acquainted with the Difficulties we have had, and still have, to struggle with; that when he takes his Seat at the Council General at Bengal, he may, from his own Knowledge, enforce the Representation we have found it necessary to make, that we may be supported and assisted in the Advice and Opinion of that Board, in any Means we may be obliged to adopt for the Public Good, and the Preservation of the Carnatic. I have been so full in the several Minutes I have given in to the Committee, that I have only to refer Sir Eyre Coote to them, for a true Representation of our Difficulties. The Measures we have been obliged to adopt, of drawing Bills on the Company, though not to a great Amount, was unavoidable. It was against my Wish and Inclination, truly sensible that the Company are very desirous we should avoid giving any Drafts on them; and indeed they have a Right to expect that their Resources here should more than answer the Expences of the Establishment; but every Trial was made in vain to procure Money from the Nabob, from the Rajah of Tanjore, and even from Individuals, on granting them Interest Notes payable to a certain Time. The Distress for Specie was so great, that we had no Alternative; we were obliged, by the Prospect of an advantageous Remittance, to induce those who had Cash by them to supply our immediate Wants, as the Account delivered in to the Committee will shew. There was an absolute Necessity that the Troops should not be kept in Arrears; and notwithstanding the Money borrowed, we have now an empty Treasury. It is true, the Nabob has promised us a considerable Sum this Month, and to be more regular in his Payments in future; but we have no other Security than his Word. Should he fail us, as he has seldom been very punctual in Engagements, I apprehend the most serious Consequences. We have represented to Bengal our Situation. We have acquainted them in a former Letter, that if we did not receive a Supply, we should be under the Necessity of drawing upon Europe. The Council General, however, were unable to supply us, I will not say unwillingly, being convinced the Co-operation with the different Presidencies, for the mutual Support of the Company's Possession, is the first and most material Object of their political Conduct. Under all these Circumstances, I have no Doubt but we shall stand justified to the Company for our Conduct; but at the same Time it is absolutely necessary to act with Spirit  
and

and Vigour, to obtain Money from those Channels from whence it ought to flow; and, by a determined Plan of Oeconomy, and Reduction of all Expences, to endeavour to supply our Treasury, that we may never again be under the Necessity of giving Drafts on the Company. To accomplish this Point, I have no Doubt of meeting with the Concurrence and steady Support of the Committee: And I propose, that an Auditor of Accounts may be immediately appointed; that he proceed to examine the Accounts, both civil and military, for the last Six Months; or, if it should be thought too great a Task for One Person, that Two Persons be appointed, the one to audit the civil, the other the military Accounts; and that all unnecessary Charges may be struck off; and that they make a Report to the Committee or Council, every Fortnight, of the Progress they have made; and that their Allowance and Emolument depend in a great Measure on the Reduction made by them in the monthly Expences. It would appear extraordinary, at the Commencement of a War, to propose a Reduction of our military Force; it would at this Juncture undoubtedly be highly improper and dangerous. But I do not hesitate to give it as my Opinion, that our Establishment is too great for our Resources; and either a fixed or certain Revenue from the Carnatic, or Tanjore Country, must be allotted for the Payment of our Troops, or a considerable Reduction must take Place at a more favourable Period. The Nabob should be in Advance, not in Arrear, for the Payment of what depends on him; but on the contrary, the Debt is accumulating; and the Company strongly recommended to us, in their Letter of the last Season, to call upon him for Payment, and not to suffer the Payment of Individuals to interfere with their Demands. We know not what Step our Enemies are taking, what Force they have at the Mauritius; but we have every Reason to believe that they are not inactive, and that they will attempt some Stroke to recover the Ground they have lost. We have no immediate Prospect of Support, and therefore must find Resources amongst ourselves, and must pursue such a Conduct as to provide against all Difficulties and Contingencies.

## A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 7.

*Extract of Fort Saint George Select Consultations, dated the 4th February 1779.*

**T**HE President lays before the Committee the following Minute, with Intelligence just received from the Nabob.

I am concerned to lay before the Committee, a Letter from the Nabob, containing Advices from his Vackeel at Poonah, of a very serious Nature; and though we may suppose the Account of the unfortunate Situation of the Bombay Army is greatly exaggerated, and that when we hear from Bombay, we shall be informed of some favourable Circumstance with which we are not yet acquainted; still, from the circumstantial Account received, we have no Reason to doubt but the Event of the Expedition for conducting Ragonaut Row to Poonah, has been unfortunate and disgraceful, both to our Arms and Councils; and our present Situation, with respect to the different Powers of Hindostan, renders it absolutely necessary that we should immediately take into Consideration our own State and Resources, as well for the Defence of the Carnatic, as to afford Assistance to any other Parts where the Company have Possessions or Alliances, that may stand in Need of our Support.

The first Consideration is, the State of our Treasury. I have already, on many Occasions, represented to the Committee, the Difficulties we have to struggle with, and that the utmost we can expect, is to supply our Exigencies on a Peace Establishment, and provide our Investments; which being an Object of Consequence to the Company, ought not to be neglected. Our Situation has been represented to the Governor General and Council; but I am of Opinion, we may still, in a more particular Manner, address them

them again on the Subject, and request, that they will not only afford us Assistance from the Bengal Treasury, that we may be supplied with a Fund to enable our Army to take the Field, should Circumstances make it necessary; but that they will give us their Opinion on those Points we have already submitted to their Considerations, and upon such others as we may now propose to them. First, I would recommend, that we fully state to them the Situation of the Tanjore Country, and the Measures we have taken in consequence, in order to secure the regular Payment of the Rajah's Subsidy, and the Nabob's Peshcush; which, if punctually remitted to our Treasury, will not only greatly assist in keeping up our present Establishment, but will contribute, with other Means, to secure in Time such a Supply, as will enable us to act with Vigour as Occasion may require. The Tanjore Revenues ought to be taken Care of. Necessity obliges us to watch over them with Attention; and should the present Negotiation entrusted to General Munro fail of producing the desired Effect, I am persuaded it is our Duty to take such Measures that no Mismanagement, or any Cause whatever, may deprive us of that Support which is absolutely necessary to contribute to the Protection of the Carnatic, Tanjore, and our Northern Settlements: For, Where is the Force for the Defence of those several Countries, but what is kept up, disciplined, and paid by the Company?

Secondly; It will be necessary that we take the Opinion of the Governor General and Council, how we are to act in Case of Failure in the Nabob's Engagements. I hope we shall never be drove to take any Measures inconsistent with his Rights, or disagreeable to his Feelings; but without we state with Precision our Difficulties, we may find ourselves embarrassed, and at a Loss to act in particular Points when our Distresses press with Force upon us. It is true, we have lately received a very considerable Sum from the Nabob; but the Account delivered in by me to the Committee, dated the 30th of November last, will shew, that he was, at the End of January, greatly in Arrears of the Amount which, by his own voluntary Agreement, he engaged to pay to that Period; and the Debt is monthly encreasing. Our Expences are certain, and must be provided for: Our Burthens at present are great; for, exclusive of our Standing Army, upwards of Twenty-seven thousand Men, we have the heavy Expence of compleating our Fortifications, which must not, on any Account, be neglected; and we have the Maintenance of the French Prisoners, Military and Civil, with the Number of Articles to be provided for, which the Capitulation of Pondicherry obliges us to fulfil. All Attention and Support is certainly due to the Nabob, as our old and faithful Ally, connected with us by every Tie, and demanding from us every Indulgence: For, if we take a View from the Southern Boundary of Hindostan to the Northern Extremity, where the English Forces have proved victorious, where shall we find one Native Prince who has not severely felt the Effects of our Power, and that is not now lamenting the rapid Success of our Arms, and the Credulity that ever induced him to trust to our Engagements? Mahomed Ally can alone boast, that we have not entirely violated every Principle on which he has depended, and who, with his Family, it is to be wished, may long remain Instances of our National Faith; but at the same Time I express these Sentiments towards the Nabob, it is necessary that we insist on a Punctuality in fulfilling his Engagements, or that the Committee are furnished with some Line to guide their Conduct, when they find him fail in his Engagements. To various Causes may be imputed his Reluctance to part with Money, and several Circumstances may have contributed to give him Disgust. We have no Right or Grounds to suppose his Reluctance proceeds from Disaffection. We are to consider his Load of Debt, the increased Expences of the Establishment; the Decrease, from various Causes, and perhaps from some Mismanagement, of his Revenue; the Disappointments he has been subject to in this Matter, where he conceived himself to be justly entitled to Decisions in his Favour; and, lastly, to the Impositions of Individuals, and the attendant Passion so common to Men of advanced Stages in Life, of hoarding up for future unforeseen Contingencies; all these may have operated to increase the Difficulties of obtaining from him the necessary Supplies of Cash: That such Difficulties have frequently existed, no one acquainted with this Government can doubt: But the Reflection alone, of our depending on precarious Circumstances for certain and unavoidable Expences, on which our very Safety depends, render it absolutely necessary to have the Advice of the Governor General to assist our Resolutions, if ever we should be obliged to go beyond the Line that we wish to be preserved.

*Extract of Sir Eyre Cooté's Minute.*

I agree entirely with the Governor's first Proposition, in regard to the Necessity there is for representing to the Supreme Council the State of our Treasury, and the Situation of the Tanjore Country, as well as to require their Sentiments upon the Measures which the Board here ought to adopt, in Case the Nabob's Engagements should not be so punctually fulfilled as the Necessity of our Affairs may demand. And I imagine those Representations cannot fail to have the desired Effect, in inducing them to give such speedy and proper Assistance as may enable the Governor and Council here, to pursue the disinterested and spirited Plan which they have hitherto supported alone, so much to the National Benefit, and to their own Honour.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 8.

*Extract of a Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, to the Governor General and Council of Bengal; dated 7th December 1774.*

OUR Expences on the Coast, in Time of Peace, are generally 1774.  
 about 14 Lacks of Pagodas; and the Investment for Europe. Fort St. George  
 requires 6 Lacks, which makes the Disbursements on the Coast a- Mil. Conf.  
 mount to 20 Lacks of Pagodas. The annual Amount of the Reve- 8 Dec. Fol. 833.  
 nues, upon a mean Calculation, may be estimated at upwards of  
 16 Lacks; and the Sums paid by the Nabob, in certain Gifts, in the Course of the  
 Year, for the Pay of the Troops kept by the Company on his Account, and the Ex-  
 pences of the Garrisons defrayed by them, at about 4 Lacks; making in all 20 Lacks  
 of Pagodas: But of these Receipts, near 8 Lacks are to be paid by the Nabob; for,  
 exclusive of the Money advanced on his Account, estimated as above at 4 Lacks, he  
 has, by the Company's Orders, the Inaam Lands at Rent for Pagodas 3,68,350 per  
 Annum; which is likewise received in certain Gifts, payable in the Course of the Year.  
 But even this Resource, from the Nabob's own Declarations, must become precarious in  
 Time of War.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 9.*Grant of the Jaghire to the Company.*

BE it known to the Deesmookees, Deespondees, principal Inhabitants and Husband-  
 men of the Tripasore, &c. Pergunnahs, belonging to the Carnatic Payen Gaut, and  
 dependent upon the Subah of Mahomed Poor, alias Arcot; That I have appointed and  
 made over to the English East India Company (who have taken great Pains and Labour  
 in my Affairs, are my true Friends, and will ever remain firm and steady in Alliance  
 Vol. VI. D d with,

with, and in supporting, myself and Sons) the aforesaid Pergunnahs, &c. as hereunder expressed, by Way of Jaghire; the Revenues of which, as entered in the Mogul's Book, amount to Four Lacks Four hundred and Ninety-four Pagodas Four Annas and a Quarter (4,00,494  $\frac{1}{4}$ ), and Chucrams Six thousand and Thirty-three (6,033): You the said Deesmookees, &c. must therefore take Care to live in due Obedience to the said Company, and to pay them the proper Revenues, at the fixed and stated Times, as, according to their Report, whether in your Praise or Dispraise, will be our Favour or Displeasure upon you. Look upon this as an Order, and comply accordingly.

Computed Revenues as put down in the Mogul's Book.

	Pagodas.	Annas.	Chucrams.	No. of Districts.	No. of Villages.
Madras, Customs included	1,200	—	—	1	1
St. Thomés District, Customs included	6,346	15	—	1	7
Poonamalee District, Customs included	34,840	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	1	231
Trevenda Poor, &c.	—	—	26,250	1	28

N. B. The Revenues of these Four within the Circumflex, amounting to Pagodas 42,386. 15  $\frac{1}{2}$  Chucrams 26,250, are mentioned not to be included in the Sum of Pagodas 4,00,494  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and Chucrams, 6,003 specified in the Sunnud, these being in a prior Grant.

Computed Revenues as put down in the Mogul's Books.

	Pagodas.	Annas.	Chucrams.	Annas.	No. of Districts.	No. of Villages.
Tripasore entire, Customs included	37,177	4	—	—	1	211
The Villages of Cotumbauc, &c. belonging to the Seven Magans entire	17,450	2	—	—	1	99
Poneer District entire, Customs included	20,351	—	—	—	1	150
Chiceutkota District entire, Customs included	4,050	—	—	—	1	3
Peddapollam Districts entire, Customs included	12,414	12	—	—	1	80
Perrumbauc District entire	6,207	9	—	—	1	32
Munemungulum District entire, Customs included	19,000	—	—	—	1	81
Ootremaloor District, Customs included	20,985	13	—	—	1	62
Saliwauc District entire, Customs included	19,229	11	—	—	1	71
Seeva, or Great Conjeveram, ditto	19,414	6	—	—	1	99
Bishun, or Little Conjeveram, ditto	25,195	12	—	—	1	133
Cavantandelum District entire	18,585	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	1	74
Chingleput District entire, Customs included	100,446	10	—	—	1	363 $\frac{1}{2}$
Siaudet Bunder, alias Covelong District, entire, Customs included	17,512	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	1	54
Carangoly ditto, all on this Side the River Mercawn, entire, Customs included	62,257	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	1	387 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chinnamanaik Pollum Village, belonging to the Trivedy Pergunnah, entire	—	—	1,072	8	1	1
Nuddeput Village, belonging to the Vencatompente Pergunnah, entire	—	—	927	8	1	1

Curremundel,



Pagodas. Annas. Chucrams. Annas. Mehurs or Districts. No. of Villages.

Curremundel, &c. Villages, belonging to the Pullicat, entire	216	2	—	1	4
Chittamoor, &c. Villages, belonging to the Tundewullum Pergunnah, all that arise on that Side the River Mercawn, entire	—	—	744 8	1	12
Hufoor, &c. Villages, belonging to the Pergunnah of the same Name, all that are on this Side the River Mercawn entire, Customs included	—	—	3,288 8	1	15
Total Amount of the present Grants, and those of the 16th of October 1763	4,00,494	4½	6,033 —	20	1,934
Ditto of the old Grants mentioned in the First Part	42,386	15½	26,250 —	4	267
Grand Total, Pagodas	4,42,881	3½	32,283 —	24	2,201

## Subdivision thereof.

	Pag.	Ann.	Chuc.	Dif.	Vill.
By the present Grants now	34,430	4½	4,033	—	175
By those of the 16th of October 1763	3,66,064	0	2,000	20	1759
By the old Grants	42,386	15½	26,250	4	267
Pagodas	4,42,881	3½	32,283	24	2,201

Dated the 21st of the Moon Rabbi ul Sauni, in the Year of Hegira 1177, equivalent to the 29th of October 1763.

## Forms on the Back of the Sunnud.

The Serishtadar's Letter to the Nabob, informing him of the Sunnud's having been made out for the English East India Company, the 16th of October 1763, to the Amount of Pagodas 3,66,064, and Chucrams 2,000, out of the several Countries from which that Sum arose; there were many Villages, to the Value of Pagodas 34,430. 4½, and Chucrams 4,033 (as entered in the Mogul's Books) excepted; he requests therefore the Nabob's Orders, whether a new Sunnud for the Whole (which he particularises in the same Manner as it is in the Sunnud) should be made out or not? To which the Nabob is said to answer, in his own Hand Writing: "In Consideration of the true Friendship of the English East India Company, and their remaining always in Alliance with me, let a Sunnud for the whole Jaghire, without any Exception, be made out."

Registered in the Dewan's Office, the 21st of the Moon Rabbi ul Sauni, in the Year of Hegira, 1177, equal to the 29th of October, 1763.

N. B. This is Twice mentioned.

Registered in the Nabob's own Office the same Day.

*Firmaun from the Mogul, being a Confirmation of the Nabob's Grants to the Company in the Carnatic.*

In these happy Times, our Firmaun, full of Splendor, and worthy of Obedience in all, is descended, purporting, That whatever formerly has been given by preceding Moguls, or lately by Serajah Dowlah Mahomed Ally Khan, from the Circar of the Carnatic, in the Parts above Madras, &c. to the High, Mighty, &c. &c. English Company: We, in Consideration of their great Pains and Services, have, from our Throne,



the Basis of the World, conferred upon, or confirmed to them, by way of Inaum or Free Gift, without allowing any Person whatever any Part or Share therein. You, therefore, our Sons, Omrahs, Vizirs, Governors, Muttasséddees, for the Affairs of the Dewanship; Mootecophils for those of our Kingdom, Jaghiredars and Karorees, both now and hereafter, for ever and ever, exert yourselves in the strengthening and carrying into Execution this our Most High Command, and cede and give up to the above-mentioned English Company, their Heirs and Descendants, for ever and ever, the aforesaid Circar; and esteeming them likewise as entirely exempt, free, and safe from all Displacing or Removal, by no Means whatever molest or trouble them, either on Account of the Demands of the Dewan's Office, or those of our Imperial Court.

Looking upon this high Firmaun as an absolute and positive Order, obey it implicitly.

Dated the 24th of the Moon Sophar, in the Sixth Year of our Reign, equal to the 12th of August, 1765.

## A P P E N D I X N<sup>o</sup> 10.

*A Copy of Requests made by Colonel Forde to Nabob Salabat Jung, and his Compliance thereto, in his own Hand.*

**T**HE Whole of the Circar of Mazulipatam, with Eight Districts, as well as the Circar of Nizampatam, and the Districts of Condavir and Wacalmanner, shall be given to the English Company as an Inaum or Free Gift, and the Sunnuds granted to them in the same Manner as was done to the French.

The Nabob Sabalat Jung will oblige the French Troops which are in his Country, to pass the River Ganges within Fifteen Days, or send them to Pondicherry, or to any other Place out of the Decad Country, on the other Side of the River Kistna; in future he will not suffer them to have a Settlement in this Country, on any Account whatsoever, nor keep them in his Service, nor assist them, nor call them to his Assistance.

The Nabob will not demand or call Gauzeputty Rauze to an Account for what he has collected out of the Circars belonging to the French, nor for the Computation of his Revenues of his own Country in the present Year, but let him remain peaceable in it in future, and according to the Computation of the Revenues of his Country, before the Time of the French, agreeable to the Custom of his Grandfather and Father; and as was then paid to the Circar, so he will now act and pay accordingly to the Circar; and if he, the Rajah, does not agree to it, then the Nabob may do what he pleases. In all Cases the Nabob will not assist the Enemies of the English, nor give them Protection.

The English Company, on their Part, will not assist the Nabob's Enemies, nor give them Protection.

Dated Moon Ramadan, the 16th Hegira, 1772, which is the 14th of May 1759.

\* I swear by God and his Prophet, and upon the holy Alcoran, that I with Pleasure agree to the Requests specified in this Paper, and shall not deviate from it, even an Hair's Breadth.

### *Firmaun from the Mogul for the Northern Circars.*

In these happy Times, our Firmaun, full of Splendor, and worthy of Obedience, is descended, purporting, That whereas Salabat Jung Behauder, Subahdar of the Decan, conferred the Circar of Siccacole, &c. on the French Company; and that, in Consequence

\* In the Nabob's own Hand, which may be seen on the Top of the Original, as well as his Grand Seal.

of its not being confirmed by us, either by Firmaun or otherwise, the high, mighty, glorious Chiefs of the Khans, chosen of the Omrahs Sepoy Sardars, truly faithful, worthy of receiving Favours and Obligations, our invariable and never failing Friends and Well-wishers, the English Company (having sent a large Force for that Purpose) did expel the French therefrom; We therefore, in Consideration of the Fidelity and good Wishes of the above High, Mighty, &c. &c. English Company, have, from our Throne, the Basis of the World, given them the aforementioned Circars, by Way of Inaum or Free Gift, without the least Participation of any Person whatever in the same, from the Beginning of the Fussul of Tuccaucooul, in the Year of Phasely 1172, equal to the Month of April 1762: It is incumbent therefore on you our Sons, Omrahs, Vizirs, Governors, Muttasseddees for the Affairs of our Dewanship, Mootecophils for those of our Kingdom, Jaghiredars and Karorees, both now and hereafter, for ever and ever, to use your Endeavours in the strengthening and carrying into Execution this our most high Command; and to cede and give up to the abovementioned English Company, their Heirs and Descendants, for ever and ever, the aforesaid Circars; and esteeming them likewise free, exempt, and safe from all Displacing or Removal, by no Means whatever either molest or trouble them, on Account of the Demands of the Dewan's Office, or those of our Imperial Court.

Looking upon this high Firmaun as an absolute and positive Order, obey it implicitly.

Dated the 24th of the Moon Sophar, in the Sixth Year of our Reign, equal to the 12th of August, 1765.

*Forms made use of on the Back of the Firmaun.*

From the Secretary, setting forth, That his Majesty had been pleased to sign a Petition (supposed to be from the Company) of the same Date as the Firmaun, directing, That whereas Salabut Jung Behauder, Subahder of the Decan, conferred the Circar of Siccacole, &c. on the French Company; and that in Consequence of its not being confirmed by his Majesty, either by Firmaun or otherwise, the High, Mighty, &c. &c. English Company (having sent a large Force for that Purpose) did expel the said French therefrom; his Majesty therefore, in Consideration of the Fidelity of the aforesaid English Company, has given them (without the Participation of any Person whatever in the same) the above-mentioned Circars, by way of Inaum or Free Gift.

Then follow Two Orders from the Mogul; the first supposed to be in his own Hand, addressed to his Son, Mirza Mahomed Akbur Shah Behauder, telling him to comply with the Contents of this Firmaun; the other directing, that the English Company be under his Son's Command, or in his Ressaula.

The Whole attested under Kazi Inauyet Khan's Seal, to be a true Copy from the Original.

*A Treaty of perpetual Honour, Favour, Alliance, and Attachment,*

Between the Great Nabob, high in Station, famous as the Sun, Nabob Aufuph Jaw, Nizam ul Mulck, Nizam ud Dowla, Meer Nizam Ally Cawn, Behauder Phuttah Jung, Sepoy Sardar, and the Honourable English East India Company.

Signed, sealed, and ratified, on the one Part, by his Highness the said Nabob, and on the other, by John Caillaud, Esquire, Brigadier General, invested with full Powers on Behalf of the said Company.

Done at Hydrabad, the Ninth of the Moon Gemace-dussuny, in the Year of Hegyra 1180, equal to the 12th of November 1766.

Article 1.

The Two contracting Parties do, by virtue of this Treaty of Honour, Favour, Alliance, and Friendship, solemnly engage a mutual Assistance, to esteem the Enemies of one the Enemies of both, and contrarywise, the Friends of one the Friends of the other.

Article 2.

The Honourable English East-India Company, in Return for the gracious Favours received from his Highness, consisting of Saneds for the Five Circars of Ellour, Siccacole, Rajahmundry, Mustephanagur, and Murtezanagur, expressing the Free Gift thereof, on them and their Heirs for ever and ever, do promise and engage to have a Body of Troops ready to settle the Affairs of his Highness's Government, in every Thing that is right and proper,

proper, whenever required, provided that they be at Liberty to withdraw the Whole, or such Part thereof as they shall judge proper, whenever either the Safety of their own Settlements and Possessions, or the Peace and Tranquillity of the Carnatic, be the least endangered. In case of the falling out of which Circumstances (which God forbid) they do promise and engage to give the most timely Notice thereof to his Highness, in their Power.

#### Article 3.

The honourable English East-India Company do further engage and promise, that in whatever Year the Assistance of their Troops shall not be required, they will pay to his Highness, as a Consideration for the Free Gift of the above-mentioned Five Circars, for ever and ever, the following Sums, by Kists, as specified in the Eighth Article of this Treaty; viz. for the Three Circars of Rajahmundry, Elloor, and Mustephanagur, Five Lacks of Rupees; and for those of Siccacole and Murtezanagur, as soon as they are in their Hands, and the settling the same is well effected, Two Lacks each, in all Nine Lacks of Rupees per Annum.

#### Article 4.

The Reduction of the Siccacole Circar, by the Blessing of God, the Company will effect as soon as possible; but that of Murtezanagur, in Consideration of his Highness having, by former Agreements, given it to his Brother Bazalet Jung, as a Jaghire, the honourable English East-India Company do promise and engage not to take Possession of, until it be his Highness's Pleasure, or until the Demise of his said Brother: But to prevent all future Disputes and Difficulties that may hereafter arise concerning the same, the aforesaid Company do further explain their Intentions in the following Article:

#### Article 5.

As the Circar of Murtezanagur borders on that of Nizampatam and the Country of the Carnatic, which, by virtue of the former and present Treaties and Alliances, the aforesaid Company are bound to maintain and protect in all its Extent; therefore, in case the said Bazalet Jung, his Agents or Dependents should cause any Disturbances to the Prejudice thereof, it is hereby agreed on by both Parties, that the aforesaid Company shall then have it in their Power to take immediate Possession of that Circar.

#### Article 6.

As by the Tenor of the Second Article of this Treaty, the aforesaid Company have engaged to furnish a Body of Troops, to be ready to march to the Assistance of his Highness, it is agreed on by both Parties, that the Expences thereof shall be paid in the following Manner; to wit, If the Expence of the Number of Troops his Highness may require, should fall short of the Sum of Five Lacks of Rupees, mentioned to be paid for the Three Circars of Rajahmundry, Elloor, and Mustephanagur, the Company will account to his Highness for what Balance may remain due; and in case of its exceeding the above-mentioned Sum, the aforesaid Company do hereby engage themselves to be answerable for the Payment of the Remainder. The same Agreement in like Manner to hold good for the Sums stipulated to be paid for the Two Circars of Siccacole and Murtezanagur when settled.

#### Article 7.

In Consideration of the Fidelity, Attachment, and Services of the aforesaid Company, and the Dependence his Highness has upon them, his said Highness, out of his great Favour does hereby entirely acquit the above-mentioned Circars of all Arrears and Demands, down to the present Date of these Writings.

#### Article 8.

In case the Assistance of the Honourable Company's Troops is not required, the annual stipulated Sum expressed in the Third Article of this Treaty, the aforesaid Company do engage to pay in Three Kists, after the following Manner, and to give Soucar Security for the same; viz. The First Payment, the Thirty-first of March; the Second, the Thirtieth of June; and the Third, the Thirty-first of October.

#### Article 9.

Whenever his Highness goes into Winter Quarters, and the Troops of the other Sardars have Leave for that Purpose, those of the aforesaid Company shall have Leave also to depart to their own Country.

#### Article 10.

## Article 10.

His Highness engages to give as early Notice as possible, (not less than Three Months) of the Service in which he will require the Assistance of the Troops of the aforesaid Company, that they may have timely Notice to make the necessary Preparations; and that the Number of Troops sent may be sufficient for the Service required of them, of which the aforesaid Company are to be left the entire and sole Judges; and as the Success of all Expeditions depends much upon Secrecy in Council, both Parties do hereby engage themselves not to reveal any such Designs as they may communicate to each other, until every Thing on both Sides is ready for Execution.

## Article 11.

The Honourable English East-India Company, in Consideration of the Diamond Mines, with the Villages appertaining thereto, having been always dependent upon his Highness's Government, do hereby agree that the same shall remain in his Possession now also.

## Article 12.

His Highness, in order to convince the whole World of the great Confidence and Trust he reposes in the English Nation, agrees and consents, that the Fort of Condapillee shall be entirely garrisoned by the Troops of the aforesaid Company; in Consideration of which the aforesaid Company do hereby agree and consent likewise, that there be a Killedar therein on the Part of his Highness, and that the usual Jaghire annexed to the Killedary shall be ceded to him.

## Article 13.

In virtue of this Treaty of mutual Favour, Alliance, and Friendship, between the Two contracting Parties, his Highness promises and engages to assist the aforesaid Company with his Troops, when required, reserving to himself the same Liberty of withdrawing the Whole, or any Part thereof, in the same Manner as is expressed for the aforesaid Company in the Second Article of this Treaty, whenever the same shall become necessary.

## Article 14.

In virtue of the above Treaty of Favour, Alliance, and Friendship, both Parties do mutually and solemnly engage to the punctual and strict Observance of all and every one of the above-mentioned Articles; that from this Time all Doubts and Suspicions shall cease between them, and in their Room a perpetual, just, and sincere Confidence be established, so that the great Affairs of the Decan Government, and the Business of the Company, may increase every Day in Honour, Riches, and Happiness, from Generation to Generation.

In Confirmation of which his Highness on the one Part, and John Caillaud, Esquire, Brigadier General, invested with full Powers from the English Company, on the other, have hereunto affixed their Hands and Seals.

Dated at Hydrabad the 9th of the Moon Gemace-duffuny, in the Year of Hegyra 1180, equal to the 12th of November 1766.

A TREATY of perpetual Friendship and Alliance, made and concluded at Fort St. George,

Between the honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, in Conjunction with the Nabob Wolau Jau, Omdetul Mulck, Ummeer-ul-Hind, Serajah Dowlah, Anneverdeen, Cawn Behauder, Monsoor Jung, Sippa Sardar of the Carnatic Payen Gaut, on the one Part; and the Great Nabob, high in Station, Aufuph Jau, Nizam-ul-Mulck, Meer Nizam, Ally Cawn Behauder, Phuttah Jung, Sippa Sardar, Soubah of the Decan, on the other Part; by the honourable Charles Bouchier, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort Saint George, and the Council thereof, on Behalf of the said English East-India Company, the Nabob Wolau Jau, Omdetul Mulck, on Behalf of himself, as Nabob of the Carnatic, and the Nabob Ruccun-ud-Dowlah, Dewan, invested with full Powers on Behalf of the said Nabob Aufuph Jau, Nizam-ul-Mulck, his Heirs and Successors, as Soubah of the Decan.

Done on the 23d Day of February, in the Year 1768 of the Christian Æra, and on the 4th of the Moon Shevaul, in the Year of the Hegyra 1181.

*The Treaty.*

Whereas on the 12th of November, in the Year of the Christian *Æra* 1766, or on the 9th of the Moon Gemace-duffuny, in the Year of the Hegyra 1180, a Treaty was concluded at Hydrabad, by and between General John Caillaud, invested with full Powers, on Behalf of the English East-India Company, and the Nabob Aufuph Jau, Nizam-ul-Mulck, &c. on Behalf of himself, as Soubah of the Decan, with a Design to establish an honourable and lasting Friendship and Alliance between the Two contracting Powers; and whereas some Misunderstandings have since arisen, which have perverted the Intent of the said Treaty, and kindled up the Flames of War: Now, be it known to the whole World, that the before-mentioned Nabob Aufuph Jau, and the English Company, with the Nabob Wolau Jau, have entered into another Treaty, of the strictest Friendship and Alliance, on the following Conditions:

## Article 1.

The exalted and illustrious Emperor of Hindostan, Shaw Allum Padtcha having, out of his gracious Favour, and in Consideration of the Attachment and Services of the English East India Company, given and granted to them for ever, by Way of Inaam or Free Gift, the Five Circars of Mustephaganur, Rajahmundry, Siccacole, and Murtezanagur, or Condavir, by his Royal Firmaund, dated the 12th of August 1765, or on the 24th of the Moon Suphier, in the 6th Year of his Reign, and the Nabob Aufuph Jau, Nizam-ul-Mulck, as Scubah of the Decan, having, by the Second and Third Articles of the afore-mentioned Treaty, ceded and surrendered by Saneds, under his Hand and Seal, to the English East India Company for ever, the afore-mentioned Five Circars; it is now further acknowledged and agreed by the said Aufuph Jau, Nizam-ul-Mulck, Soubah of the Decan, that the said Company shall enjoy and hold for ever, as their Right and Property, the said Five Circars, on the Terms hereafter mentioned.

## Article 2.

By the afore-mentioned Treaty of Hydrabad, it was stipulated, that the Nabob Aufuph Jau, having given the Circar of Murtezanagur as a Jaghire to his Brother the Nabob Ummeer ul Omrah, Soujah ul Mulck Behauder, Bazalet Jung, the Company should not take Possession of the said Circar, till after the Death of Bazalet Jung, or till he broke the Friendship with the said Company, by raising Disturbances in the Country of Nizampatam, or the Carnatic; and though the Company might justly claim a Right to take Possession of the said Circar, from the late Conduct of Bazalet Jung, yet, in Consideration of their Friendship for Aufuph Jau and his Family, and that they may not distress his Affairs, by obliging him to provide his Brother Bazalet Jung with another Jaghire, the Company do agree and consent, that Bazalet Jung still hold the Circar of Murtezanagur on the aforesaid Conditions, or till it be the Pleasure of Aufuph Jau, that the Company should take Possession thereof; provided that the said Bazalet Jung returns immediately to his own Country of Adony, and neither keeps with nor receives from Hyder Naigue, any Vackeel or Correspondence; but lives in Peace and Harmony with the English Company and the Nabob Wolau Jau, and gives no Protection or Assistance whatever to the said Naigue, or any of his People, nor any other Enemies of the Company or the Nabob Wolau Jau: But if this Article shall at any Time be infringed, the Company shall be at Liberty, by virtue of this Treaty, to take Possession of, and keep the Circar of Murtezanagur, in the same Manner as the other Four; and the Nabob Aufuph Jau engages to assist them therein with his Troops, if necessary.

## Article 3.

The Fort of Condapillee, with its Jaghire, shall for ever hereafter remain in Possession of the English Company, and be garrisoned with their Troops, under their own Officers only; notwithstanding any Thing to the contrary stipulated in the 12th Article of the Treaty of Hydrabad.

## Article 4.

Narraindoo, one of the Zemindars of the Circar of Siccacole, having lately raised Disturbances in the Itchapore Country, and refused (as he alledges, in Conformity to the Nabob Aufuph Jau's Orders) to pay his Rents, or Obedience to the Company, the Nabob Aufuph Jau agrees, on the Signing and Exchange of the present Treaty, to write Letters not only to Narraindoo, but to all the Zemindars in the Circars of El-lour,

lour, Mustephanagur, Rajahmundry, and Siccacole, acquainting them, that they are in future to regard the English Company as their Sovereign, and to pay their Rents and Obedience to the said Company, or their Deputies, without raising any Troubles or Disturbances: The Nabob Aufuph Jau further agrees, that he will not in future encourage or protect in raising Troubles or Disobedience; any Zemindars, Renter, or Servants of the English Company, or the Nabob Wolau Jau; who on their Parts engage the same to his Highness Aufuph Jau.

## Article 5.

It has been the constant Desire and Endeavour of the English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, to preserve their Possessions in Peace, and to live on Terms of Friendship with the Soubah of the Decan: they still desire to do the same; and though the Operations of War have lately obliged the Company to send their Troops towards Hydrabad, and to take Possession of the Circars of Commamet and Worangole; yet, as a Proof of their Friendship for the Nabob Aufuph Jau, &c. Soubah of the Decan, on the Signing and Exchange of this Treaty, the Company's Troops shall be recalled to the Fort of Commamet, from whence they shall also retire into their own Circars, so soon as the Soubah, with his Army, has crossed the Kistnah, leaving the Fort of Commamet to the Soubah's Deputy. And as a farther Proof of the Company's sincere Desire to preserve a Friendship with the Soubah of the Decan, they agree to bury in Oblivion what is past, and to pay him annually, for the Space of Six Years, to be computed from the 1st of January 1768, or the 10th of the Moon Shibaun, in the Year of the Hegyra 1181, the Sum of Two Lacks of Arcot Rupees, at Madras or Mazulipatam; that is to say, One Lack on the 31st of March, and also One Lack on the 31st of October, or Two Lacks every Year, and One Lack more at each of these Periods, whenever the Circar of Condavir is put into the Company's Possession. The Company moreover promise, that if they peaceably possess the Circars during the aforesaid Term of Six Years, and the Soubah gives them no Trouble, they will pay annually, from the 1st of January 1774, the Sum of Five Lacks, in Two equal Payments, as before expressed; or of Seven Lacks, if Condavir be then in their Possession; but in case the Soubah, or the Marattas, by his Instigation, should invade the Circars or Carnatic, or they, or any other Power should conquer the Circars from the English Company, the Payment of the said Sums shall be suspended till Peace, and the Circars are restored to the Company.

## Article 6.

It was stipulated, in the former Treaty made at Hydrabad, that the Company and the Soubah should mutually assist each other with their Troops, when required, and their own Affairs would permit; but it being apprehended at present that such an Agreement may subject both Parties to Difficulties, and that Misunderstandings may arise on that Account, it is now agreed only, that a mutual Peace, Confidence, and Friendship, shall subsist for ever between the English Company, his Highness Aufuph Jau, and the Nabob Wolau Jau; the Enemies of either shall be regarded as the Enemies of the other Two Powers, and the Friends of either be treated as the Friends of all: And in case any Troubles should arise, or any Enemies invade the Countries under the Government of either of the contracting Parties, the other Two shall give no Countenance or Assistance to such Enemies or Invaders; the Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, willing however to shew their voluntary Attachment to the Soubah, will always be ready to send two Battalions of Sepoys, and Six Pieces of Artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Soubah shall require them, and the Situation of their Affairs will allow of such a Body of Troops to march into the Decan; provided the Soubah pays the Expence during the Time that the said Troops are employed in his Service.

## Article 7.

The exalted and illustrious Emperor Shaw Allum having been pleased, out of his great Favour and high Esteem for the Nabob Wolau Jau, to give and grant to him and his eldest Son, Meyen ul Mulck Omdetul Omrah, and their Heirs for ever, the Government of the Carnatic Payen Gaut, and the Countries dependent thereon, by his Royal Firmaund, bearing Date the 26th of August 1765, or the 27th of the Moon Zuplur, in the 6th Year of the said Emperor's Reign; and the Nabob Aufuph Jau, Nizam ul Mulck, &c. having also, out of his Affection and Regard for the said Nabob Wolau Jau, released him, his Son Meyen ul Mulck, &c. and their Heirs in Succession for ever, from all Dependence on the Decan, and given him a full Discharge of all Demands, past, present, and to



come, on the said Carnatic Payen Gaut, by a Saned under his Hand and Seal, dated the 12th of November 1766, in Consideration of the said Nabob Wolau Jau having paid the Soubah Five Lacks of Rupees, it is now agreed and acknowledged by the said Aufuph Jau Nizam ul Mulck, that the said Nabob Wolau Jau, and after him his Son Meyen ul Mulck, and their Heirs in Succession, shall enjoy for ever, as an Ultumgau, or Free Gift, the Government of the Carnatic Payen Gaut, in the fullest and amplest Manner; the said Nabob Aufuph Jau promising and engaging not to hold or keep up any Kind of Correspondence with any Person or Persons in the said Carnatic Payen Gaut, or in the Circars before and now ceded to the English Company, except the said Nabob Wolau Jau, or the said English Company, by the Means of their President and Council of Madras; who on their Part, in Conjunction with the said Nabob Wolau Jau, engage likewise not to hold or maintain any Correspondence with any Person or Persons in the Decan, except the Nabob Aufuph Jau, his Dewan, and the Securities whose Names are hereunto subscribed.

#### Article 8.

The Nabob Aufuph Jau, out of his great Regard and Affection, and from other Considerations, having been pleased to grant and confer on the Nabob Wolau Jau, and his eldest Son, Mayen ul Mulck Omdetul Omrah, several Saneds, viz.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the Carnatic.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the Pergunnah of Imungundela, with the Gudda of Ghunpoora.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the Villages of Cathasera, &c.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Killedary of the Fort of Colaur.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the District of Soncedaue; and

A full and ample Saned, containing a Discharge for all Demands past, present, and future, on Account of the Carnatic, &c.

It is hereby agreed, That all and every one of these Saneds shall be regarded equally binding with any other Article of the Treaty, and be as duly observed by the Nabob Aufuph Jau, as if entered here at full length.

#### Article 9.

Hyder Naigue having for some Years past usurped the Government of the Mysore Country, and given great Disturbances to his Neighbours, by attacking and taking from many of them their Possessions; and having also lately invaded, and laid waste with Fire and Sword, the Possessions of the English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, in the Carnatic, it is certainly necessary, for the Peace and for the general Benefit of all the neighbouring Powers, that the said Naigue should be punished, and reduced so that he may not hereafter have the Power to give any Person farther Trouble; to this End, the Nabob Aufuph Jau hereby declares and makes known to all the World, that he regards the said Naigue as a Rebel and Usurper, and as such divests him of, and revokes from him, all Saneds, Honours, and Distinctions, conferred by himself, or any other Soubah of the Decan, because the said Naigue has deceived the Nabob Aufuph Jau, broken his Agreement, and rendered himself unworthy of all further Countenance and Favours.

#### Article 10.

That the English Company may hereafter carry on their Trade peaceably on this Coast of Coromandel, and also on the Coast of Malabar; and that they, with the Nabob Wolau Jau, may hold the Carnatic and their other Possessions in Peace, it appears necessary that the Countries of Carnatic Balagaute, belonging to the Soubahdarry of Viziapour, now or lately possessed by Hyder Naigue, should be under the Management and Protection of those who will do Justice, and pay Obedience to the high Commands from Court; it is therefore agreed by the Nabob Aufuph Jau, that he shall relinquish to the English Company, all his Right to the Dewannee of the said Carnatic Balagaute, belonging to the Soubahdarry of Viziapour, and that the Company shall present an Arzee or Petition, to the Royal Presence, to obtain from the Emperor Shaw Allum, a Firmaund, confirming and approving their Right thereto; but that the Nabob Aufuph Jau, as Soubah of Decan, may not lose his Dignity, or the Revenue arising from the said Countries, the English Company agree to pay him annually, out of the Dewannee Collection, from the Time they are in Possession thereof, the Sum of Seven Lacks of Arcot Rupees, including Durbar Charges, being the Sum annually paid heretofore, in Two equal Payments, at the Space of Six Months from each other; provided the said Aufuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, assists the said Company,

Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, in punishing Hyder Naigue, and neither receives from or sends either Vackeels or Letters to him.

## Article 11.

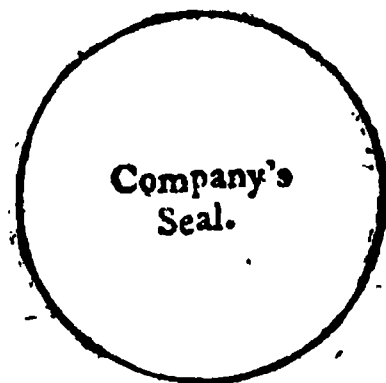
As the English Company do not intend to deprive the Marattas of their Chowte, any more than the Soubah of his Piscush, which used to be paid from the Carnatic Balagaut belonging to the Soubahdarry of Viziapour, now or lately possessed by Hyder Naigue, it is hereby agreed, and the Company willingly promise, to pay the Marattas, regularly and annually, without Trouble, for the whole Choute, as settled in former Times, from the Time the said Countries shall be under the Company's Protection as Dewan; provided however that the Marattas guarantee to the Company the peaceable Possession of the said Dewannee: To this End, the Nabob Aufuph Jau promises to use his best Endeavours, jointly with the English and the Nabob Wolau Jau, to settle with the Marattas concerning the Choute of the said Countries, how and where it is to be paid, so that there may be no Disturbances hereafter on that Account; between any of the contracting Parties or the Marattas.

## Article 12.

All the foregoing Articles are sincerely agreed to by the subscribing Parties, who resolve faithfully to execute and abide by the same, so that a firm and lasting Friendship may mutually subsist between them; and while such an Alliance subsists, what Power will dare to disturb the Possessions of either Party. The English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, will endeavour, on all Occasions, to shew their Friendship and Attachment to the Nabob Aufuph Jau, Nizam ul Mulck, as Soubah of the Decan, and look on the Support of that Government as the Support of their own; in short, there will be no Manner of Difference in Interest between them.

In Witness and Confirmation of all the above Articles, and every Part of the foregoing Treaty, we whose Names are underwritten, have interchangeably subscribed to and sealed Three Instruments of the Tenor and Date, viz. The President and Council of Fort Saint George, on the Behalf of the English East-India Company at that Place, this 26th Day of February, in the Year of the Christian Era 1768; the Nabob Aufuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, at his Camp near Pillere, on the 22d Day of the Moon Shevaul, in the Year of Hegyra 1181; and the Nabob Wolau Jau, for himself, at Fort Saint George the 7th Day of the Moon Chevaul, in the 1181st Year of the Hegyra.

Charles Bouchier,  
Samuel Ardley,  
John Call,  
George Stratton,  
George Dawson,  
James Bouchier,  
George Mackay.



N. B. The Names of the contracting Parties were transferred in the Parts kept by each of them, and each took the Precedence by Turn.

The above contracting Parties, to wit, the President and Council of Fort Saint George, on Behalf of the English East-India Company, the great Nabob, high in Station, Aufuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, Soubah of Mahomed Poor, having duly considered, and voluntarily entered into the above Articles, which they have respectively Signed and Sealed, in our Presence, we whose Names are hereunto subscribed,



Do solemnly promise and engage, under our Hands and Seal, that we will guarantee to the said English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, the due and just Observance of the above Treaty on the Part of the Nabob Aufuph Jau.

I take God to Witness, that of my own Free Will I am Security.

The Seal of  
Ruccun ud  
Dowla.

I swear by Vencatah and Bail Behauder, that of my own Free Will and Consent I am Security.

The Seal of  
Rum Chunder  
Rauze.

I swear by Sactafha and Bail Behauder, that I am truly and sincerely Security.

The Seal of  
Beer  
Behauder.

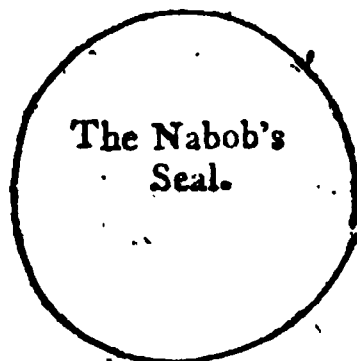
I swear by Uncatah and Bail Behauder, that of my own Free Will and Consent I, Dundaveram, Vackeel to Mahaudavarow, Pundit Predane, am Security on the Part of the said Mahaudavarow.

The Seal  
of  
Dundaveram.

N. B. The foregoing Guarantee Agreement was signed and executed by the Guaranters subscribing the same, and annexed to the Parts of the Treaty delivered to the Company and the Nabob and to the Part delivered to Nizam Ally Cawn, the following Guarantee or Agreement was fixed, viz.

The above contracting Parties, to wit, the great Nabob, high in Station, Aufuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, the Nabob Wolau Jau, of Mahomed Poor, and the President and Council of Fort Saint George, on Behalf of the English East-India Company, having duly considered, and voluntarily entered into the above Articles, which the President and Council,

Council, on Behalf of the said English East-India Company, have signed and sealed in my Presence, I the said Nabob Wolau Jau, whose Name is hereunto subscribed, do solemnly promise and engage, under my Hand and Seal, that I will guarantee to the said Nabob Aufuph Jau, the due and just Observance of the above Treaty, on the Part of the said English Company.



And we, the said President and Council of Fort Saint George, on Behalf of the said English East-India Company, do solemnly promise and engage, under our Hands, that we will guarantee to the said Nabob Aufuph Jau, the due and just Observance of the above Treaty, on the Part of the said Nabob Wolau Jau.

Charles Bouchier,  
Samuel Ardley,  
John Call,  
George Stratton,  
George Dawson,  
James Bouchier,  
George Mackay.

## A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> II.

*Extract of the General Letter from Fort Saint George, dated the 8th of March 1769.*

Par. 50. **L** EAST your Honours should not clearly understand the Distinction between Zemindaries and Government Lands, we beg Leave to inform you, that the Zemindaries are Lands held by certain Rajahs or Chiefs, as their hereditary Estates, paying a certain Tribute to the Government, and being subject to Suit and Service, in Manner very similar to the ancient Feudal Tenures. The Tributes ought to be certain and invariable, though that has not always been strictly observed; and Changes in Government have also introduced Changes in the Tributes, which indeed is of no great Consequence; for, besides these fixed Tributes (supposing they were so) the Supreme Government has always demanded (and Custom has given Sanction and Title to) a further Sum, as a Nazar or Free Gift; and these Two Sums, the Tribute and Nazar, are what we mean when we speak of settling the Jumabundy with the Zemindars. Besides these Zemindaries or hereditary Estates, there are certain Lands (more in Chicacole than any other of the Circars) which are called Havely or Government Lands, and are the Property of the State or Lord Paramount; such are your Jaqueer, &c. Lands in the Carnatic; and these are the Lands which we propose to let out, even should we by Way of Trial endeavour to settle ourselves the Jumabundy with the Zemindars for their Lands.

## A P P E N D I X, N° 12.

*Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Revenue Department, the 11th January 1777.*

Extract of Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George to the Chief and Council of Mazulipatam; dated 11th January 1777.

**W**E desire you will state the following Questions to some of the principal Zemindars dependent on your Settlement, and obtain their Answers in Writing for our Information.

- 1st. In what Manner ought Zemindaries to descend by the Laws and Customs of the Country?
- 2d. If a Zemindar dies, leaving no Children, but Male Cousins of different Degrees, and also Sisters, in what Manner ought the Zemindary to be disposed of?
- 3d. Supposing there to be Children of Daughters of Sisters, or of Aunts, as well as Male Cousins, how ought the Estate to be disposed of?

*Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Council at Fort Saint George in their Revenue Department, the 23d May 1777.*

Read the following Letter from Masulipatam, with the several Papers enclosed.

To the honourable George Stratton, Esquire, President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort Saint George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Conformable to your Commands, we have the Honour to transmit to you, Translates of the Opinions of Four of the principal Zemindars in these Circars, on the Questions you directed us to put to them, respecting the Rights of Succession in Zemindary Lands.

As we conceived it would be acceptable to your Honour, &c. to receive, at one Point of View, the fullest Information we could obtain on the Subject, we have necessarily deferred the sending you any, until all their respective Opinions could be collected.

Masulipatam,  
9th May 1777.

We are, with great Respect,  
Honourable Sir and Sirs,  
Your most obedient humble Servants,  
Charles Floyer,  
Charles Delvoeux.  
James Hodges,  
Alex. Pringle.

The Replies of Row Vencaterow, Sirdar of Rajamundry Circar, to the Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession, of his Cast and Country.

1st. That a Zemindar who has several Sons may during his Life-time name One of them to succeed him in the Management of his Country; which Son shall, at his Father's Death, succeed accordingly to the Management; but then his Brothers shall have a Right to share in the Profit arising from the Country.---Should the Father during his Life-time not have appointed any one of his Sons to succeed him, or should the Son so appointed die, the Mother shall have a Right to give the Power to whichever Son she shall please; but the other Brothers have a Right to share in the Profits.

2d. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, or Brother's Sons, or Uncle's Sons, then, after the Death of the Wife, the Zemindary is to go to the distant Male Cousins, and not to the Sisters.

3. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, and he has Cousins of the Male Line, and also Aunts, and Sisters, and Daughters Sons, then his Wife has a Right to appoint whichever of the Male Cousins she chooses to succeed; but he must take Care of, and support the Relations of the Female Line.

The Replies of Rajah Culdindy Tripettirauze, Zemindar of Mogultore, to the Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession of his Cast and Country.

After the Death of a Zemindar, his Son is to inherit his Country. If he has no Sons, and his Brothers have divided into Shares, he may adopt any one of his Nephews or Cousins; which Nephew or Cousin so adopted, shall have a Right to succeed to the Zemindary. If he has not adopted any Son, and has either Brother or Brother's Son, they are to succeed. If he has neither Brothers nor Nephews, then his Father's Brothers, or their Sons, are to succeed. If a Zemindar dies without having any of the above-mentioned Relations, or any Cousins of the Male Line, and if he has a Daughter, and at her Wedding he publickly declares, that on her having a Son he will adopt him, and fix him in the Right of his Muras, then, according to the Gentoo Laws, such Daughter's Son being adopted, shall succeed to the Zemindary; but in case there should be no Daughter's Sons so adopted, then any distant Relation of the Male Line may succeed; but even if there are no such Relations, neither his Daughter's Husband's Family, his Sister's Son, his Father's Sister's Son, nor any of the Female Line, cannot inherit the Zemindary. This is what I think.

The Replies of Rajah Opporow, Zemindar of Noozed, to the Three Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession of his Cast and Country.

1st. If a Zemindar leaves several Sons, the Eldest is to have a large Share, separately for himself, the rest is to remain equally with the other Sons.

2d. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, and has Male Cousins and Sisters, then, I think, that if the Wife of the Zemindar be also dead without Sons, that the Male Cousins should succeed.

3d. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, then his Wife may choose any of his Male Line Cousins, and appoint him to the Zemindary; but if the Zemindar, in his Life-time, appointed any Allowance for the Maintenance of his Daughters, or Sisters, or Aunts, then the Person who succeeds, is to take Care and give them such Allowance.

The Replies of Rajah Vochovoy Jaggapetyrauze, Zemindar of Peddapore, to the Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession of his Cast and Country.

1st. If a Zemindar has a Son, then the Son is to be the Heir of the Father.

2d. If his Zemindar has no Sons, or has Brother's Sons, or Uncle's Sons, which ever of them he, or (after his Decease) his Wife, shall impower, that Person shall succeed to the Zemindary.

3d. If a Zemindar dies without appointing any body to succeed him, then the nearest Male Cousin shall succeed; but not the Generation of his Father's Sister, his own Sister, or his Daughter.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 13.

*Extract of General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort Saint George, dated 25th March 1768.*

Par. 109. **H**AVING taken under our Consideration, the State of the Company's Servants upon the Fort Saint George Establishment, and being sensible that they will be considerably affected in Point of Trade, by the great and necessary Demands for extending the Company's Investments; considering also the great Increase of Business in which our principal Servants are engaged, and which requires their utmost Care and Attention, we are come to a Resolution to allow them a reasonable Encouragement, to exert themselves with Zeal and Alacrity in their several Departments; but which, however, they are to look upon as a Free Gift from the Hand of their Employers, offered to them annually, so long as their Behaviour shall continue to merit the same, and the Revenues of the Country shall admit of such a Gratification; we therefore hereby order and direct, that in order to constitute a Fund for the said Purpose, you do set apart a Sum not exceeding 60,000 current Pagodas yearly, out of the Produce of the Company's territorial Revenues, to be distributed among the Company's civil and military Servants; which said Sum is to be divided into 100 Parts or Shares, and proportioned out in the following Manner, viz.

For the Governor, 21 Shares.

For the Second in Council, Five Shares and an Half.

For the rest of the Council, not having Chiefships, Two Shares and an Half each.

For it is our Meaning and Directions, that the Chiefs of Mazulipatam, Vizagapatam, and Ingeram, are not to have any Proportion of the said Shares.

110. You are to observe, that the Shares allotted to the Governor, as abovementioned, are in Addition to his present Salary of Three thousand Pounds a Year, and his Perquisites arising from Coinage, and Consulage on Coral and Diamonds. The Shares for the other civil Servants are to be in Addition to their present Appointments of Salary, Diet Money, and the Posts they may respectively hold, excepting the Chiefships as before excepted.

111. Having likewise taken into Consideration the present stated Allowance to the Company's junior Servants, and finding them to be inadequate to their Support and Maintenance, we do hereby order and direct that the following Additions be made thereto, by Way of Gratuity, to all such of them who do not enjoy any Posts of Profit, viz.

To a Factor, Five Pounds a Year.

To a Writer, Ten Pounds a Year.

These last Gratuities are to be paid out of the Company's Cash, and not out of the said Fund of 60,000 current Pagodas a Year.

112. We further direct, that all the before-mentioned Allowances, as well out of the Fund, as of the Company's Cash, do commence upon your Receipt of these Advices.

*Extract of separate General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council, at Fort Saint George; dated 25th March 1768.*

Par. 80. Being satisfied how much our Trade and Possessions may be affected by the good Services of the Company's military Officers, the better therefore to encourage them to exert their Endeavours in the Preservation of these great Objects, we have thought proper to allow them also to partake of the Fund mentioned in our General Letter of this Date, of 60,000 Pagodas a Year, by Way of Gratuity, over and above their established Pay and Allowances, and on the same Conditions as our civil Servants; in the following Proportions, that is to say,

The Commander in Chief is to have, as such only, he not being to have any Proportion as a Counsellor, if he should at any Time hereafter be admitted of Council, Eleven Shares.

The Colonels, each, Four Shares.

The Lieutenant Colonels, each, Two Shares and a Half.

The Majors, each, One Share and a Quarter.

81. The ample Provision here assigned to the Commander in Chief, assures him of an honourable Competency; and we expect Colonel Joseph Smith, and his Successors in the Command, will have a constant and zealous Attention to their Duty, by keeping up a regular Discipline among the Troops, and in preventing, by good Oeconomy, all Frauds and Abuses in the Expences of the Army.

82. The Appointments to the rest of the Field Officers are such as put our Servants on a more advantageous Footing than in any other military Service whatsoever, and gives them a Prospect of improving their Fortunes by a gradual, but certain Progression.

83. After the Distribution to our civil, as directed in our said General Letter, and the above to our military Servants, there will remain a considerable Sum of the said Fund unappropriated; in order, therefore to encourage the rest of the Company's military Officers, we direct, that they also be granted, by Way of Donation or Gratitude, over and above their usual Pay and Allowances, viz:

A Captain, Three Shillings a Day.

A Lieutenant, Two Shillings a Day.

Ensigns and Lieutenants, Fireworkers, One Shilling a Day each.

84. In case it shall happen, that the Amount of the unappropriated Shares should not be sufficient to answer the said last-mentioned Gratuities, we direct, that the Deficiency be made good out of the Company's Cash; on the contrary, if there shall happen to be a Surplus, the same is to be carried to the Company's Credit, under the Head of Unappropriated Fund, until you shall receive further Orders from us concerning the Disposition of it. But we must here observe to you, and accordingly direct, that neither a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, or Major, is to be allowed the Three Shillings a Day as Captain of a Company.

85. We further direct, that all the before-mentioned Allowances, as well out of the Fund as the Company's Cash, do commence upon your Receipt of these Advices, in like Manner as ordered with Respect to our civil Servants.

## A P P E N D I X, N° 14.

*Extract of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George—23d March 1770.*

47. **F**ROM the Variation to which the State of your Revenues is at all Times subject, and the more to animate your Care, and excite your Attention to the Security and Improvement of them; we have thought fit to regulate our Bounty to the Principal of our Civil and Military Servants on your Establishment, in Proportion to the Advantages the Company shall receive from the Revenues of your Presidency. And we accordingly do hereby order and direct, that from the Receipt of these Dispatches, a Commission of Five per Cent. be drawn by you, on the Amount of the Nett Territorial Revenues of Fort Saint George and its Subordinates, as a Fund to be appropriated for the Benefit of our Civil and Military Servants, instead of the specific Sum Pag. 60,000, directed in our General and Separate Letters of the 25th March 1768.

48. And as we have thought it necessary, for the greater Security of the Company's Possessions, and the better Discipline of their Forces, to augment the Number of Field Officers on your Establishment; it is become expedient for us to make a new and certain Disposition of the Shares to be divided amongst our principal Civil and Military Servants; we therefore hereby direct, that from the Amount of a Commission of Five per Cent. on your Nett Territorial Revenues, as before mentioned, one Twenty-fourth Part be first  
Vol. VI. drawn;

drawn, and paid as a separate Share to Major General Coote, Commander in Chief of all the Company's Forces in India; and that after such Deduction, the Residue of the said Commission be divided into 100 Parts or Shares; which Parts or Shares are to be appropriated in the following Manner, viz.

To the Governor 21 Shares.

Second of Council 5½.

Rest of the Council (not having a Chiefship) as far as the Establishment of 12 Members of Council, each 2½.

First Colonel, Brig. General Joseph Smith, as 1st Colonel, 11.

The other Colonels 8 Shares, to be divided in equal Proportions amongst them.

The Lieut. Colonels 12½ Shares, to be divided in equal Proportions.

The Majors 6½ Shares, to be equally divided amongst them.

49. By the Rest of the Council above-mentioned, besides the Governor and Second, we mean only the Members of the Council next in Rotation to them, and who are not Chiefs of Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, or Ingeram; for it is our positive Orders, that neither of those Chiefs, nor any of the junior Members of the Council, exceeding the Establishment of Twelve, do receive any Advantage from the said Shares; nor must those Proportions of this Fund, which we have allowed to Major General Coote or Brigadier General Smith, be continued to any Persons who may be appointed to succeed them, without our express Leave.

50. And you are to take Notice, that the Whole of the unappropriated Shares, together with what may be added thereto, by the Decease or Resignation of Major General Coote, or Brigadier General Smith, be applied as directed in 84th Paragraph of our Separate Letter of 25th March 1768.

## A P P E N D I X, N° 15.

*Extract of General Letter to Fort Saint George, of 11th June 1777.*

Par. 16. **A**S it appears by the Advice already received, that much of the present Confusion has arisen from the private Engagements of our Servants, and their Concerns, Dealings, and Transactions, on their own separate Account, with the Princes and Natives of the Country; we hereby order, that no Governor and President of our Council at Fort Saint George at Madras, after our present Governor and President George Lord Pigot, nor any of the Council of our said Presidency, except as hereafter is mentioned, shall, directly or indirectly, by themselves, or by any other Person or Persons for his or their Use, or on his or their Behalf, carry on or be concerned in, or have any Dealings or Transactions by Way of Traffick or Commerce, in Money or in Goods of any Kind whatsoever, for his or their Use, Benefit, Profit, or Advantage, or for the Benefit or Advantage of any other Person or Persons whomsoever, the Trade and Commerce of the Company only excepted.

Par. 17. And it is our further Order, that in case any Person or Persons who shall have carried on any Trade, or have been concerned in the buying or selling any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, or other Commodities whatsoever, by Way of Traffick or Trade, or shall have been any Way concerned in Money Transactions as aforesaid, shall be appointed to be Governor and President, or to be of the Council of the said Settlement, or shall hereafter succeed to any of the said Offices respectively, every such Person or Persons shall be permitted to collect in his or their outstanding Debts, and to sell and dispose of the Goods, Wares, Merchandize, Effects, and Stock in Trade, of which such Person or Persons shall severally be possessed at the Time when such Prohibition shall, with respect to him or them, take Place; so as each such Person or Persons who is, are, or shall be



so restrained, shall, and each and every of them respectively do, deliver to the President and Council of Fort Saint George, at Madras, for the Time being, within Thirty Days from the Time when such Restrictions and Prohibition shall take Place as aforesaid, a full and just Specification, upon Oath, of the Debts due to such Person or Persons, and so to be collected, and of the Goods, Wares, Merchandize, Effects, and Stock in Trade of which he or they shall be at that Time so respectively possessed; and so as such Person or Persons shall and do sell and dispose of such Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Effects, and Stock in Trade, within the Space of Nine Months after such Restriction and Prohibition as aforesaid, shall commence and take Place; and so as no new Trade, or Concerns in Commerce or Merchandize, or in Money Transactions, be entered into, contracted for, or carried on by such Person or Persons.

Par. 18. It is our further Order, that no Company's Servant, or any Person under the Company's Protection, be permitted to lend Money to any of the Country Powers in India, nor to any Person or Persons holding Commissions under, or employed by them, directly or indirectly, to be repaid at a future Time, on Mortgages, or Securities in the Nature of Mortgages, upon Lands, or from the Produce or any growing Revenue of the Country; and in case any of the Company's Servants are now concerned in any such Loans as aforesaid, such Servant or Servants shall draw up a specific and particular Account current of the whole Transaction from the Beginning, setting forth how such Loan or Loans is or are secured; to be delivered to our President and Council within Thirty Days after the Regulation shall be made known, and before such Person or Persons shall proceed to recover such Money; and afterwards they shall and may proceed to recover the same, as they shall think fit.

19. And for more effectually preventing such Loans, we hereby direct, that you inform all the Country Powers with whom such Transactions may be likely to take Place, of this Regulation, and request them not to have or permit any Dealings of the Nature above-mentioned, with any of the Company's Servants, or with Persons under the Company's Protection.

20. In Consideration of the expected Services of our Governor and President, and of our Council of Fort Saint George, and of the Restrictions and Prohibitions to which they are subjected by the preceding Regulations, we direct, that every Governor and President of Fort Saint George aforesaid, after Lord Pigot, be allowed and paid the certain and established Salary of 40,000 Pagodas by the Year, and each of the Council for the Time being, as hereafter is mentioned, 16,000 Pagodas by the Year; such Salary to any Person who shall have a military Command, to be in full of all Pay and Allowances as a military Commander, except such Field Allowances as the Court of Directors shall think fit to make to him, whilst employed on Service in the Field. And we direct, that the above-mentioned Salaries be paid to each Person out of the Revenues arising and accruing from our territorial Possessions within and under the Management of the said Presidency; and that such Salaries shall commence and take Place, in respect to the said Thomas Rumbold, John Whitehill, and Hector Munro, and to all such other Persons as shall be resident in Great Britain at the Time of their Appointment, upon and from the Day on which such Persons shall embark for India; and in respect to all those who are or shall be resident in India at the Time of their Appointment, upon and from the Day of their taking upon them the Execution of their Offices. And we direct that all such Salaries to such Governor and President, and Council, shall be in lieu of all Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments, and Advantages whatsoever; and that no Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments, or Advantages whatsoever, shall be accepted, received, or taken, by such Governor and President, and Council, or any of them, in any Manner, or on any Account or Pretence whatsoever, other than such Salaries and Allowances as are herein before directed to be paid to them respectively; except as before mentioned, respecting Field Allowances to a military Commander, and likewise except that the Governor and President shall continue to have the Advantage of residing in the Fort House, together with the Use of the Company's Plate and Furniture, and shall likewise be allowed to take such Commission on Coral as hath usually been allowed to be taken by the Governor of the said Presidency.

21. To prevent any Misunderstanding of the foregoing Regulation, for Payment of certain Salaries to our Governor and Council, in lieu of Trade, or other Advantages, we think it proper to say, that we do not mean the Regulation shall take Place in respect to Lord Pigot, but that his Lordship, during his Continuance in the Government, shall



enjoy the same Salary, and other Advantages, as he was entitled to under his former Commission; nor do we mean it to extend to the said Alexander Davidson, John Hollond, and James Daniel, but as they are only named as occasional Members, as before is mentioned, and their Continuance in their Office as Members of Council will be very short, they are to be allowed to trade in the same Manner as Persons of the Council might have done before the said restrictive Regulation; and as they are to be allowed to trade, they are to be paid such Salary, and have such Allowance only, as were paid and given to Members of Council before the said Regulations took Place.

## A P P E N D I X, N° 16,

*Extract of General Letter to Fort Saint George, dated the 11th of January 1781.*

Par. 3. **I**N Consideration of the expected Services of Lord Macartney, our present Governor of Fort Saint George, and of his Lordship being totally restricted by his Covenants, from being concerned, directly or indirectly, in any Dealings, Transactions, or Commerce, in Money, or in Goods of any Kind whatever, for his Use, Benefit, Profit, or Advantage, or for the Benefit or Advantage of any other Person or Persons whatever, the Trade and Commerce of the Company excepted, we have agreed, and hereby direct, that Lord Macartney be allowed and paid the certain and established Salary of 40,000 Pagodas by the Year, to commence upon, and be computed from, the Day of his Lordship's Arrival at Fort Saint George.

4. We hereby revoke the Orders given in the 20th Paragraph of the Court's Letter of the 11th of June 1777, respecting the Salary of 16,000 Pagodas per Annum to each of the Members of Council at Fort Saint George.

5. It is our Order, that the Salary and Allowances to be paid to all the Members of Council below the Governor, be the same as were paid and allowed to the Members of our Council at Fort Saint George, before the Establishment of the temporary Government of the 11th of June 1777; the present Commander in Chief of our Forces excepted, in whose Salary we for the present make no Alteration.

6. It is our Pleasure, that Lord Macartney be allowed to take such Commission on Coral as has usually been taken by the Governor of Fort Saint George.

7. It is our further Pleasure, that all the Members of Council, below the President, be allowed to trade in the same Manner as Members of Council might lawfully have done, before the restrictive Regulation in the Court's before-mentioned Letter took Place. They must also fill such Places of Trust and Emolument as hath been usual at the Presidency, and likewise succeeded or be appointed to Chiefships of subordinate Factories, when such Chiefships shall not be filled by special Appointments made by the Court of Directors.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 17.

*Extract of General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated the 17th of October 1778.*

Par. 6. **I**T appears from the System hitherto pursued in the Management of the Circars, that the Zemindars have been unnecessarily incumbered with heavy Debts, accumulating and pressing upon them with such encreasing Weight, from Year to Year, that they are at length become almost insupportable; and few of the Zemindars, except those whose paternal Inheritance was too considerable to be wasted, are in Circumstances of Responsibility to answer even their former Engagements to the Company. Various Causes may have contributed to produce that Effect; but One alone, which we shall mention, is, of itself, sufficient to account for it. The Practice hitherto observed in settling with the Zemindars of the Masulipatam District, to whom we principally allude, has been, to receive in Advance from them, at the Time of settling, Two Thirds of the Annual Amount of their Jemmabundy, and to follow the same Rule in the Beginning of every Year. The Zemindars, unable to make such Advances from the Produce of their Revenues, which could not be realized till some Months after, having been obliged, at every Time, to take up from the Soucars, or any other who would lend them, considerable Sums of Money, at the exorbitant Interest of Two and Three per Cent. per Month, giving Assignments on the Harvest, by way of Security for Repayment. This Mode, so destructive to their own Fortunes; and ultimately to the Interests of the Company, might have been easily avoided, only by fixing upon the Periods for receiving the different Kists of the Year, so as to give Time to the Zemindar to realize the Produce of his Grain, and relieve him thereby from the Necessity of borrowing. However simple this Remedy may appear, the Evil has been suffered to continue so long, that it is become almost too late to apply it. The Zemindars, with Countries for the most Part ruined or impoverished, have exhausted all their Credit with the Soucars, and are now fallen into Arrears, which cannot, together with the growing Jemmabundy, be discharged, but by a long Course of prudent Management, under every indulgent Consideration that can be shewn them by the Company.

Par. 7. Another Cause, which has operated in no small Degree to the Distress of the Zemindars, arises from the short Term of the Settlements with them, which have been farmed for One, Two, and never more than Three Years at a Time. When the Leases are so confined, it can never be expected that the Zemindar will attend to the Improvement of his Lands; on the contrary, extending his Views no further than the Term of his Lease, all his Endeavours will be employed to benefit himself to the utmost, without regarding the Consequences which may fall upon the Revenue at a future Time. This Conduct is natural enough, and we cannot blame it, if we consider how unsettled the Ideas of these People must be concerning the State of their Property, after it has passed through such various Changes, and the Sovereignty so often transferred from the Soubah of the Decan to the French, then back to the Soubah again, and lastly to the English, all in the Course of a few Years.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 18.

*Extract of the General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated the 20th of July 1771.*

Par. 41. **T**HE Cowles for the Enaum called Jaghire Lands, and for Ponamalee, expired at the same Time: And we had great Hopes, that in consequence of our repeated Representations, we should have been furnished with your clear Directions for the future Disposal of those Lands; but, notwithstanding our first Application on this Subject was so long ago as the 27th of June 1769, by the Thames, we have not, to this Hour, the most distant Hint of your Sentiments, and we did not dare to be guided by our own Judgment, in a Point so truly critical. The Inconveniences of consigning them under the Nabob, the Oppressions which have been exercised in them, have been clearly stated to you; and to us it is beyond a Doubt, that the Advantages that might be reaped from such Territorial Possessions, will never be obtained, so long as the Nabob has any thing to do with them; but these Reasons were not sufficient to deprive him of them, when through the Whole of your Orders last Year, it is evident, that you inclined to favour him, and to discredit the Representations of your Servants. These Circumstances considered, we would not venture on such a Step, however necessary, without your Orders; and not having them, the only Method was to temporize. The Nabob applied to us to have the Management of the Jaghire in future. We replied, through our President, that we willingly acquiesced to their Continuance under him for One Year longer; by which Time your further and full Sentiments relative to the Jaghire would certainly be known.

42. As this Letter will probably reach you in Time for us to be furnished with your Orders in Consequence, by the Ships of next Year, should your Honours not have finally determined on this Subject before the Receipt of it, we beg you will be pleased to consider all that we have represented on the Subject. We believe it may be summed up in these few Words: That the Inhabitants undergo continual Oppressions: That the Lands, though capable of great Improvement, experience none: That the great Reservoirs by which the Lands are supplied with Water, are yearly falling into Decay: That almost all the Weavers that manufacture the Madras Investment, reside within the Bounds of the Jaghire, and more might be induced to come, had they proper Encouragement, which it is not in our Power to give: That we have as little Influence in these Lands as in those the immediate Property of the Nabob; and that, except the mere Rent, no one Benefit is derived from them: We know not what they are capable of producing; and in case we should have Occasion for their Produce, we have no more Reason to expect it, than from the Nabob's Country. Such are, in brief, the Inconveniences; and it remains with you to determine, whether they shall be submitted to, or whether an Attempt shall be made to render these Lands more beneficial.

*Extract of General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors; dated 14th October 1775.*

Par. 41. It is not in our Power at present to enter on the Subject of the Inaum Lands, as the Survey and Accounts of the Lands collected by Mr. Barnard are not all translated and copied fair; but from the Examinations which have been made, we cannot help forming an Opinion, that they are in a most wretched State; and we see the absolute Necessity of your adopting some other Plan. That we might omit no Opportunity of providing, as far as we are able, for their Improvement, and for the Relief of the People residing in them, we took Occasion to point out and recommend to the Nabob, such Measures as appeared to us necessary for these Purposes; and though we can hardly flatter ourselves, that what we have said to him, will produce any favourable Change in the Management of the Country, it is some Satisfaction to us, when we reflect, that nothing has been wanting on our Part, to make it beneficial, and to free the People from those Oppressions to which they have been so long exposed. We shall send Copies of the Survey, and of all Mr. Barnard's Accounts, as soon as they can be fairly transcribed.

A P P E N -

## A P P E N D I X, N° 19.

*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, to the Committee of Correspondence; dated Fort Saint George, 30th November 1780.*

**B**OTH the Army and Inhabitants are maintained chiefly by Supplies from Bengal, and upon which, I am sorry to observe, they must principally depend for their future Support. A Circumstance, than which we can have no more convincing Proof of the bad Policy, in renting the Company's Lands under this Presidency, to the Nabob, and of thereby rendering ourselves so intirely dependent upon him for every kind of Supplies; and which, by keeping them in our own Hands, we might ourselves command. It is a System which, from the present Experience of its bad Effects, I am induced to recommend to your serious Consideration for Remedy.

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## A P P E N D I X, N° 20.

*Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, the 19th June 1780.*

**R**EAD Letter from the Nabob.

From the Nabob to the Governor; dated 15th June, received 17th Ditto.

Colonel Capper has my Bond for the Sum of Twenty-five thousand Eight hundred and Eighty Star Pagodas and a Half (25,880½); this is not due for Six Months to come; yet, as Colonel Capper has represented to me the Difficulties he is put to, by the Demands of his Creditors, it may Desire to pay the above-mentioned Sum into the Company's Treasury (provided the Country is in Peace) along with the Kists for current Charges, ending the 30th June 1781. You will be kind enough to satisfy Colonel Capper regarding the Discharge of this Money.

What shall I say more?

The President is requested to desire the Nabob to explain the Nature of his Debt to Colonel Capper.

*Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, 26th June 1780.*

The President delivers in the following Minute.

The President acquaints the Committee, that having, at their Recommendation, applied to the Nabob for an Explanation of the Ground of his Letter, concerning an Account now subsisting between his Highness and Colonel James Capper, he has, in Consequence, been requested by the Nabob to inform the Committee, That the Balance due from him to Colonel Capper, amounting, as per his Bond, to Pagodas 25,880½, exclusive of Interest upon it, consisted principally of Disbursements which the Colonel had made in England,

upon

upon His Highness's Account, when he last went Home with Dispatches from this Presidency: That the Colonel, soon after his Return to this Country, settled Accounts with the Nabob, taking the said Bond from him as an Acquittance of his Demand: That the Bond will not become due till the Month of December next, but that the Colonel having present Occasion for this Money, to enable him to make good a Sum which he owes Sir Robert Barker in England, and which Sir Robert had ordered his Attornies here to deposit in the Company's Treasury, until good Opportunities of remitting could be procured, had solicited the Nabob to assist him in this Emergency, so that he might be authorized to tell Sir Robert's Attornies, who were constantly importuning him for Payment of his Debt, that so much had, through his Means, been safely lodged in the Company's Funds, agreeably to Sir Robert's Directions; and that the same would be forth-coming whenever they (his Attornies) should have Occasion to draw for it, in order to remit it by such Conveyances as Sir Robert had pointed out.

That the Nabob being inclined to do all in his Power towards relieving Colonel Capper from his present Embarrassment, had promised the Colonel that he would request of this Government, to pass the Company's Receipt to Colonel Capper, for the Amount of his Highness's Bond to him, as so much paid into the Company's Cash, on Account of General Sir Robert Barker; he (the Nabob) meaning that the same should be included in the Kists which are now settling to be paid by his Highness, in the Course of the Year ending 30th April 1781.

That by this Transaction the Nabob's benevolent Intentions towards Colonel Capper would be fulfilled, the Company, in all Probability, so far from becoming Losers by their Interference, would enjoy the full Use of the Money in Question for a considerable Space of Time without Interest, by the Nabob's making good the Payment of it, before Sir Robert's Attornies could meet with suitable Occasions of Remittance.

Upon a Review of the above recited Particulars, which the President submits to the Consideration of the Committee, the President is of Opinion, that the Request of the Nabob should be complied with, as there does not appear in it any thing unreasonable, or in any Shape inconsistent with the Interest of the Company; and as our Duty enjoins us to treat, with the most favourable Attention, every Matter thus situated, in which his Highness's Wishes are immediately concerned.

As the Nabob seems very anxious that the Committee should satisfy Colonel Capper, in regard to the Debt due to him; it is agreed, to oblige the Nabob in this Instance, by granting Colonel Capper a Bond for the Money; but it is recommended to the President to make such a Settlement with the Nabob, that the Company may sustain no Loss or Risque by this Transaction.

*Extract of Letter from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors; dated 9th January 1780.*

Par. 97. Shortly upon the Departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold, we were solicited by the Nabob to assist him with a small Loan he was in want of, for discharging a Demand made upon him by Colonel James Capper. As the Nabob appeared very anxious that this Debt should be cleared off; and as he engaged that the Company should neither sustain Loss nor Risk by the Transaction, we acquiesced in the Proposition made to us by his Highness, and accordingly granted Colonel Capper a Bond for the Amount, as is particularly set forth in our Proceedings of the Day referred to in the Margin.

Committee, 26th  
June 1780.

A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 21.*Extract of Governor Rumbold's Minute.*

**M**R. Petrie, when he was called before the Board, before the Siege of Pondicherry, promised to deliver in a State of the Tanjore Revenues for some Years past, which he had obtained from good Authority. That Statement he has delivered to me, and I now lay it before the Committee; they will see from it how the Rents have been reduced.

Fort St. George  
Sel. Conf. 21  
Nov. 1778.  
Fol. 615.

## A particular Account of the Tanjore Country.

Fol. 620.

The Yacoffee Rajah was the First Man who took Possession of the Fort and Country of Tanjore from a Gentoo King. This Event happened on the 7th Day of February 1675; dated in Gentoo, Rauchina Nama Sum Vackaram Magah Sudda Septmee.

It appears from the Books which are kept in the Palace, that there were 5,753 Villages, which said Villages were divided into the Five following Soubahs or Districts:

Soubah Trivady,  
Soubah Combiconum,  
Soubah Marjaveram,  
Soubah Mannergoody,  
Soubah Pattacotah and Vallamput.

The Country produced, in the Year 1675, under Yaccogee Rajah,  
Paddy Collums, - - - 32,050,000

Yaccogee's eldest Son, Shajajee, succeeded to the Government, and the Country yielded annually, during a Reign of Thirty-six Years,  
Paddy Collums - - - 32,050,000

Shajajee was succeeded by his Brother Sharabajee, and held the Government 18 Years. The Country produced annually - - - 24,000,000

This Deficiency in the Revenues was attributed to the Carelessness of his Manager.

Tuccajee succeeded his Brother Sharabajee, and reigned Six Years. The Produce of the Country was annually, - - - 24,000,000

Tuccajee was succeeded by his Son Baba Salb, who lived One Year; the Lands produced, - - - 20,000,000

At his Decease, his Wife Sucjanaboy took Charge of the Government for Two Years, and the Produce was per Annum, - - - 20,000,000

At her Death, the Son of Sharabajee (called Colerajah) succeeded to the Government for One Year. The Produce was - - - 20,000,000

And Colerajah's Successor was Pretap Sing, youngest Son of the deceased Tuccajee. He enjoyed the Government 24 and an Half Years. His Four Managers were Aunajee, Shanjee, Ragupaty, and Yanjore Manajee, and a Dobeer. Under these Four Managers the Country produced every Year, - - - 17,000,000

Pretap Sing's eldest Son, Tulajee Maharajah, succeeded to the Throne. He employed the undermentioned Managers, viz. Manajee Hussain Cawn, Swororow Balajee Sindar Dobeer, Gilbilepah Buchanda, Hircath Rangia. The Country produced, under these Managers, every Year, - - - 15,000,000

Sometime after this the Nabob took Possession of the Country and Fort of Tanjore. He appointed the Dobeer to be the sole Manager; under whose Management the Country produced, - - - 17,000,000

As soon as the Rajah was restored to his Fort and Country, he appointed Buchana Laula Vincatraputty, Tondamanapa Ranajis. Under these Managers the Country annually yielded - - - 15,000,000

The Two last Years I believe it has fallen as low as - - - 13,000,000

N. B. The foregoing Account I received from an old Man, who was a Writer under the Dobeer, and Manager, in the Time of Pretap Sing, Father to the present Rajah of Tanjore. I have given it literally from the Maratta Translation.

Wm Petrie.

\*An Account of the Tanjore Revenue, extracted from the Circar Books.

In the Three last Years of the Rajah's Father's Reign, viz.

In the Year 1759	-	-	32	Lacks of * Chuckram's
1760	-	-	33	Do - Do
1761	-	-	37	Do - Do

In the Two First Years of the present Rajah's Administration,

In the Year 1762	-	-	28	Do - Do
1763	-	-	33	Do - Do

In the Year 1771 being the Year of the First Siege of Tanjore,

34½ Lacks of Chuckram's

During the Nabob's Government,

1773	-	-	33½	Lacks of Chuckrams
1774	-	-	52	Do - Do

1775 being the Year of the Rajah's Restoration, the Nabob received during the Time the Country was possessed by him,

20 Lacks of Chuckrams

The Rajah received, in the Remainder of that Year,

10 Do - Do

Lost by a Change of Government,

10 Do - Do

In the Year 1776

26 Do - Do

1777

24 Do - Do

Wm Petrie.

*Extract of Mr. Petrie's Evidence before the Committee, in Explanation of the above Accounts.*

The Committee will observe, that the Account of the Revenues of the Tanjore Country is estimated in Collums of Paddy, or in Chuckrams. The Collum is a Measure which varies in different Parts of Hindostan. In Tanjore I believe it is between 70 and 80 English Quarts, and the Medium Price of a Collum of Paddy (or Rice before it is beat out) is 3½ Gold Fanams, or 7 Silver Fanams, or nearly One Shilling and Four Pence Sterling; so that One Lack, or 100,000 Collums of Paddy, at the aforementioned Price, will produce Star Pagodas 15,555. 25 fs.

In the Tanjore Country the Star Pagoda is valued at 45 Madras or Silver Fanams. The Porto Novo Pagoda is from 10 to 15 per Cent. inferior to the Star.

A Chuckram is equal to 20 Madras or 10 Gold Fanams.

Two Chuckrams and One Fanam are equal to One Porto Novo Pagoda.

Forty-two Madras or Silver Fanams are equal to One Porto Novo Pagoda, in the Tanjore Accounts; but in the Company's Books the Porto Novo Pagoda is reckoned at 36 Fanams, and the Star Pagoda at 42, although in Fact it varies from 41 to 47, and even more.

## A P P E N D I X, N° 22.

*Extract from Mr. Petrie's Evidence before the Committee.*

**B**EFORE I speak of the present State of the Tanjore Country, it will be necessary to inform the Committee, that not many Years ago, that Province was considered as one of the most flourishing, best cultivated, populous Districts in Hindostan. I first saw this Country in 1768, when it exhibited a very different Picture from its present

* 10. Fanams	-	-	make One Chuckram.
2. Chuckrams and 3½ Fanams,	}	-	make One Star Pagoda.
or			
23½ Tanjore Fanams	-	-	

Situation.



**Situation.** Tanjore was formerly a Place of great Foreign and Inland Trade; it imported Cotton from Bombay and Surat; Raw and Worked Silks from Bengal; Sugar, Spices, &c. from Sumatra, Malacca, and the Eastern Islands; Gold, Horses, Elephants, and Timber, from Pegu, and various Articles of Trade from China. It was by Means of Tanjore that a great Part of Hyder Ally's Dominions, and the North-western Parts of the Maratta Empire, were supplied with many European Commodities, and with a Species of Silk Manufacture from Bengal, which is almost universally worn as a Part of Dress by the Natives of Hindostan. The Exports of Tanjore were, Mullins, Chintz, Handkerchiefs, Gingham, various Sorts of long Cloths, and a coarse painted Cloth; which last constitutes a material Article in the Investments of the Dutch and Danes, being in great Demand for the African, West Indian, and South American Markets. Few Countries have more natural Advantages than Tanjore; it possesses a rich and fertile Soil, singularly well supplied with Water from the Two great Rivers, Cavery and Coleroon, which, by Means of Reservoirs, Sluices, and Canals, are made to disperse their Waters through almost every Field in this Country: To this latter Cause we may chiefly attribute the uncommon Fertility of Tanjore; the Face of the Country is beautifully diversified, and in its Appearance approaches nearer to England than any other Part of India that I have seen. Such was Tanjore not many Years ago; but its Decline has been so rapid, that in many Districts it would now be difficult to trace the Remains of its former Opulence.

To account for this Revolution, various Causes must be assigned. That the Revenues fell short of former Collections some Years preceding the Capture of Tanjore for the Nabob, must be charged upon the rapacious Ministers who at that Time ruled the Country, and plundered their Master while they oppressed the Inhabitants: Districts were mortgaged for present Supplies; and Jaghires to a large Amount settled upon themselves, many of which have not yet reverted to the Circar. But as those Evils were not of long Duration, their Effects were only partially felt; for at this Period, as I have been informed, the Manufactures flourished, the Country was populous, and well cultivated, the Inhabitants were wealthy and industrious. Since the Year 1771, the Æra of the first Siege, until the Restoration of the Rajah, the Country having been during that Period Twice the Seat of War, and having undergone Two Revolutions in the Government, Trade, Manufactures, and Agriculture, were neglected, and many Thousands of Inhabitants went in Quest of a more secure Abode. It is however necessary in this Place to observe, that during the Year 1774, while Tanjore was governed by the Nabob, all the Accounts which I have seen, make the Revenue to amount to One-third more than the Year preceding the Conquest, and to more than Double the Sum which appeared in the Circar Books for the Year I resided at Tanjore. Strange as this Circumstance may appear at first View, I think it may be explained by the unusual high Price of Grain in the Year 1774, when the Scarcity was so great as almost to amount to a Famine, by the Tuncan Duties being raised, and by many of the old Jaghires and Grants from the Circars being resumed by the Nabob.

Since the Restoration of the Rajah in 1776, many Causes have contributed to lessen the Revenue and impoverish the Country. I will first mention the Ignorance and Rapacity of his principal Managers, as I look upon this as the great and primary Evil from whence most of the other originate. Secondly, to the Failure of many of the principal Farmers, and to the unusual Cheapness of Grain. And thirdly, to a general Opinion, which for a long Time ran through the Country, that the Rajah's Government would not be of long Duration, and that another Revolution was approaching. Hence every Species of Embezzlement and Peculation; his Ministers extorting Money from the Zemindars; they oppressing the People, who are often obliged to dispose of their Cattle, and the very Implements of Husbandry, to satisfy the Calls of their unrelenting Landlords. The thousand Evils resulting from such a regular System of Oppression, are too obvious to render it necessary to enlarge upon the Subject.

Ever since his Restoration, the Rajah has been oppressed with a heavy Load of Debt. His Expenditure has been enormous. Many of the Farmers who owed him large Balances, have absconded. He had no Money but what was levied from his People, or raised by destructive Loans at an exorbitant ruinous Interest.

The great Scarcity of Specie in the Tanjore Country is an Evil which has been long felt, and when I left India, it had got to an alarming Height. Pagodas and Fanams were formerly coined to a large Amount at Tanjore. But a former Rajah having sold the Right of Coinage to the Dutch at Negapatam, the Country depends chiefly upon that Source now for its Supplies of Specie.



A P P E N D I X, N<sup>o</sup> 23.

2d February, 1782.

**E**DWARD COTSFORD, Esquire, attending, was examined as followeth; viz.

1st.

**Q.** How long has he been in India, and in what Stations?

2d.

**Q.** When did he go last there, and when return?

3d.

**Q.** In what Station was he?

**A.** I was appointed a Writer on the Madras Establishment, in November 1757: I was first put under the Military Storekeeper, as his Assistant; some Months before the Siege of Madras, I was appointed to act as Practitioner Engineer, with the Rank of Ensign in that Corps; I continued in it (but chiefly in the Field) until the Reduction of Madura, about the latter End of 1764: I then went to England, where I arrived about the End of March, 1765: About a Year after I returned again to India, and upon quitting my Military Employment, was appointed Chief or Resident at Ganjam, in April 1768: I quitted Ganjam (as I think) the latter End of the Year 1772; and upon my Arrival at Madras, was sworn in as a Member of the Council (my Due by Rotation) and soon after left India: In January 1778 I was appointed Chief at Masulipatam, by the Court of Directors: The following August I arrived at Madras, and took Charge of Masulipatam in the December of the same Year: I quitted that Chiefship at the End of 1780, and left Madras for England in January following, where I arrived the End of the Year 1781.

4th.

**Q.** He will please to give the Committee such Information respecting the Company's Possessions under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, as may enable them to judge of their present State.

**A.** The State of the Affairs of the Company, under the Presidency of Fort Saint George is, I think, alarming.

All that Part of the Carnatic contained between Nelloor to the Northward, and Trichinopoly Inland, and Cuddalore on the Sea Coast to the Southward, is possessed by the Enemy, and (as I believe) almost all the Forts and Strong Holds therein, except Trichinopoly, Vellore, and Wandewash, consequently no immediate Supplies of any Kind can be drawn from those Countries.

In the Districts under Nelloor to the Northward, the Authority of the Nabob's Government is much shaken; and the Conduct of his Servants in the Revenue Branch there, has been contradictory to his Orders, therefore their Fidelity to him may be suspected. This Information I received in private Letters from Captain Welsford of the Company's Troops, who was in the Command of Nelloor when I left Masulipatam, but is (as I understand) since dead.

The Vencatyghery and Calastry Rajahs, whose Zemindaries are inland of Nelloor may, and probably will be, dilatory in paying any Tribute; for which Conduct, considering their near Situation to Cuddapah, in Hyder's Possession, they may urge several ostensible Reasons.

The Ongole and Palnaud Countries, situated still to the Northward of Nelloor, were, when I left India, unmolested, but the Revenue arising from them is inconsiderable. It is my Opinion, the Resources to be drawn from all the Countries above-mentioned are uncertain, and, at all Events cannot be considerable.

The Four Circars at present in the Possession of the Company (if the Investment in England must for the present be discontinued to supply the Exigencies of the Govern-

Government abroad) after disburſing the Civil and Military Charges dependent upon them, the following Supplies for the Carnatic might be drawn annually :

	Star Pagodas.
From Maſulipatam and its Dependencies	3,00,000
Vizagapatam and its Dependencies	1,00,000
Ganjam and its Dependencies	70,000
Total	4,70,000

There is an Annual Payment of Peſhcuſh to Nizam Ally, the Soubah of the Decan, for the Circars, which is not provided for in the above.

The Countries dependent upon Trichinopoly, Madura, and Palamcotah, are liable to Incurſions of the Enemy's Cavalry (which although ſuch a Force may not attempt for the preſent a permanent Poſſeſſion) may, and probably will, prevent any Revenue from being collected, particularly in the Two latter of theſe Countries, where the leading People, I underſtand, are not entirely attached to the Nabob's Government.

The preſent State of Tanjore, and the Degree of Good-Will of the Rajah towards the India Company, I really do not know, therefore I cannot ſay what Aſſiſtance he may be able or willing to give in the preſent Conjuncture.

The Diſtrict of Nagore (a Part of the Tanjore Country poſſeſſed by the Company) has been over-run and deſtroyed by a Detachment of Hyder's Troops, ſome Time in February 1781.

The total Inability (as it ſhould ſeem) of the Nabob Mahommed Ally Cawn, to bear any Part of the great Charges which the War in the Carnatic will inevitably incur, muſt be mentioned. Without powerful Aſſiſtance from him in the Article of Money, the Governor and Council may be driven to great Extremity, before Hyder (even if not aſſiſted by an Ally) can be compelled to retire from the Carnatic.

5th.

Q. Whether does he, from his Knowledge of the Circars at different Periods, conſider them to be now in a State of Advancement or Decline in Wealth and Population ?

A. I conſider the Zemindaries to be at preſent in a State of Decline. I am led to this Opinion from comparing the Management of the Buſineſs at Maſulipatam under former Chiefs, at the Times I have paſſed through that Place, as alſo from the Records which I have read, together with my own, in the Years 1779 and 1780. I do not find, that in Times previous to my Adminiſtration of Affairs there, any Difficulties of Moment occurred ; whereas, during my Time, the Impediments to the Collection of the Revenue were great and continual, as will appear from a Peruſal of the Correſpondence between the Madras Preſidency and Maſulipatam, at the Time.

I underſtand, from converſing with Perſons long reſident there, that the Vicinity of Maſulipatam is not ſo populous as it has been ; but I ſee no Cauſe to imagine, that the Circars in general are leſs ſo than they have been for ſome Years paſt, particularly as the Countries have ſeldom, even in a partial Degree, experienced the Rigours of War, ſince they have been in the Poſſeſſion of the Company.

6th.

Q. What are the Cauſes of that State of the Zemindars ?

A. From the beſt Information I have received during my Reſidence in the Circars (at Ganjam and Maſulipatam) the Tribute received from the Zemindars, in the Government of the Mahomedans, ſince the Time of Nadir Shaw's Invaſion of the Empire, was very uncertain and irregular ; frequently large Sums were exacted, but rarely paid, owing to the very uncertain Poſſeſſion which thoſe exerciſing the Government had in thoſe fluctuating Times : Pretenders alſo to Authority have frequently entered the Countries, and demanded Money. In theſe Times the Zemindars found it neceſſary to maintain Troops, both for immediate Protection, and to enable them to make Uſe of ſuch Advantages as the frequent Changes of Government preſented to them ; and, upon the whole, they generally evaded paying any Thing conſiderable. When the French, under Monſ. Buſſy, took Poſſeſſion of theſe Circars, the different Zemindars entertained large Bodies of Men. Things were in much the ſame State when Colonel Forde took Maſulipatam. Since that Period, the Company have had permanent Poſſeſſion of the Circars, under the Jurisdiction of Maſulipatam, and have enforced regular Payment

**Payment of their Tribute:** But the Zemindars took some Years before they disbanded their Troops; and even now, in many of their Zemindaries, great Portions of Land are sequestrated, and held by the Possessors as Jaghires. Whether it proceeds from a Principle of Pride in the Zemindars, that these Lands are not resumed, or whether their principal Servants prevent it from other Motives, I cannot say. This Drawback, however, without any Advantage attending it to them, as formerly, is in my Opinion one Reason of their Decline. The Zemindars pay very high Interest to Soucars, or Bankers, who advance them Money to make good their Tribute, before the Collections in the Country can be made: This is a heavy Charge upon the Zemindars. European Individuals have also been accustomed to lend Money at high Interest to the Zemindars, before the Publication of the regulating Act; but I know of no such Interference by Europeans since that Time. This I consider as another Cause of their Decline.

I do not recollect that the Company's Tribute has ever been remitted in Consideration of unfavourable Seasons, though Delays in Payments in some Instances have. As the Tribute paid to the Company exceeds what had been generally paid to Nizam Ally, the Soubah of the Decan, this also may have had some Influence to their Detriment.

7th.

**Q.** In what Circumstances are the Zemindars in general? Are they in a prospering or declining State?

**A.** The principal Zemindars under Masulipatam are much in Debt to Soucars and other Individuals: I believe, not less than Six Lacks of Pagodas, over and above their Arrears due to the Company.

In the Cossimcotah and Chicacole Provinces of the Chicacole Circar, which are under the Jurisdiction of Vizagapatam, most of the Zemindaries are at present held by Vizeram Rauze. He cannot, I think, be much in Arrear to the Company, or in any Respect distressed, as the Tribute he pays is comparatively very small to the Countries in his Possession. What his Concerns with Soucars or other Individuals are, I know not.

In the Itchapore District of the Chicacole Circar, under the Jurisdiction of Ganjam, the Zemindars have ever, I believe, been poor and inconsiderable; but I know no immediate Cause why that Country should not flourish, since the Terms upon which the present Renter holds it are reasonable: The Maratta War may indeed have an Influence to its Detriment. The latter Part of this Query is already answered above in the 6th Article.

8th.

**Q.** What are the Causes of their Advance or Decline?

**A.** This Query is already answered in the 6th Article.

9th.

**Q.** Does he consider the Measure of calling down the Zemindars to Madras, as having contributed to the Deficiency of the Payment.

**A.** Certainly the calling down the Zemindars to Madras must have occasioned them some additional Expence, and some Confusion in the internal Management of their Countries must have arisen from their long Absence; for these Reasons I think it has contributed to the Deficiency of the Payment in some Degree; but whether in the Degree equal to what the Zemindars themselves alledge, I will not take upon me to say; but probably not. Considering the State of the Zemindars in general, and the State of India at the Time, I think the insisting upon an Increase of their Tribute or Jemabundy was injudicious.

10th.

**Q.** To what is the Necessity owing of the Dependence of the Zemindars upon the Soucars.

**A.** It has been the constant Usage of the Country, for the Zemindars to make their Payments, through the Medium of the Soucars: Sometimes, and most frequently, they are constrained to borrow of them through Necessity; sometimes their Interference is intended to conceal the real State of the Zemindar's Affairs, and excite an Idea that he is poor. The Transactions between them are conducted with the greatest Secrecy, the Soucar never disclosing the State of the Affairs of the Zemindars.

11th.

**Q.** Do the Soucars oppress the Zemindars?

**A.**

**A.** Soucars are Money-lenders: They do not, I believe, always take the same Premiums for the Sums they advance, but proportion their Demand to the Exigency of the Borrower; and this is the only Way that I know of, in which they can be said to oppress the Zemindars.

The Chief and Council at Masulipatam, in a Letter to the President and Council at Madras, under Date the 13th of June 1780, have entered pretty largely on this Matter.

12th.

**Q.** Would it be advisable to render the Tribute of the Zemindars fixed and certain?

**A.** That the Annual Tribute should be fixed, is, I conceive, the Mode best calculated for the Welfare of the Countries and the Zemindars, and in no Shape detrimental to the Company. In saying it should be fixed, I by no Means mean that the Company should be bound by any written Engagement to the Zemindars to that Effect. Indeed I have always understood, that the assembling the Zemindars was principally to receive from them sufficient Bills upon the Soucars, for their Tribute due; at the same Time the Zemindar received annually a Cowle, stating, with other Matters, the particular Periods of Payment. Some Years ago they assembled at Rajahmundry, where the Chief settled with them; and of later Years at Masulipatam, where their Concerns came more immediately under the Cognizance of the Chief and Council.

13th.

**Q.** Does he think the present Mode of leasing the Lands a proper one; or does he consider it as having a Tendency to oppress the Zemindars and Renters?

**A.** I do not conceive that the Mode of receiving the Revenues from the Zemindary Lands is at all oppressive to the Zemindars. No Agents of the Company have any Interference with the internal Management of their Countries, unless in Cases where they forfeit their exclusive Right, by Non-payment of Tribute, or some other great Cause; and even in those Cases the Zemindar himself gives a written Order to his Servants in Trust in the Country, to deliver up his principal Fort, and the Management of his Country, to such Persons as the Company may send to take Charge of them.

In the 6th Article, I have observed, that Europeans have sometimes lent Money to the Zemindars. This, I think, might have been in some Instances a Ground for Oppression. It has been customary in these Cases, to make over the Produce of certain Villages or Districts, in which the Creditor has his Agent, to take Care that the Revenue thereof is properly applied. When such Creditor is the Chief, or any other Member of the Council, the Servant employed under the Strength of his Master's Influence, may be very faulty, almost with Impunity. Indeed I believe it has been no very uncommon Case, where the Servants of the Zemindar and his Creditor have combined together to cheat their respective Masters. Chiefs of Subordinates may be in some Degree oppressive, by granting Dustucks or Orders for the Passage of certain Articles through the Country Duty-free, by which the Zemindars are deprived of so much of their Revenue. The principal Servant of the Chief has it also much in his Power to oppress Individuals, and in many Cases with Security. I do not mean here to apply the Two last Cases to any Individual. It is an Evil arising from the Principles of despotic Government, although that Government is administered by an Authority not professing those Principles.

Renters may be liable to Oppressions from similar Cases.

14th.

**Q.** Does he think the Agreements for the Possession of the Lands too short?

**A.** What concerns the Zemindars in this Article, is already answered in the 12th.

With Respect to the Havelly Lands (which may be translated Demefne Lands) given in Farm to Renters, I think short Leases are preferable, not exceeding Three Years. When I was resident at Ganjam, I recommended the letting the Havelly Lands for One Year only. My Reason for this Opinion is, that there is a greater Probability to a Renter who has regularly fulfilled his Engagements, that he may have a Renewal of his Lease, than there is to the Company, that they may not suffer considerable Losses in a long Lease, taking it for granted, that the Servants of the Company continually watch over the Welfare of the Countries committed to their Charge.

15th.

**Q.** Does he think the Sums exacted from them above what the Lands can bear?

**A.** I

A. I have already in Part given an Answer to this Query, as far as the same concerns the Zemindars.

I believe it is no very uncommon Case for Renters to give in Proposals, by which, where they have been accepted, they have been considerable Losers. They have chiefly been urged to this from a Principle of Pride or Competition. Where this happens, the Countries so rented out, must suffer some Devastation. I think many of the Farms are rented out too high.

I have been told, that in Times before the Europeans had any Interference in these Matters, the Tribute from the Zemindars, and the Rents from the Havelly Lands, were much lower than they have ever been since. Such a Conduct certainly qualified the Rigour of a despotic Government, and provided for the Prosperity of the Country.

Anwar a dien Cawn (Father to Mahommed Ally, the present Nabob of the Carnatic) who was the Nizam's Deputy in the Chicacole Circar, took a very low Tribute from the Zemindars; the Havelly Lands also were leased out upon easy Terms. This I learned from the Records of the Country when I was at Ganjam.

16th.

Q. Does he think the Renters really unable to pay, or is it only a Pretence?

A. I believe in general, when the Renters fail in their Payments, it proceeds from Inability; the Cause of this Inability is partly stated in the last Article; the Natives in general do not pay Attention enough to Oeconomy; and in some Cases they are very extravagant, particularly in celebrating the Weddings which happen in their Families, which may also promote this Inability.

17th and 18th.

Q. Are the inferior Possessors of the Lands in a State of Ease or not?

Q. What are the Causes?

A. When the Lands are farmed out at a Rent higher than they will bear (as stated before) the inferior Possessors will be oppressed. I do not recollect any other Cause, speaking in general.

19th.

Q. Are the Lands better or worse cultivated than formerly?

A. From the Consideration that a larger Rent is now exacted from the Lands, whereby the Ryots or Inhabitants have a smaller Share, the Inference to be drawn must be, that they are worse cultivated now than formerly; and I think I may venture to say they generally are so, from what has passed within my own Observation, during my Residence in India.

20th.

Q. Does he think the Establishment, and other Expences, of the Zemindars and Renters, in any Degree the Cause of their Distress?

A. I have taken Notice, that many of the Zemindars have not put aside intirely their Establishment of Troops, under the Name of Sibbendy. I know of no particular Cause for their Distress more than I have already mentioned.

I have already noted, that the Renters are generally extravagant in the Celebration of their Weddings. As their Manner of living is very simple, and always the same, I do not think it can conduce to their Distress. If it does in any Degree, it must arise from their Hospitality; the Natives hold this Virtue in high Respect, and are sometimes almost unbounded in their Acts of Benevolence: All this may be equally applied to the Zemindars.

21st.

Q. Is the Country more or less populous than it formerly was?

A. I have frequently heard it affirmed, that the Company's Jaguirc Lands in the Carnatic, are less populous than they were some Years ago; but as I have never seen any Proof that it is so, I cannot assent to that Belief, particularly as it may reasonably be supposed, that the Nabob's Residence in the Vicinity of Madras, must have drawn many People from the interior Parts of the Country. As I have not been much at Madras of late Years, I am not sufficiently informed of the State of Population in the Carnatic in general. What concerns the Northern Circars has been already answered in the 5th Article.

22d.

Q. What are the Causes of the Difference of Population in the Neighbourhood of Masulipatam, as before-mentioned?

A. As it was in Times preceding the Arrival of Europeans in which Masulipatam was more populous than it has been of later Years, I cannot tell the Causes of the Decrease of Population there; but most probably, it has been from the great Decrease of Trade, which I understand was formerly very considerable there.

23d.

Q. Have the Revenues under Masulipatam been well paid? If not, what have been the Causes?

A. I believe, when the Circars first came into the Possession of the English East-India Company, the Countries dependent upon Masulipatam were in a much more flourishing State than they are at present, and the Revenue arising from them more punctually paid. In a former Paragraph, I have noted the probable Causes why the Zemindars have decreased in Wealth; but until these few Years back, this Influence was not felt by the Company immediately, as the Revenue was still regularly received: But the Zemindars began to contract Debts, which have since become very considerable. Since the Period of the unhappy Disputes in the Council, in which Lord Pigot was deprived of his Authority, the Affairs of the Company every where on the Coromandel Coast have visibly declined. Upon my Arrival at Madras in 1778, I found the general State of Things entirely altered, and much for the worse, since the Time of my leaving India in 1773.

During the Time that the Concerns of Masulipatam were under my Charge as Chief, the Revenues have been ill paid, although no Endeavours were wanting on my Part to enforce Order and Obedience in the Zemindars; and I believe I may venture to affirm, that no former Chief had so many Impediments to encounter as I had, over and above the general ill State of the Company's Affairs. The following I consider as the immediate Causes of the Difficulties I experienced.

The calling down the Zemindars to the Presidency, which I have already taken Notice of in the 9th Paragraph; the Loss of Time also, from their Stay at Madras after my Arrival, was very considerable, and of Detriment.

The encreasing the Jemmabundy or Tribute of the principal Zemindars, occasioned much Discontent amongst them.

The depriving the Company's Interpreter, or Dubash, named Vencatay Royaloo, of certain Possessions held in the Circars, and the lessening his Authority in the Opinions of the Zemindars, was the Cause of giving me much additional Trouble, and the Measure itself was a great Impediment to me.

The suffering the Zemindars to have Vackeels, or Agents, residing at the Presidency, was also a very considerable Bar in conducting the Affairs at Masulipatam.

To these Causes may be added the eventual one which the War with Hyder Ally occasioned, I mean his overrunning the Guntoor Circar with a considerable Body of Cavalry (from 3 to 5000) by which the Minds of the Soucars were much embarrassed at a very critical Time, as will more fully appear in the Correspondence with the Presidency.

24th.

Q. Are Manufactures in a State of Advance or Decline?

A. I think upon the whole they may be said to be upon the Decline, as the Cloths are in general higher priced, and not so well fabricated as they have been: I speak chiefly of Manufactures in the Circars; in what State they are in the Carnatic, I am in a great Degree ignorant.

25th.

Q. What are the Causes?

A. In Consequence of our Successes last War, the Manufactures have been in a great Degree in the Hands of the Company, which enabled their Servants at the different Factories, to provide Cloth upon their own Account, after supplying the Company to the Extent of their Demands. The French during the Peace have also had an Agent or Agents at Yanam, living there under our Government, who have provided Cloth for private Adventurers of their own Nation chiefly. Of late Years the Danes have fallen into this Track of Trade, and I believe have been supplied in a great Degree by British Agents. The Demands for this Trade being great, without any Check, or that nice Inspection into the Fabrick of the Cloths, which is constantly observed in the Investment provided for the Company, may be, and I think is, the Cause that the Cloths in general are higher rated, and not so well fabricated.



The almost insuperable Difficulties which the Company have put in the Way of re-mitting Money to England by Individuals, together with the great Falling-off of their own Investments, have afforded Strangers both the Opportunity and the Means of carrying on a very advantageous Trade, which in its Consequences must be detrimental to the Company. This Matter, I think, deserves the Attention of the Committee.

26th.

Q. What is his Opinion of the Establishment of the Committee of Circuit?

27th.

Q. Was it well calculated to answer the Purposes of its Institution?

A. The Court of Directors, in their Letter to Madras under the Date, April 12th, 1775, certainly directed the Attention of the Government at Madras to proper Objects for the Enquiry of a Committee of Circuit; but I think the Mode ordered for that Enquiry, which has been, and is still so much wanted, is open to some Objections.

The Establishment of such a Committee as was ordered by the Directors, would be attended with more Expence than the Nature of the Business to be done made necessary.

The Business they were to be employed upon was not, as I conceive, of the deliberate Kind, except in the single Case of letting out the Lands at the Expiration of former Leases; therefore, that the Appointment of so many Gentlemen was unnecessary.

The empowering them to re-let the Lands independent of the Chief and Council, under whose Jurisdiction the Countries might be, would diminish too much the Authority and Responsibility of such Chief and Council, and make it very difficult for them to act with Vigour in Cases where a particular Exertion might be necessary. I hold it as a Maxim, that in the Government of despotic Countries, the ruling Power cannot be divided without Detriment; Disputes also would arise between the Committee and the Chief and Council, to the Detriment of the Company. Upon the Whole, I think it very possible, that the Inconveniencies of such an Establishment might more than counter-balance any Advantage that would arise from it.

Observing how great the Hopes entertained by the Directors were, from the Establishment of the Committee of Circuit, by the great Disapprobation they have shewn, from their Orders not having been executed, I give my Opinion on these Two Queries with some Diffidence. If I did not conceive there was another Mode for gaining a very accurate Knowledge of these Countries, not attended with those Inconveniencies, perhaps I should not have hazarded this Opinion.

28th.

Q. Was there a sufficient Number of the Servants of the Company capable of executing that Commission, independent of the Members of Council employed in it when it was abolished?

A. I have no Doubt but there were many Servants of the Company equally capable with the Members of the Board when the Committee of Circuit was abolished; unless indeed, from their Station, the latter could receive any additional Weight.

29th.

Q. What is his Opinion of the Measure of abolishing it?

A. I think when it was abolished some other Mode should have been substituted by the Governor and Council, that the Spirit of the Orders from Home might have been followed; but it is possible that the general State of the Company's Affairs at the Time might have obstructed the Prosecution of the Orders received; and of this I am not Master enough of the Subject to judge. It certainly is an Implication, that a Country is in a State of Tranquillity, where Inquiries of this Nature can be made.

30th.

Q. Would not an accurate Investigation of the Circars, upon the Plan of the Committee of Circuit, be still of great Advantage?

A. Admitting that the Committee of Circuit is a good Mode, I fear the State of Affairs there is such as to discourage the putting it in immediate Execution.

31st.

Q. What is the State of the Jaghire Lands?

A. To this Query I cannot answer from my own Knowledge; but I have heard it frequently, and indeed always asserted, that the Jaguire Lands are rather in a declining state.

than a flourishing State; and the Reason given is, that the Nabob is so tenacious of holding these Lands, that he gives for them more than they are worth, to exclude any other Candidate; this probably obliges him to draw a greater Revenue from the Countries, than is consistent with sound Policy, or the Dictates of simple Justice,

32d.

**Q.** Is it of Advantage that they should be continued with the Nabob?

**A.** Considering the Conduct of the Nabob of late Years, and the Power he has assumed, I think it highly improper that the Jaguirc Lands should be under his Management.

The principal Motive of the Nabob in renting the Jaguirc, is, as I believe, that the sole Authority throughout the Carnatic shall be in him. I believe he would consider the letting any other Person have these Lands as disgraceful to him.

It is not consistent with the Company's Prosperity, that any Person possessing Ideas of Independence, should have unlimited Power in the Jaguirc Lands; as in that Case the Benefits arising from a Territory which is so well situated to afford Resources of all Kinds to the Presidency may be much lessened, and Abuses committed in the Country not be effectually enquired into. I believe there are Instances mentioned in the Records at Madras to this Purpose, but I do not remember them sufficiently to point them out particularly.

33d.

**Q.** Are his own Lands in a better State?

**A.** I have always understood that the Nabob's Government is very oppressive, and that the Inhabitants are kept in great Poverty, and consequently that his Countries have greatly declined. As it is now some Years since I have been any where in the interior Parts of the Carnatic, I can say nothing to this Query from my own Knowledge.

34th.

**Q.** What is the Cause of his Distress?

**A.** Upon Public Grounds this I think cannot be accounted for, as the Nabob has held the Carnatic in a State of uninterrupted Peace for many Years. That the Nabob should be in actual Distress under such Circumstances, is a Matter of great Moment, and highly deserving the Attention of the Committee; because, if it is a Fact, it demonstrates that the Company, so far from being Gainers from their Concerns in the Carnatic, must be Losers. The Expence of reducing Pondicherry and Mahé may have been considerable, but the Amount of this Expence is greatly over balanced by the immense Debts he has contracted with Individuals.

35th.

**Q.** Is there not a great Annual Exportation of Specie from the Country?

**A.** Independent of the Specie sent to China on Account of the Company (chiefly from Bengal) I believe within the last Twelve Years very considerable Sums have been exported by Individuals from the Coromandel Coast, and some from Bengal also, but to what Amount Annually, I cannot take upon me to say.

36th.

**Q.** To what is the Exportation of Specie owing?

**A.** Some few Individuals may have sent Specie to China for the Advantage of the high Interest paid for Money there; but it is owing, in a much greater Degree, to the Difficulties which Individuals find in making Remittances to England directly, by which (amongst other Expedients) they have fallen upon the Mode of sending it to China, from whence the Amount is remitted to England, either by Bills on the Company or others.

37th.

**Q.** What does he think will be the Effect of that Exportation of Specie?

**A.** I believe it is generally understood, that the Exportation of the Specie is of Detriment to a State; the Exportation to China, therefore, must be in a more particular Manner so, as it is believed that none is ever sent out of that Country.

*Further Questions put to Mr. Gotsford.*

Were the Zemindars and Renters under the Mahomedan Government subject to any Payments more than the Rents agreed to be paid annually for the Districts which they held?

I believe the Deputies of the Government did receive, over and above the Tribute settled under the Government, a further Sum under the Name of Nazar or Present, which they



they pretended was for Payment of their Troops; but their Ability to procure this was in Proportion to the Strength of their Army.

Did the Presents bear any Proportion to the Tribute, or were they arbitrary?

I think they were arbitrary.

After the Zemindaries came under European Government, did any of the Remains of the Nazar or Presents exist?

I believe it has existed; and think I have seen a Paper of Mr. Buff's, where a Part of the Tribute is brought to Account under the Head of Present.

When it came from the French, under our Government, did the same Practice exist?

I think it has existed in a greater or less Degree ever since:

Under what Head is it entered in our Accounts?

There is no such Head. I never understood any such Articles were brought to Account in the Company's Accounts.

What comes of the Money so exacted?

I think whatever Presents were received were considered as Perquisite of the Station, and not considered in any Respect as a Part of the Tribute.

Are the Presents now given certain, and bearing a settled Proportion to the fixed Tribute paid by the Zemindar, are they optional at the Discretion of the Giver?

They are entirely optional.

Suppose the Zemindars had not been called down to Madras, would not you have thought yourself at Liberty, consistent with your Duty, to have accepted such Gratuities from the Zemindars?

I should have thought it my first Duty to enforce the Payment of the Company's Tribute, without suffering my own Interest to interfere with it; but I don't mean to say I should have declined the customary Advantages of my Situation.

Is any Present of Importance paid upon the Collections?

I don't know that there is.

Had you Occasion to see any of the Zemindars after their Return from Madras?

I saw almost all belonging to Masulipatam at Masulipatam.

Had you any Conversation with them about the Presents made to Sir Thomas Rumbold, or any of the Council of the Madras Government?

I had no Conversation with them concerning Presents to Sir Thomas Rumbold, or any of the Council of the Presidency of Madras; but they complained of the Expences to and from Madras, and while resident there, as Reasons for not being so punctual as formerly in paying their Tribute; and upon the same Occasion, and with the same View, they mentioned the Disorders created in the Management of their Affairs in their Absence, particularly alluding to the Misconduct of their Servants, and in the Course of Business I found some of it verified.

Did it come to your Knowledge by any other Means that Presents were given at Madras?

I have no Authority to assert that Presents were given at Madras. I don't know any were given.

Did the Zemindars when at Madras pay any Sums for Tribute, they would otherwise have paid at Masulipatam?

I think they gave Soucar Securities for some, but I had much Difficulty in recovering it; nor were the Sums promised to be paid, equal to what at the same Time would have been received at Masulipatam, had the Zemindars been there to look after their own Business.

What other Mode do you apprehend might have been taken instead of appointing the Committee of Circuit?

I recommend the same Mode which was taken when Mr. Barnard surveyed the Jaghire in the Carnatic.

Could an Individual execute the Orders given by the Court of Directors in their Letter of 12 April 1775, relating to the Investigation of the Circars with that Authority as Five Persons under the Authority of the Government of the Presidency of Fort Saint George?

I think the Inquiries pointed out for the Instruction of the Committee of Circuit by the Court of Directors, could be as well executed by One Person of Ability, it being merely the taking the Records of the several Villages as I understand; which Records, by the Customs of the Country, are kept in every Pergundah and Village by Black Servants belonging to the Circar or Government.

February 19.

The order of the day for going into a committee on the Mutiny Bill was moved.

Mr. *Burke* wished to have the business delayed, until copies could be had, and laid upon the table, of some papers relative to General Arnold; but the Speaker said that the honourable member had spoken too late; for the motion for the order of the day had been made, and no other could be proposed until that had been disposed of. In consequence of the motion, the House resolved itself into a committee, and Mr. Ord took the chair.

The *Secretary at War* then informed the committee, that he had a clause to insert, which undoubtedly was an innovation in the mutiny bill; but then it was of such a nature, that he trusted the committee could have no objection to its passing: he said, that shamefully flying before the enemy, or shamefully surrendering up a post or fortress, were crimes punishable under the mutiny bill, with death, in every part of the King's dominions, except in Great-Britain, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Man; now as it could be no less criminal, in fact, to fly before the enemy, or shamefully surrender a post, in any of these places, than in another; so it would be proper in his opinion, to inflict the same punishment on delinquents of this description, as if the scene of their cowardice or treachery had been in any other part of the world. Therefore he moved a clause to that effect, to be inserted in the bill.

It was suggested, that it was for very good reasons, that former mutiny laws did not contain a clause, such as had been proposed by the right honorable member; because, though martial law should be silent, the civil law would not suffer to escape unpunished the man who should surrender a post committed to his care. In answer to this, the *Secretary at War* replied, that the civil law could not take cognizance of cowardice, or punish a coward with death; and therefore martial law must supply the defect of the civil law; consequently the clause he had proposed appeared to him as very necessary on such an occasion.

Mr. *Burke* opposed it, and in the course of his argument against it, alluded to the conduct and situation of General Arnold. The honourable gentleman thought it highly improper that this officer should hold a principal command, as it was understood he was to do, and be under the power of the Crown to order a court-martial to try him for abandon-

ing or giving up a post, when it had been by such a piece of treachery that he had deserted to our service. Such an officer, he thought would be little encouraged, by what the Secretary at War proposed, to do his duty. He had taken a command from the rebels, he had received their pay, and he had betrayed his trust, so that he had in truth been a rebel to rebels. Such a man, Mr. Burke was of opinion, was not to be trusted, nor did he think that any laws could bind him in his alliance to his Sovereign. But above all, it was impolitic and shameful that such a man should have an important appointment and a trust. It would mangle the discipline of the army,—it would destroy the nice feelings and the sense of honour; for who would be solicitous of distinction and advancement, when they were to be procured by such means?

The honourable gentleman with great humour, mingled with a degree of sarcasm and satire, complimented the new Secretary (Mr. Ellis) upon his coming into office with such an admirable amendment of the mutiny act, especially as that amendment was principally intended to keep honest an officer, who had come to us through treachery. He congratulated the new Secretary upon it, and in so doing, took occasion to call upon him, to let the committee know upon what principles the American war was in future to be conducted, what forces were to be employed in the business, and to whose care the farthest effusion of our best blood, was to be now entrusted.

Mr. Wel-  
bore Ellis.

The *Secretary of State for the American Department* (the Right Hon. Mr. Welbore Ellis) said; he should not rise to trouble the House on the occasion, but that he felt himself called upon in so particular a manner. With respect to the principle on which the American war was in future to be conducted, he felt himself rather awkward in coming forward upon, as he was so *young* a member. All he could say was, that he had accepted the office he had the honour to hold, on no conditions whatever. He had come into it with a view only to the public good, and he trusted he should be enabled to effect his purpose. With regard to the treachery of the officer alluded to, he had done no more than return to his allegiance, and he did not think that such an act would have been censured in a British House of Commons.

Mr. Sloper.

Mr. Sloper thought time should be allowed the committee for considering how far it might be proper, or not, to agree to the amendment proposed.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* said a few words on the nature of regimental courts-martial. Sir Philip J. Clerke.

Mr. *T. Townshend* objected to the introduction of the clause. Mr. Tho. Townshend

General *Conway* did not mean to vindicate the conduct of the general officer who had been so much alluded to, or to have the least concern with his character as a man, but this he was sure of, that every temptation should be held out by us to induce those in the service of the enemy to come over to us. The more important the command of the officer was, we wished to bring over to us, the stronger should be the temptations thrown out for him. All persons, serviceable to the enemy, in any way whatsoever, were to be got from their service. But when they had been won over by us, how far it might be proper to trust them, or give them a command, was another thing to be considered. With respect to the motion offered for the consideration of the committee, he thought that time should have been allowed for it. General Conway.

Mr. *Fox* said, the clause that had been proposed, was a most proper one to come from the present government; it was conformable to their system; they had uniformly acted on a levelling principle, and aimed at setting every thing that was just, noble, and honourable, at defiance, and doing it away to all intents and purposes. Having, therefore, by one continued chain of disgraceful proceedings on their part, during the whole course of the war, endeavoured to undermine the very foundation of honour in the army, they acted wisely and consistently, when they took the great, the original, and the true military safeguard, honour, out of the bill, to fill its place with that pitiful substitute fear, the only safeguard that could be adopted when that of honour was out of the question. Mr. Fox noticed General Conway's remark, that a certain person's having quitted the American army, and joined the British forces, was liable to two constructions; the one a construction that was honourable, the other a disgraceful construction. He was ready to admit farther, that where there were two sides of a question, it was generally equally proper and candid to take the best, and argue upon that. In the present case he was debarred from acting conformably to this position, and why? Because the mode in which the person alluded to had quitted the American army, put the matter beyond all doubt. True it was, that any man might honourably follow his inclination in returning to his allegiance; but could a man of honour behave treacherously?

treacherously? If acting for one party, and continuing at the same time in the pay of another, was not behaving treacherously, he knew not what was. At the same time that he said this, he was perfectly aware, that spies were necessary in time of war, and that their service ought to be requited. But how ought it to be requited? Certainly by pecuniary reward! By a sum of money! Did any man ever hear of rewarding a spy with a Brigadier-generalship? Was it common to invest a spy with high military honours? Consider for a moment the consequence. Was the British army to be commanded by spies, known and acknowledged spies? He declared, for his part, the moment he heard of the person in question being appointed to the Brigadier-generalship, he was most seriously alarmed; and when the Gazette appeared, in which he saw that character distributing praise and insinuating censure on British officers, he felt a new sensation, and shuddered for the situation of those officers, who were liable either to the one or the other. Hitherto he had regarded the army, and all who belonged to it, with jealousy and with fear, because he had never been in the habit of considering military men in any other, than a constitutional point of view; he now, for the first time, regarded the military profession with pity. He said, after what had happened last year, in the line of naval promotion to a civil employment, he wondered not that yesterday, in another place, the appointment of an officer to a peerage, who had been degraded and disgraced in his military capacity, was treated in the manner in which he had heard it treated. Would any man have believed, had they not known the levelling system of the present government, that his Majesty's could have gravely stood up in a House of Parliament, and in a serious manner contended, that the sentence of a court martial, pronouncing an officer unfit for any military employment whatever, was a matter of not the smallest disgrace! But it was with pride of heart, that he recollected yesterday had shewn, that there were peers, who, in spite of the general depravity of the times, dared to stand up, and declare themselves the advocates of honour. Those men had immortalized themselves, and their characters would stand high in the opinion of posterity; they would be revered, esteemed, and adored in future ages, as men whose breasts were inspired by the noblest sentiments that ever actuated human nature. Nor was it to be wondered at, when it was considered who those characters were? In a government, where the  
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most barefaced encouragement of baseness, and a constant opposition of every appearance of honour was the ruling principle of their system, where was a man to look for those, who still held a due sense of that noble, that truly military characteristic; but in persons, whose Lieutenancies of counties had been taken from them by Administration. If Administration detested the idea of honour, it was natural to suppose that it was to be met with in men, who opposed that Administration. He remarked, Montesquieu had observed, that of all others the British constitution rested most essentially on the point of honour. He appealed therefore to common sense, and the conviction of every man who heard him, whether the conduct of that government, which manifestly and industriously tended to destroy all sense of honour in the military profession, did not threaten most serious and most fatal mischief to the country? Thinking as he did on the subject, he was free to say, he could not but pronounce the clause now moved for, by the Secretary at War, perfectly conformable to the rest of the present system of government. The right honourable gentleman well knew, that encouraging the military to square their conduct, by supposing that every individual action of their lives must be disgraceful, which did not ground itself on the high point of honour, was the best security to the country for our having a brave and a gallant army, but finding this, his best ground, cut from under him by the present government, he had, with a prudence that shewed his wisdom, accommodated his mutiny bill to the conduct of Administration. It was but one more part of the large whole. Ministers had found out the true wit of the levelling principle, and discovered that lowering all men to their own baseness, was the only means of keeping the whole of the people in humour with each other, and the right honourable gentleman acted with the soundest policy, in endeavouring to meet the same idea, when he found he could not better himself, if he attempted a contrary line of conduct.

After some farther conversation, the clause proposed by the Secretary at War was moved, and agreed to without a division.

*General Burgoyne* now rose, to make a motion, in which he said his honour and character, as a soldier and a man, were most intimately concerned; and as what he had to propose was new in its nature, he hoped the motives which impelled him to make the motion, would excuse him to the House.

*General  
Burgoyne.*

He



He stated, that by a clause in the mutiny act, prosecutions were limited to three years, so that in his case he was precluded from a court-martial; he had been first refused admittance to his sovereign, as not having passed a necessary preliminary etiquette of a trial. He had been told in the House when he urged his situation, and told in the language of threats, that he should be tried. He had urged a trial by every possible means, yet he was refused that indulgence, and for no other reason he could suppose except that ministers knew there was no charge against him.

This, he said, was a peculiar cruelty, which concerned the whole army, as ministers assumed a power to postpone a man's trial till all the witnesses were out of the way. He therefore moved, that in the clause of limitation, he should be specially excluded by name.

Secretary at War.

The *Secretary at War* moved an amendment, which was, that the exclusion be general in cases similar to that of the honourable General, where men were held prisoners on parole or otherwise; and also where they were out of the kingdom for three years, or where they avoided trial.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* thought the clause moved for by the honourable General, wherein he moved for an exception relative to himself, might have a dangerous tendency. It might subvert the first and best law of our legislature. Indeed he thought the intention of the honourable General would not be answered in its adoption: for the term of limitation with respect to the mutiny bill was long since expired in respect to the capture of the honourable General; this happened in the year 1777, so that, in fact, he could no longer be considered as amenable to justice than within the first three years of the subsequent period. But as the honourable General had considered it on public ground, he thought the law, before it was suffered to admit of this alteration, should undergo a most careful revision. If it was then found defective, he should himself concur with the motion. But the motion which followed that of his honourable friend was exceedingly dangerous. The only wise thing in the mutiny bill was, as he thought, the limitation clause.

The Attorney General.

The *Attorney General* then rose and said, that he knew of no instance wherein the act of limitation was even extended to a criminal process. In respect to penalties, fines, and mulcts, it was after adopted; so that, in truth, it would be contrary to the spirit of the first intention of this bill, to ad-  
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mit of the clause and exception in favour of the honourable General.

Mr. T. *Townshend* begged the attention of the House. He asked, did gentlemen remember the language of men in office when his honourable friend returned from America? Did they remember that the honourable General, who was now moving for this exception in the bill, in order to obtain a court-martial on his conduct, was then told that he should be tried? They would take a special care a full and ample enquiry should be made of his conduct; that they had expressed a doubt whether his honourable friend had a right to appear in that assembly? This was the language of office. Now, when his honourable friend was endeavouring to seek an investigation into his conduct, in order to throw off that odium with which his character had been defamed, he is told that his motion shall be granted—but with such clogs as must endanger the welfare and conduct of other officers. Thus his honourable friend was precluded from the only means of wiping off that slander, with which the highings of government were paid to fully the brilliancy of his actions.

Mr. Tho.  
Townshend

The *Solicitor General* said, that he considered the motion in itself as the most uninteresting that could possibly have engaged the attention of that House. Indeed he considered that the intention of the honourable General could not by the adoption of his clause be benefited: for as his learned friend [Mr. Dunning] had judiciously observed, the time of limitation with respect to himself had long since expired. If the honourable General had meant to have received any personal benefit from such an exception, it should have been made within the time of limitation; for now he must be considered as totally exempt from any consequences that would arise from the adoption of such a clause.

Solicitor  
General.

The honourable General had complained of the persecution he had received from ministers. This might be true. He neither could nor would contradict it. However, the mode of redress he had prescribed, was now beyond the power of that act, of which he had moved for an exception in respect to himself (Lieutenant-general Burgoyne).

General *Conway* considered the adoption of the clause might materially affect the interests of the service. In truth, he did not see it necessary to espouse, when he considered, that it was merely to clear a character which must be beyond the reach of calumny. Where the honourable General, and

Gen. Con-  
way.



and possessed of such evidence of his ability; and personal bravery, he should consider himself free from every slanderous aspersion which might have been cast invidiously on his conduct. Surely he had sufficient resources of honour and spirit not to require the adoption of an exception which might affect the interest and welfare of the service in general. But while he said this, he must observe, that he thought a learned gentlemen [the Solicitor General] had treated the honour of the profession with too much levity: he therefore hoped that the learned gentlemen would use more respect and delicacy to the feelings of a man of honour. It was not an uninteresting concern for a man to be jealous of preserving the purity of his honour. It was the essence of his profession. He therefore thought the learned gentlemen was too loose in his reflection of the honourable General's motion.

The Solicitor General.

The *Solicitor General* rose to reply, that he had no such thoughts as presenting to the House an idea of the triviality of the honourable General's honour; nor did he mean it as any reflection against the honour of the profession: he only meant it as a question in itself, not with any reference to the honourable General, as a subject too trifling for the consideration of the House, at this period of the business. He, therefore, wished to be understood, as meaning neither a personal reflection on Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, nor any reflection on the honour of the service.

Gen. Burgoyne.

General *Burgoyne* said, that since it was the general sense of the House, that the exception respecting himself might affect the general interests of the service, he begged leave to withdraw his motion. But this he must observe, that since ministry had so repeatedly traduced his character, he asked, would they in any manner produce a plan wherein an enquiry could be made? If they would not, on his being furnished with the means, with their leave, he would himself make the motion for them: but if they chose to make the motion themselves, he would pledge himself at any time to second the motion.

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* rose to observe, that he thought the exception in favour of the honourable General would affect the general interests of the service: but when he considered the respectability, the gallant and brilliant services of the honourable General, he must feel for him as a man of honour, a foldier, and a gentleman. He said, in respect to the limitation of the mutiny bill, in his opinion it could have in no instance a reference to the honourable General's conduct.

He

He had never heard of a general commander being tried for the loss of an army or a battle. Indeed, if any were to be tried, they should be those who had planned the operations by which the army failed. To be sure, the honourable generals who had spoken on both sides the House, were more conversant in military history than himself; yet he knew, that throughout the world no such conduct was adopted: indeed, he thought such a conduct a subversion of national interest; for by such a conduct the most glorious services might be lost in the dismissal of the commander from his military employments. He instanced two circumstances from the French history, wherein two general commanders had been unfortunate, who afterwards performed the most glorious and brilliant services. But in regard to the military character of the honourable General, he must feel for him as the man, the gentleman, and the soldier. It was his honour and respect for the service, of which he had been a member, and at the same time confessed not to have enjoyed a very high station, that made him consider the exception in regard to the honourable General as not so political: but yet he could not help thinking he stood in a predicament which appeared inconsistent with the honour his brilliant actions had deserved. He did not say this from personal amity; for he had not the honour of his acquaintance: though from every thing he had heard that related to the honourable General, his friendship was such as every one must desire to enjoy. He confessed, that although he had on many occasions differed from the honourable General, in political as well as professional matters, yet, in the present instance, he must so far espouse his cause, as to observe, that he was in a situation by no means becoming his dignity, character, honour, or desert.

Mr. Fox said, that his honourable friend [General Burgoyne] was not to have a trial, because it would clear him from the aspersions of the ministry. They had retained him a prisoner to prevent his being amenable to a court-martial. Notwithstanding a requisition of Congress was made for his exchange, it would appear from the papers on the table, that the objection of his exchange was made here: that every other officer contained in that convention was exchanged. His honourable friend was, therefore, not a prisoner to Congress, but a prisoner to the ministry. Why? Because he would not impeach any officers concerned with him as the occasion

of the failure. His mind was too noble for the services required by the wretched promoters of the present system.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* spoke again of General Arnold. He said he was a brave and gallant officer; but that the breach of his trust at West-Point was not the bright part of his character. This he might venture to say, either as a member of Congress, if he had that honour, or a British senator. He had no objection that General Arnold should be amply rewarded in a pecuniary way; that he should have his name on that list which the House could never see; but he would never approve his rise in the military line. As a member of Parliament, he might perhaps wish, that Charles Thompson, the secretary to the Congress, should betray the secrets of the Congress, and he would reward him for it; but he would never consent that such a man should be a secretary of state in England, or have it in his power to betray any more secrets of state: the same principle would hold good in the case of General Arnold.

At length it appearing that the General's clause was not legally competent to the end he proposed, and that it might otherwise affect a number of others in the same predicament, he consented to withdraw it; calling at the same time upon administration to bring in a bill, if that was the most proper method, giving him the liberty of calling for a court-martial, and giving that satisfaction to his honour and his feelings which they demanded.

This passing *sub silentio*, and the Secretary at War withdrawing his clause, the committee went through the remainder of the bill, and soon after adjourned.

February 20.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* rose to call the attention of the House to a motion which he had intimated against the Admiralty-board; but he would not trouble the House, he said, with all the arguments that had been so well and accurately stated by many gentlemen in the committee, respecting the most shameful manner in which our naval affairs had been conducted of late years, for he saw no reason for it; every thing that ministers had advanced in favour of Lord Sandwich had been so ably answered, that he was confident every gentleman was satisfied in his own mind, and he trusted that there were scarce two opinions in the House. The very respectable number that divided on this motion in the committee, although not successful, would, in any other administration but

but the present, have been looked upon as a majority; for it certainly contained the voice of the people; and no minister, But the present, would think of continuing a man in office that the voice of the people was so much against, and with so much justice. He had been informed, he said, but of the House, that many gentlemen would have voted with him in the committee, but his declaration of following up his motion, if successful, for the dismissal and punishment of Lord Sandwich, had deterred them; now he hoped no gentlemen would mistake him, for they were all different and distinct propositions; they might vote for one, and reject the other: but he begged leave to caution them against being lulled into a belief of redress; for a report had been industriously spread, that Lord Sandwich was to retire; that report was therefore calculated merely to serve the particular purpose of the day, and throw gentlemen off their guard: but what faith or belief was to be put in the minister's promise was plainly to be seen by his former conduct. At the first of this session he promised that the American war should be conducted on a narrower compass, and that it was to be a war of posts; but no sooner was his end answered, and the supplies voted, than he changed his tone, and that brave, gallant, and judicious officer, Sir Guy Carleton, was appointed to carry on that war: to be sure, to appease the people, one of the chief leaders of that war had been removed; but what was the consequence of his removal? a person was appointed in his stead who was a known friend to the American war, and a staunch supporter of it ever since it first began. Therefore, as we found the minister's promise was not to be relied on, we should not let the opportunity slip, but while we had it in our power we ought to have exerted ourselves in doing our country that justice which it loudly called for. He begged gentlemen not to imagine that his proceeding in this business was in any shape personal against the noble Lord who was at the head of the Admiralty, nor that it tended to any criminal proceeding. He had nothing to say to the Earl of Sandwich; it was to the board of admiralty; and gentlemen ought not to be induced from personal regard to that noble Lord to fail in the execution of their public duty. He therefore hoped every gentleman would lay his hand upon his heart, and he was then confident they must be of his opinion, and would vote for what he should then move, viz. "That it appears to this House, that there has been great mismanagement in his Majesty's naval affairs in the year 1781.

Mr. Pitt seconded the motion.

Earl Nugent.

Earl *Nugent* said, he should rise to oppose the motion, as he was confident the House was not competent to judge upon the question; it was a professional question, and turned upon our naval affairs in one particular year, which the honourable gentleman had thought proper to select out from all others, as the most applicable to his purpose. The motion, he said, comprehended two questions; first, had there been neglect in not procuring a navy equal to what we ought to have? And next, was that navy employed as it ought to be? With respect to the first question, he trusted there was no immediate proof before the House, but that our navy was superior to what it ever had been in any former reign; but we had a much greater foe to contend with, the whole house of Bourbon. Holland and America were all at war with us, and it seemed to be a turn in politics. They had not proof of guilt before them; and therefore not being able to condemn, they must acquit. [A loud laugh.] Gentlemen might laugh; but this was the humanity of the law of England. With respect to the second question, whether the navy had been exerted to its utmost, he trusted it had, and he was certain no proof by the papers on the table appeared to the contrary; but he was free to confess, that there was a want of unanimity. The navy was distracted, many of our most able officers were not employed; this arose from private pique, which he most sincerely and heartily hoped every person would totally divest himself of, and not think of Lord Sandwich; let them weigh well all the services which had been performed for a series of years in the navy, and then say, whether they could vote for the present question; let them recollect that the noble Lord had filled the store-houses of England at a time when they were perfectly empty; that he had broken asunder a combination of the workmen in the yard; and that he had in a thousand instances displayed the utmost vigilance and activity. He begged them also to recollect, that they were not competent to decide upon it, he would again assert, for they were not judges of facts in naval affairs; yet they were called on to decide and judge a man's actions, of which they were total strangers.

Gen. Conway.

General *Conway* said, he rose to give his hearty assent to the motion, as he was convinced of its being founded on the strictest principles of truth; that our naval transactions of the last year were disgraceful, was beyond a doubt. We were

were fallen from that pitch of greatness which a wise administration had brought us into, into the most profound contempt, and were become the scorn and ridicule of all foreign powers. To complain that we had a greater foe to contend with than in any other former war was saying nothing; for why had we precipitated ourselves into the war? Had ministers not been apprised that it would be so? Had not gentlemen told them what would happen? In short, could any persons, but those who wished to shut their eyes, not see, that in our war with America we should draw on us the house of Bourbon, who would by our quarrel extend her trade as she diminished ours? But administration were determined not to see, or if they did, they were determined not to profit by what they saw. They had been guilty of delusion to the people; they had first promised that America should not be taxed, and directly began to tax her; they next, to gull the country gentlemen, declared America should be taxed, but immediately dropped it: thus they deceived the people, and endeavoured to carry on a war which, in every point of view, must from its extent be the ruin of this country. To subdue three millions of people at a distance of three thousand miles, was what would take up the whole of our navy, without being at war with so many other foes. The noble Lord who spoke last had said, there was a want of unanimity, and that in short was the cry of all the minister's friends. What unanimity, in the name of Heaven, did they want? Had they not all the money they asked for? Had they not all the force of the kingdom? Had they not every thing that could be wished? Then surely they had unanimity as far as it could be granted. But could any man tell him, that, where ministers were pursuing ruinous and destructive measures, that the people should be unanimous with them? Surely not. With regard to our navy being distracted, who had caused that distraction? Why, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Certainly then he was a fit person to be dismissed. With respect to divesting himself of any personal pique, he could not say there was occasion for it, for he owed him none: but, on the other hand, he was taught to look up to him with respect, as a person upon whom his Majesty had heaped, in the most unlimited manner, favours; yet was that a reason why he should not pronounce him guilty when he thought him so? It was not now a question, whether Lord Sandwich should lose his place, but whether the public interest should be sacrificed to continue him in office? With respect to the minister



nister breaking his promise, that was evident for his favourite war, which he never could find a name for; and the reason for which was obvious; for had he done so; he would have been tied down to that; but not having named it; he was at liberty, after having got the supplies; to continue in what manner he pleased, and that it was meant to be continued with vigour, he was confident, from the appointment of that brilliant commander, Sir Guy Carleton; who, he was sure, would not be an idle commander; he would not carry on a defensive war, a war of posts; no, his spirit was too well known, and he should glory to see him engaged in any other service than the present.

But to return to the question, there was a shameful neglect in the Admiralty Board; he had, himself, in his official capacity as Governor of Jersey, applied for a small naval force, not always to be stationed off that island, but occasionally to shew their face there.—That would undoubtedly have prevented the attack which had nearly, owing to accident, been likely to prove fatal to the island. It was a well known fact, he said, that large fleets would, under the convoy of only a frigate, and sometimes only a cutter, anchor in sight of the island, and lay there twenty-four hours, which would be prevented, was ever so small a naval force kept there. He begged leave to mention one more circumstance before he sat down, which was, that by accident he had become possessed of the journal of De Grasse's fleet, which plainly made it appear, that the weather, when he sailed, was perfectly calm and serene; that he proceeded unmolested; that his force consisted of 25 sail of the line, with 180 transports, besides several ships armed *en flute*; that one of his convoy was so bad a sailer, that he was obliged, in the *Ville de Paris*, to tow her along; and owing to many others of his fleet being sluggish ships, he was a considerable time making his voyage. Therefore the Admiralty, having let him slip by, might have gone after him, and with clean ships arrived before him. They ought to have made the relief of Gibraltar a secondary object; and by intercepting that fleet, have saved the West-Indies. Again, with respect to Admiral Kempenfelt's fleet, was it not a shameful neglect to send so inadequate a number of ships? was not all this neglect; and under those heads were not the noble Lord's divisions of the question both answered? There had neither been foresights in the preparation of fleets, nor wisdom in the direction of them. Had his father, his brother, his son, or the dearest relation

relation he had, been guilty of such abuse to a state as Lord Sandwich had, he would freely give him up, and not think himself justifiable in defending him.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, he was surprised to find, after so late Lord Malgrave. and honourable a division in favour of the Admiralty had passed in a committee, that the same question should be urged again in the House; he was likewise surprised to hear gentlemen say, that we were become the scorn and ridicule of foreign powers; in his opinion, the reverse was the fact: he believed, that from our great exertions against so powerful an enemy, all nations looked on us with an eye of admiration and envy; they envied our strength. The first Lord of the Admiralty had, by *meritorious acts, profound foresight, and unremitting diligence*, procured a greater quantity of timber and naval stores than were ever in our yards at any one period before; that with respect to the not sending Admiral Darby to cruise off Brest, for De Grasse, he had before in the committee declared, it was highly impolitic; he still thought so, and always should. The object Admiral Darby was to perform, was of greater consequence, viz. the relief of Gibraltar; that he had performed, and the meeting of De Grasse would have at best been only problematical; whereas Darby's sailing to Gibraltar had two views to answer, to fight the Spanish fleet, and relieve the garrison, as it was supposed the Spaniards meant to dispute the mouth of the Straits. The affair of Admiral Darby's return into port, and the letter wrote to the Mayor of Bristol, he should say but little about, they did not deserve any comment; such orders were given as proved and justified the event; and so near does it appear was Admiral Darby's squadron, which he left to cruise for the protection of the Eustatia fleet, with falling in with that convoy, that one of his ships did actually fall in and engage with a part of them. The next charge he meant to defend, was, sending out Admiral Kempenfelt with only 12 ships that were ready; and had he waited longer for a reinforcement, he would have been too late, for he just fell in with them as they were proceeding, and he trusted had defeated their purpose. It had been urged, why did not the Admiralty let some ships cruise off Jersey? The reason was, that it was so near Brest, the French could always send a superior force to what we had, and therefore no good could ensue. He concluded his speech with paying the First Lord of the Admiralty some very high compliments.—During the whole of his administration, he had distinguished himself



himself for his prudent foresight, his unwearied attention, and his vigorous exertion. That in particular he had repaired 147 ships during the eight years that he had presided at the Admiralty Board, whereas not half that number had been repaired during the sixteen years that preceded that period.

Sir Horace  
Mann.

Sir *Horace Mann* would by no means allow, that our navy had been exerted to its utmost, if it had, it must have shewn itself in a different manner; he contended that we were every where disgraced, and he could not, with an honest face, go to his constituents, did he not vote for what was so plain to every person that would take the least trouble to look into the papers on the table. He had lately come from the continent, and that it was the universal language there, that our navy was badly conducted; and he quoted a remark that had been made by an imperial officer.

Mr. Wm.  
Pitt.

Mr. *William Pitt* rose, and after apologizing to the House for troubling them upon a business that had been the other evening so ably discussed; said, he could not help declaring, that while such glaring proofs appeared, by the papers then on the table, of the shameful mismanagement of the naval affairs, it was disgraceful to continue a man in office that had been the author of those disgraces. There had been sufficient time, by the intelligence they had received, to counteract De Grasse's design, and defeat the end he was sent for, which had proved so disastrous to this country; for the army he carried had been the means of capturing the army under the brave Cornwallis; but we had got quite familiar to losing armies by wholesale, and to disgraces in every quarter. He laid his hand upon his heart, and declared, that he thought the whole of the proposition fully, clearly, and expressly proved. He had no personal pique against the noble Lord; and he was assured, that if gentlemen were to speak their genuine sentiments, they would all confess with him the truth of the proposition now before the House. With respect to Admiral Kempenfelt's sailing with 12 ships only, it was a measure in which the Admiralty were highly culpable, as there appeared, by the returns from the different ports, that there were three ships at Spithead ready for sea, at the same time that Admiral Kempenfelt sailed, which would have made him more equal to risk a battle. The taking the transports was a mere matter of chance, and added nothing to the credit of the Admiralty. The disgraceful, but necessary flight of Admiral Darby from the combined fleets, would for ever be a stain on this country; and the conduct of the Admiralty

miralty, in disbelieving the advice of their own Admiral, was one of the greatest insults they could have offered.

The *Lord Advocate* got up in much warmth, and seemed surprised to hear gentlemen argue against what he called facts: he was called on, he said, to vote in the lump for a whole mass of inatter, nothing of which had been proved; he denied that any paper that lay on the table justified the motion; the honourable gentleman that made it, and the rest that followed him, seemed particularly happy to argue from events, after they had happened, and which, probably, it was out of the power of human wisdom to foresee; he was confident that all the naval force of this country had been applied as well as possible, and had Admiral Darby cruized off Brest, and missed Mons. de Grasse, the honourable gentleman who made the motion, would directly have cried out, what business had he there, why was he not at Gibraltar? was not that of more consequence? And he was justified in his opinion about Admiral Kempenfelt from very high authority; for in a conversation with Capt. Adam Duncan on the propriety or impropriety of Admiral Kempenfelt being reinforced by Admiral Rodney, the Captain had declared, that had Rodney been sent out, it would have been highly impolitic, as his ships might have been crippled, and the object of his voyage rendered useless. He was not, he said, any of those persons that would hang his father or his son, though, thank God, Lord Sandwich was not his father; but if he was, on the present occasion, he should think him perfectly innocent of what was laid to his charge.

Lord *Howe* complained of the shameful increase of the navy estimates; they had regularly, he said, increased from year to year, yet our navy had not risen in proportion, but quite the contrary. He said, that there might have been considerable savings made out of the number of seamen voted each year for some years past; not less, he said, than four millions, and he asserted, that fifteen or twenty ships of the line might have been built with that sum. The noble Lord (Mulgrave) had, on a former occasion, said it was dangerous to cruise off, or look into Brest; he was by no means of that opinion, for the wind that was fair to look into Brest, was fair for the enemy to come out, and under a judicious commander they might manœuvre a fleet off there, as near their guns as they thought fit. Admiral Darby, he maintained, might certainly have cruized to intercept De Grasse; or if that was not expedient, there was sufficient notice for him to

have sailed much sooner than he did, and after he had relieved Gibraltar, he might have dispatched a part of his fleet to the West Indies or North America, which could have arrived time enough to prevent De Grasse from doing as he did. At the time Admiral Kempenfelt sailed, there was undoubtedly, as the hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had said, three ships ready at Spithead, and several more ready at different ports, that might have sailed with him. He would not without the fullest conviction take upon him to say they were victualled for the East-Indies, but they certainly were victualled enough for the purpose of a short cruize; and although the affair of Admiral Kempenfelt's had proved fortunate, yet, by the Admiral's own letter, (an extract of which he read) it might have proved quite otherwise; for had not De Guichen's motive been to proceed on, he had it in his power, most probably, to cut off the rear of Admiral Kempenfelt's squadron. On the whole, he was thoroughly of opinion, that the motion ought to pass, and not any respect be paid to Lord Sandwich.

Mr. Dun-  
g.

Mr. *Dunning* got up, and paid great compliments to Mr. Pitt, as a most surprising man of his age, and then, in a very fine strain of irony, played upon Lord Mulgrave's words of "meritorious acts, profound wisdom, and unremitting diligence:" to be sure, he said, the naval campaigns, since Lord Sandwich presided at the Admiralty, had proved it; and no person, he supposed, would doubt or deny, that the flourishing state we were in must make us the glory and envy of all foreign states. He never had aspired, himself, to make his fortune in the naval line; he never meant to climb in that profession; yet, he must now say, that so far was he from thinking with Lord Nugent, that the House was certainly not altogether competent to judge in this affair, he was of opinion, that it was the most plain, simple fact to judge on; and, at the same time, one of the most capital questions that was ever agitated in Parliament. A learned Lord (Advocate) who had spoke in the debate, had said, "We were compelled to judge of a whole mass of matter in a lump." Certainly if it appeared that any of the propositions alledged against Lord Sandwich were believed, no man could hesitate to vote for the question; for it must then appear there had been mismanagement. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, on the former debate, had complained that Lord Sandwich was not treated fair, and that the question was on too narrow a scale, and that the committee ought to enquire into the whole

whole of his conduct; surely that argument must defeat itself; for even supposing, what he was confident no man would allow, that the first eight or nine years of Lord Sandwich's administration were free from error, certainly if the last year had been one continual scene of blunders, it was proper the man should be removed, as it proved he was worn out, and was become a driveller. He said the learned Lord (Advocate) with all his eloquence, and all that ingenuity which so particularly distinguished his character, was ashamed to own Lord Sandwich for a father, or to bear his name; and certainly he was right in so doing, for no man would wish to be the child of one that was so reprobated for his conduct as a Minister. He afterwards adverted to the four heads of charge which Mr. Fox grounded his motion originally on, and confessed himself strongly in favour of the motion, and thoroughly certain, that, could he dive into the hearts of men, not a person in that House but was of the same opinion; but those who would vote against the question, would vote as much for themselves, as they did for Lord Sandwich, with whom their interest was so nearly connected.

Admiral *Keppel* got up in some warmth, to answer, he said, Admiral  
Keppel an aspersions which seemed to be thrown out by the learned Lord, with respect to the opinion of Capt. Adam Duncan. Captain Duncan was a man of too much honour to speak a double tale, therefore he was confident the learned Lord must have misunderstood Captain Duncan, which was easily to be done, the learned Lord being ignorant of the profession. — Captain Duncan had, in conversation with him, declared the reverse of what the learned Lord had asserted; and he would mention it again, that Captain Duncan was a man of too much honour to carry a double face. There was not, he believed, a captain in the squadron of Sir George Rodney, who did not think that he ought to have been sent out to join Admiral *Kempensfelt*. But to the question; it had been declared by those in office, that the whole of the force of this country had been exerted properly; he denied the fact, for at the time of Admiral *Kempensfelt*'s sailing, there were more than ten ships laying idle, which might have been with him; and it was a paltry excuse to say they were not ready, it was the duty of the Admiralty always to have ships ready (but more particularly when they have such long notice as appeared in the present case) to put to sea on an emergency. With respect to the protection which ought to have been given to the *Eustatius* convoy, it would certainly have been an easy matter

matter to fall in with them; for Sir George Rodney writes expressly home, they are to be met with in lat. 49, 30; and what does Government do in consequence of this information? why, after the fleet is captured, they send a frigate to cruise in 48, 30, by which means, had they been where Sir George Rodney mentioned; the frigate, in all probability, would have missed them. He descanted on other parts with much professional judgment, and concluded by giving his hearty assent to the motion.

Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he was surprised to hear gentlemen differ on the present question; the public notoriety of our failures at sea spoke at once for the motion; and to hear gentlemen urge, that if they voted for this motion, it ought not to be followed by the dismission of Lord Sandwich; was exactly similar to that which must for ever appear a disgrace to us, viz. voting that "the influence of the Crown had increased, was still encreasing, and ought to be diminished;" and negating the very first motion afterwards, grounded on that resolution; surely, he said, we were not going to fall into the same error now. It had been strongly urged, that the reason why Lord Sandwich should not be removed now was, on account of his having laid his plans for the ensuing campaign, which would be all frustrated, if he did not continue in office. Good God! what good could be expected from the future plans of a man that had planned so badly before? certainly nothing; and if that was to be the case, why was there a new secretary appointed a few days back? had not the late one formed his plans? surely, if it would hold good in one, it would in the other; but he wished there had been no plans formed by the late American Secretary, for he dreaded to see the day, if ever the army should return from America; it must be an awful day to England; no man could foresee the consequence of what might happen on the return of a large body of men, who had, for a series of years, been unnaturally employed to shed the blood of their fellow-subjects. He was heard throughout with great attention, and concluded with saying, that he dreaded making a peace till the marine of France was humbled; if peace was made while the House of Bourbon was equal in marine force to this country, he feared there would be an end not only to the commerce and prosperity, but also to the civil liberties of the kingdom.

Mr. Hill.

Mr. *Hill*, of Salisbury, took up the question with considerable humour. He said, he attended to the debate very closely:

closely : he had marked the arguments on the one side and the other with that care and impartiality which a man ought to observe in making up his opinion, for he came down to the House with the best disposition to candour, that he might receive conviction from the proofs and reasoning of the day, and not be guided by prejudice or faction. On the one side then he had heard it said, and said with great earnestness, that the Earl of Sandwich was negligent, incapable, inactive ; that he was the most inattentive and incompetent naval Minister that ever ruined or disgraced a country ; that our navy was weakened and decayed ; that we had neither ships nor men ; and that our measures were framed without wisdom, and executed without spirit ; that we had neither enterprize nor vigour in our naval department, and that consequently the very force which we possessed was not directed to the objects of the war. This was the story on one side.—On the other it was alledged, that the Earl of Sandwich was one of the greatest, most vigilant, active, and capable of Ministers that ever filled the naval department ; that he was exceedingly industrious, and not very unfortunate ; that his plans were framed with the utmost wisdom, and executed with the last degree of wisdom ; that he was remarked for diligence and zeal ; and that, under his management, the navy had advanced to a pitch of strength and grandeur unknown before. This was the story on both sides. Between descriptions so exceedingly opposite as these were, how otherways could he act, than to take the exact middle between them both, and believe that Lord Sandwich was neither a wise man nor a fool ; neither a diligent nor a lazy man ; neither enterprizing nor backward ; neither great nor little ; but, in short, that he was an indifferent sort of a so and so Minister, without any qualities that were either to be commended or censured ; and who was calculated to go through life without doing either good or harm in it. Take the matter in this way, that he was an indifferent, middling kind of a Minister, he must vote against him ; for he must believe that, in times like these, a Minister of this sort was not the fit man to be employed. We had occasion for a man such as the friends of Lord Sandwich described him to be, not such as the nation had found he was. We wanted a Minister of profound foresight, and unremitted diligence ; but we must prove him possessed of those qualities by other means than the report of a junior Lord of the Admiralty. Success would be a testimony which the nation would be happy to admit ; but as that had  
not



not been the case, he must, for one, heartily wish to see the department filled by another person. The language of the two sides of the House he had remarked throughout. The ministerial party ascribed the calamities of the country to the faction out of place. That party ascribed it to the faction who were in place. He sincerely believed that there was a great deal to be attributed to faction, and perhaps faction on both sides had done injury ; but in regulating his own conduct, he must look to that which he thought the most upright and able of the two ; and he had made the decision in favour of those who had moved the present question. Their reasonings and foresight had been verified by experience in every instance, and it was but justice to give credit to those men who had uniformly opposed the measures that had brought us to what we are. He wished to be a supporter of government. He had been so ; and in the present instance he was a supporter of government ; for he maintained just government, by removing bad governors. If those men were removed, who were really incapable of serving us with credit, or who could not remain in place without dividing the service, distracting and dejecting it, there would be some hope for England even yet ; and he sincerely hoped, that the House of Commons would have the wisdom to think that the object of salvation was worth the attempting.

Sir William  
Dolben.

Sir *William Dolben* said, that he was brought, on the first moving of this question, to agree to the proposition, that there had been misconduct and mismanagement in the naval department during the year 1781. He was brought to do this from conviction. The papers upon the table evidently, and at least clearly to his mind, proved that fact ; but when the honourable gentlemen talked of following this question up with a motion of dismissal, and not even stopping there, but going on, and after he should be discharged from office, bringing him to trial, there he must beg leave to disjoin his vote, from those of the party who wished for carrying the business so far ; he did not think that it would be right, decent, or even proper to proceed to the length of dismissal ; but more especially under the circumstances of the noble Lord in the present instance. For what was the argument advanced by the honourable gentleman who brought forward this motion, for not trying the noble Lord, the First Lord of the Admiralty, while he continued in place ? Because, says he, the people in office, who must furnish the intelligence, would speak under influence, and would be deterred from giving

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D E B A T E S.

giving their testimony so fully and freely, as was requisite to come at the truth. If then it was true, he must contend that it would be equally unjust on the other side to try him after he was dismissed from office; for then what would be-fore his dismissal suppress the truth, would be capable of aggravating it afterwards. This was his sentiment, and he must decline going farther in the matter than the motion of censure; and if it was meant and understood, that this was to be followed by other motions to that effect, which he had stated, he would not vote for the present question.

Mr. *Thomas Pitt* spoke with his usual elegance, in answer to Sir William Dolben; he said the baronet surely ought to consider what was the duty of the Commons' House of Parliament. Could they submit to see a man continue in office, whose administration they had declared to be productive of so much ruin to his country? It was most certainly impossible, after coming to the resolution now proposed, that they could refrain from the motion of dismissal. Consistent with duty, they could not. But surely this was not an argument for objecting to the present question. The honourable baronet had already confessed, that he was fully convinced of the justice of the motion of censure, and therefore, he ought surely to give his vote for it; when the motion of dismissal came, then the honourable gentleman might declare his sentiments, but surely that ought not to affect his present vote. He spoke with great feeling on the distressful state of the empire, arising totally from the decay and mismanagement of the navy. He adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Hill. He wished to hear the sentiments of men who were of no party, and he trusted they would give their votes, along with his own, below the bar. He was sure that every man unconnected with ministry, and who had a voice to give, would vote for the present question, if they voted at all.

Mr. Thomas Pitt.

Mr. *Taylor* spoke strongly in favour of the motion; and said, that such, in his opinion, had been the mismanagement of the navy, that all our calamities had originated in that source, and were solely to be ascribed to that evil. The House of Commons must perform their duty. It was not in their power, however it might be in their wishes, to conceal from the disgrace and punishment which he merited, the man, who had been the author of all our sufferings, our internal divisions, and our national disgrace. They must meet the

Mr. Taylor.



the question soon or late, and the situation of the country would not brook delay.

The House now divided on the original question, when the numbers were : Ayes 217 ; noes 236. Majority in favour of Lord Sandwich 19.

Mr. Thomas Townshend informed them that a question was to come on with respect to the continuance of the American war, previous to their voting the supply. Gentlemen must have observed, he said, that notwithstanding the assertions of ministers in the beginning of the session, that the war in America could not be carried on ; that yet preparations were now making for another campaign, and a very famous general was appointed the Commander in Chief [Sir Guy Carleton.] This was the manner in which a sickened Parliament had been abused and imposed on ; and it was exceedingly necessary, that such gentlemen as were of opinion that more than a shuffling declaration of ministers was wanted, to give them the security that this mad war should not be persisted in, should give their attendance, when that motion should be proposed.

Deferred Ways and Means, and the Supply, to Friday.

February 22.

General Conway.

General Conway rose to make the important motion respecting the American war, which had been intimated two days before. The right honourable gentleman began with stating, that the words which had fallen from him some time ago, had been the means of inducing gentlemen to request him to move the question, which they all considered to be essentially necessary in the present moment, when they saw, notwithstanding all the assurances which the nation had received, that measures were apparently taking for the further prosecution of the American war. At this day it would be surely idle and impertinent in him to try to interest the passions of the House, by a description of this unhappy and miserable struggle. Its progress had been marked in the best blood of the empire. It was to be traced by havock and desolation ; by the ravaging of towns and the murder of families ; by outrages in every corner of America, and by ruin at home. It came home to the feelings of every individual in the House, and he doubted not but they had so much of it, as to wish sincerely for that thing, which could alone put a stop to the farther calamities, called Peace. In the present moment, when there were certain indications of a design

to

to continue that war ; when a new General was appointed, and when, as he had been credibly informed, there were preparations making for the next active, offensive campaign ; in this moment he thought it necessary to ask of the new Secretary, what was the design of government, not with regard to particular operations, but to the general system ? We were at present, he said, entering as it were, into a new æra ; we had got a new Secretary of State, who, though not a young man, was nevertheless a very young minister : if he was not young in body, he was still possessed of youthful vigour of mind ; and therefore he wished to know what were the principles, what the sentiments of this new minister respecting the American war ? He trembled, however, from the complexion of the right honourable gentleman's former political conduct, lest he should be another phoenix, sprung from the ashes of his predecessor ; and from him the American war should be renewed in all its former vigour. Then, indeed, the state bark might be said to be in the most imminent danger ; then he might cry out,

*O ! Navis referent in mare te NOV I  
Fluctus—*

Were we with a new conductor to have a new plan, or were we to go on in the same manner as we had begun and continued so long, in the obstinate rejection of all advice which we could derive either from experience or disaster ? The desire of our gracious and well-inclined Sovereign must be for peace. He had expressed it in his speech from the throne ; and it would therefore, he thought, in the present moment, become that House to approach the throne with an humble, earnest, and dutiful solicitation that he would be graciously pleased to follow the benevolent wishes which he had expressed, to put an end to that calamitous war with our fellow brethren in America. He desired to put a question or two to his Majesty's ministers, which he hoped they would have no objection to answer. He was given to understand, and he had it from good authority, that there were now, or had been lately, persons very near at hand, disposed and authorised to treat of peace with America. It was a question which he desired them to answer openly and seriously. He was pretty well informed, both from the correspondence that he had himself, and from the inquiries that he had made, that there was a disposition at this time in America to treat of peace ; and that it was not unknown to ministers that persons,

sons, such as he had hinted, properly instructed and authorised, were now, or lately had been, not far distant. He desired to know another thing, whether they had lent an ear to those proposals, and had treated them as they deserved. The right honourable general made some very strong and pressing observations on the urgent necessity of bringing about this desirable end; and he wished exceedingly to know, what this new and young minister was to do in this situation into which he was introduced. We paid for 73,000 men, now said to be employed in America. This force was only upon paper, though we paid for them: in fact, by the last returns it appeared, that the force under Sir Henry Clinton was 9,300, and that captured in Virginia only 5,400; so that, in reality, every soldier, actually employed in America, cost us one hundred pounds a year. Having forcibly called and exhorted the House to consider the necessity of the moment, and to bend all their anxiety to the accomplishment of peace; for the man who, in the present distress, did not wish for peace, peace in preference to war, not only had not a heart, but he had not a soul in his bosom. He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, earnestly imploring his Majesty, that, taking into his royal consideration the many and great calamities which have attended the present unfortunate war, and the heavy burthens thereby brought on his loyal and affectionate people, he will be pleased graciously to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of North America may no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and expressing their hope, that the earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity, of which we have received his Majesty's gracious assurances, may, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies, be forwarded and made effectual, to which great end his Majesty's faithful Commons will be ready most cheerfully to give their utmost assistance."

Lord John  
Cavendish.

Lord *John Cavendish* seconded the motion, and, in a very warm appeal to the honest and upright feelings of gentlemen, begged and conjured them to take up this matter with seriousness now, which, sooner or later, they must take up. The present motion was perfectly regular and parliamentary; for though they might not presume to advise his Majesty what form of war to pursue, they might surely say what ought not to be pursued. The war with America not having originated

in laudable ambition, or in just policy, had been conducted without the dignity that became the British nation. Narrow, low, and selfish in its principle, the conduct had been mean, miserable, and defective. There was neither dignified resentment in the origin nor the progress. It was begun and carried on in pique, disgust, rancour, and narrowness. These low passions had been fed by disappointment; calamity, instead of making us wise, which was its common effort, had made us foolish; but we ought to consider, that sooner or later we must come to peace. We were already poorer by seventy millions than at the outset. If then peace must at last be sought for, the sooner surely the better; for the old prejudices and predilections of the Americans towards us, might not yet even be worn away from the bosom. Their trade, from that friendly partiality which long connection and intercourse are calculated to inspire, might revert to its old channel; but if the period was delayed, they would find new tracks, where they must form new affections, new habits, to the extinction of the last sparks of kindness that remained in the bosom.

The House had been told, that when no demand was made of a greater supply of men from Parliament than had been voted last year, it was clear that the war was to be carried on on a much more confined plan than hitherto; because in the estimates for the year, the force under Lord Cornwallis was included, which, being captured, could not act; but as the right honourable General had observed that the army had never been any thing like what it was declared to be in the estimates, it was obvious, that by making up the deficiencies, and rendering the army completely effectual to its nominal amount, we might have a greater force there this year than ever we had at any former period of the war; therefore the test given by ministers from the numbers voted this year might be fallacious, and probably it was so; he understood that great exertions were making to raise recruits in Germany and elsewhere; and therefore it was the indispensable duty of Parliament to call upon the servants of the Crown to say whether they did not still intend by these means to carry on the mad and absurd project of reducing America to obedience by force.

Mr. Secretary *Ellis* said, that though a very old member of Parliament, he certainly was a very young minister; and therefore he trusted, that, in what he should say, the House would be so indulgent as to make allowance to him, standing,

Mr. Secretary  
*Ellis*.

as he did then, in a situation so very new to him : though an old member of Parliament, he had been long disused to speaking ; and therefore he stood in still greater need of this particular indulgence, if from want of habit, he should deliver himself in a less pleasing, or more embarrassed manner, than if he had been a young man, an older minister, or a more frequent speaker.

As to the American war, it had always been his firm opinion, that it was just in its origin ; nor could the events that had since occurred, make him change that opinion : but he never entertained an idea, nor did he believe that any man in that House ever imagined that America was to be reduced to obedience by force ; his idea always was, that in America we had many friends ; and that by strongly supporting them, we should be able to destroy that party or faction that wished for war, from motives of ambition, or a dislike to monarchy ; to destroy that faction, and assist our friends there in that desired object, was, in his opinion, the true and only object of the war. Whether that object was now attainable, was a matter fit to be considered. That our friends in America were still numerous was a fact, for the truth of which, he would not indeed pledge himself to the House ; but he would nevertheless assure them that he believed it to be a certain fact ; and he believed it to be so, because he had the best reasons to support his belief. If his sentiments were not now the same as they ever had been, respecting the practicability of the war, he did not feel himself so much under the influence of the unmanly shame alluded to by the noble Lord, as to be afraid to confess that a revolution had taken place in his mind ; and he was free to confess that he was not now so sanguine in his hopes of success as he had been some time ago : nor did he think that the confession disgraced him ; for he held it to be the duty of a statesman to conform to the circumstances of the times, and not blindly and obstinately adhere to opinions, merely because he had once entertained and supported them.

As to peace, no man could have a more earnest desire to see it restored, than he had ; and whenever it could be made with safety and honour to this country, he would most cheerfully concur with his Majesty's ministers in establishing it as speedily as possible. He could endure war, only as the means of procuring a lasting and safe peace : it was on this principle alone that war could be justified ; and being governed as he was by that principle, it was impossible that he could be

an advocate for protracting the war one day beyond that time when a permanent and honourable peace may be established. The honourable general had said, that overtures had been made, or certain circumstances tending to a peace with America, had been communicated to his predecessor in office, but he really had never heard of any such thing before; and he was so very short a time in office, that he had not as yet seen any trace of such a notification, as the honourable General had alluded to.

The executive part of government was vested undoubtedly by the constitution, in the servants of the Crown; but the House was no doubt competent to interfere in the executive department, if it should think it expedient so to do; but he hoped that the legislature would never interfere on slight grounds. If the House wanted a test of the intentions of Ministry, respecting the future conduct of the war, a test had been already given, on which the House could rely with more certainty than on any declaration of any minister; and that test was the vote that passed for the army of the present year: an army was lost last year, and no application had been since made to Parliament for another to replace it; nay, as the captured army of Lord Cornwallis formed a part of the 73000 men, voted for the American service of the current year, it was clear that the operations of our troops must be proportionably confined, on account of the defalcation occasioned by the captivity of the army in Virginia.

Peace was certainly the wish of every man; but every man might not perhaps take the same steps to attain that greatly desired object. It was his business to submit to the judgment of the House, whether the best way to make an enemy sincerely wish for peace, was to withdraw the troops from the country, and rid them of those harassings which make men tired of war, and so anxious for the return of peace? In his opinion, it would be tantamount to this language — “we are tired out; do what you please, ask what you will, propose your own terms, you have carte blanche, we subscribe to every thing.” On the other hand, to make them feel the inconveniencies, the hardships, the burdens of war, was, in his mind, the surest way to make them wish for peace; and therefore he must conclude vigour and exertion was the surest forerunner of that inestimable blessing.

But gentlemen did not seem so anxious for peace in general, as to put an end to the American war. Seeing things in the light which he saw them, and having the grounds  
which



which he had for forming his judgment, he could not call the war in America, the American war; its true name was the French war; for, if he was not greatly mistaken, and he believed he spoke from very good authority, the army under General Washington in general, and the whole of the American continental army, was fed, cloathed, and paid by France; so that it was France, not the Congress, that was fighting in America: it was not mere locality that gave name to a war; and therefore, from what he knew, he held himself to be authorized in calling the war in America a French war. Now, if France might be fought in other countries, as well as in France — if she was fought last war in Germany, he could not see any solid objection against fighting her this war in America.

Having said this much in order to explain his principles, he thought proper to make some observations on the manner in which the motion before the House was worded. It condemned a war on the continent of America: this idea however was very vague and loose; for if our General should attack the French forces in America, he might be condemned as having disobeyed the orders of that House; and yet gentlemen professed to say, that it was only with respect to the forces in America, that they would have our hands tied; the motion however made no such reserve, for a war on the continent of America was generally condemned by it. This amounted, in his mind, to a kind of tacit declaration, that the whole force of Britain should be withdrawn from America: if gentlemen thought the times ripe for such a declaration, let them make it; if they were not, why should they propose a resolution full of ambiguity? they no doubt expected, and justly too, that the orders of the House should be obeyed, but then they should not word those orders in such a manner as would render it impossible for any minister to act under them with safety to himself; they should consider that upon the right and faithful discharge of his duty, depended the fortune, the life, and the honour of a Minister: and therefore the orders under which he must act, should be clear, distinct, and explicit. Ministers never could act to effect either in war or for peace, unless they possessed the confidence of that House; the Ministry that could not gain that confidence, ought to retire; but if confidence was given to them, the consequence of that confidence ought to be, that they should be left to act to the best of their judgment, and to avail themselves of contingencies as they should arise; and not be crippled

pled up by orders, which on many unforeseen occasions might perhaps be disobeyed with more advantage to the public than the most strict adherence to them could possibly produce. All he wished was, that the House would be explicit in its orders, and not place the servants of the Crown in a situation in which they could not act, either with safety to themselves, or benefit to their country. Mr. Ellis concluded, by saying, that he had thought it his duty to say thus much, by way of confession of his faith in his new situation, and to gratify the curiosity of the House: after this, he apologized for the length of time he had trespassed upon gentlemen; and begged they would excuse the defects and inaccuracies that they must have observed in the course of his speech. He came into the office which he now held, to employ the small portion of vigour, which age and infirmity had left him, for the good of his country; he had now made his confession of faith, and he trusted to the satisfaction of the House.

Mr. *Burke* rose next, and made an admirable commentary Mr. *Burke*. on the speech of the American Secretary. The House had no doubt been exceedingly attentive to the speech of the right honourable gentleman who had risen, soon after his appointment to the important office which he now held, for the desirable purpose of giving complete satisfaction to the House on the questions of the right honourable gentleman who had moved the proposition. Whether he had done so, or not, the House were now left to determine; but there was one expression of the new Minister at the latter end of his speech, which forcibly marked the quality and nature of the explanation which he had more than once given of his principles, and of his plan of conduct. He declared that he had given the House "his confession of faith." This was the name which he had given to his satisfactory explanation, and with infinite justice; for, says Mr. Burke, it resembles many other confessions of faith which I have seen, and which you must all have seen, though it may, by the effect of some internal light, be perfectly intelligible to the right honourable member himself, it will be totally unintelligible to all the rest of mankind. A confession of faith more obscure, and more confused; more intricate, and more absurd, perhaps was never framed and published for the delusion and calamity of mankind; like confessions of faith of the same unintelligible nature, it could only be supported by miracles. For what had this new Minister said? What satisfaction had he given to the House, and for what had the new arrangement in office been



been made ; to which the nation had looked with expectation, and considered as the date of a new system, founded on conviction of past errors, in which this fatal and ruinous war was to be at length given up ? Not one thing which had not been said a hundred times by the last American Secretary, and which had been said for the delusion of the House five years ago ; the American war was to be continued ; the same system was to prevail ; the kingdom was again to be drained of men for the support of it ; and more millions were to be lavished and lost in the pursuit ; for to all this expressly did the confession of faith of this new Minister go. It might have been expected at least, that when a new Minister was appointed, at least a new language would have been held, if not a new system adopted ; but even with this they were not gratified : Not one new idea, not one new sentence, not one new word ; but the self-same, old, hacknied, stale, and common language as ever. Yes, there was one new idea started, and he begged gentlemen to attend to it. This hopeful contest, though it was to be continued, was no more to be considered as an American war. Its locality was nothing ; its being carried on in the Colonies was nothing ; it was now converted into a French war ; this was the only thing in which there was either novelty or change ; and from the new arrangement in office, this was all that had been produced.— A new arrangement had been made, that a peerage might be conferred on a man who dismembered his country, that the American war might be converted into a French war, and that an old man might be changed into a new Minister. He defied all the world to find another benefit from this alteration. The American war was to be considered as a French war ; and we were to go on persecuting the Americans, not for the purpose of reducing the Americans to obedience by force, but for the purpose of reducing the French. What was the absurdity, or rather what was the wickedness of this idea ? In the beginning of the present session, the effect which the loss of Earl Cornwallis's army produced, forced the Ministers to give assurances to the House that they must contract the scale of the war, and that it would be conducted, in future, on a very different plan from what it had been : here then was the execution of this ministerial assurance : We will no more prosecute the American war — we will drop that entirely — we have no farther intention of reducing the Americans to obedience by force ; but — but — here is the fine ministerial distinction, and the new plan of delusion ; but we

we must prosecute the French war which now rages in the fields of America. Did not gentlemen perceive at what they aimed by this new argument? Surely they must see, that under this pretext, every hostile and offensive operation that can be contrived for the distress and persecution of the people will be continued, when they have no longer the hope to subdue. But how did the new Minister discover that the war in America was to be considered as a war with France? Had he discovered that the French and Americans had entered into an alliance, and that France had bound herself to support the independence of the Colonies? What proof had he of this fact? Or what intelligence which justified him in saying, that by prosecuting the American war, we fought against France? Instead of making thereby a diversion against the enemy, we unfortunately made a most material and injurious diversion against ourselves in favour of France; and she would continue that diversion as long as we pleased; for it cost us twenty thousand for every thousand that it cost them. But under this new name of a French war the American contest was to be persevered in; and from this new Minister we were to receive exactly the old system. The right honourable gentleman had told the House exactly the story which he had told for five years. He had for a long time, in an inferior order of ministerial existence, crawled upon the leaves of the American system; but now, like the caterpillar, he had left the creffilis state, his wings had broke from their foldings, and now expanded, he took his flight; but though his appearance was different, the creature was the same. Indeed it might with truth be asserted, that the late Secretary for the American department, though called up by a patent to the other House, was still to be found in effigies in his old seat. There he sat with all the plans of the American war thick upon him. The right honourable gentleman was the noble Lord's universal legatee. On his political death he hath bequeathed to the right honourable gentleman all his plans, projects, and measures, nay, his ideas, language, and words, all and several the parts and parcels of the American war he had transmitted by his last will and testament to the right honourable gentleman, who was his heir, successor, executor, and universal legatee; not one scrap had he suffered to go into other hands, but all had devolved on this new Minister, and he still spoke, lived, and acted in that House, as heretofore, only he had gone into the shape of the right honourable gentleman. The right honourable gentleman, before he had been

many days, nay many hours among them in his new capacity, had thought so meanly, or so ignorantly of the sense and dignity of Parliament, as to believe that they would suffer this insult of going on with the American war under a new name. Though he was a new minister, he was an old member, and he ought to have known and felt more respectfully and justly of parliament: What! at this day, after a seven years experience of the absurdity and impracticability of the contest, to be told that we were to go on! Not one ragged nor tattered fragment of an excuse to cover the design; that, at least, if men were to be seduced, there might be the grace of delusion in the business; no cover, no disguise — none but the miserable and ridiculous stratagem of giving a new name to the old story. The cheat was too paltry to pass even upon Parliament, much less on the suffering and burthened people, whom it was ultimately to affect. That he was right in asserting, that the right honourable gentleman was the universal legatee of the noble Lord, was evident from this, he had succeeded to his hopes, to his intelligence, to his knowledge of our numerous friends in America, to his total ignorance of every thing that tended to peace. He had said, that he had great and good reason to believe, and to be persuaded that we had many and numerous friends in America. He did not know it, he had no personal knowledge of the fact; he had only good and substantial reasons to believe it. The fact was plain, the right honourable gentleman was already in possession of all the noble Lord's refugees; seventy-two thousand pounds worth of refugees had come to him as part of the inheritance. Oh! exclaimed Mr. Burke, that we could only come to the happy moment when Ministers would be pleased charitably to forbear the name of our friends in America. It was our friends in America that had done us all the mischief. Every calamity of the war had arisen from our friends; and if such were to be our friends, he wished to God that we might hear of them no more. When exhausted and famishing, had our friends assisted us? Had they brought us a single bullock, a single bushel of Indian corn? Had they assisted us in any one shape or way? No: they had drawn us in the north to Saratoga; and in the south to York-town. What did the honourable gentleman mean by his holding out the delusion of more friends? Did he recollect, or did he think of the 10th article of the last capitulation? Or did he mean to make other 10th articles for the purpose of giving up what few friends we might still have left? The right honourable gentleman

gentleman also had hopes of success. After all our calamities, after having found by experience, that when we had only America to oppose, we were unequal to the reduction; now that we had fresh accessions of enemies, nay, that we had the most powerful in the universe to oppose, he had reason to entertain hopes. Miserable hopes! What had the American war produced? What but peerages and calamities? What but insults and titles? Was there any thing to give hope? O yes, we must not only have hope, but confidence in Ministers. Confidence! could we have confidence in the men who still determined to prosecute this mad and impolitic war? It was impossible. Could we have confidence in this new Minister, who seemed determined to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor? He had heard nothing of propositions of peace. He had found no traces of any thing like negociation for peace in his office: Oh! no. There was no reason to expect any thing of that sort in the office of his predecessor; or if there was, he dared to say that it lay hidden and concealed, unless the right honourable gentleman had taken the trouble to make particular inquiries of the principal people in the office, whether or not there were any papers in the place relating to propositions of peace.—But it was not the temper of the noble Lord to cherish any thing of that sort. But surely the new Minister must know, that there had been propositions of peace made under an act of Parliament, by the Commissioners sent from this country; and, for the purpose of shewing that the noble Lord, who had lately gone up to the other House, after seeing those propositions made in the moment of his absurd hope, that is, in the very moment of actual distress, not only forgot, but expressly contradicted the offers that were made. The honourable gentleman read extracts of a letter from Lord George Germain, now Lord Sackville, to a gentleman in America, in which he recommended to him, in settling with such as might be inclined to return to their allegiance, to repress the republican spirit, and to adhere closely to the old constitutions. The honourable gentleman said, that the moment of our ruin in America was the season of his hope. He had indulged expectations of success so ill-founded and fallacious, that in the very instant when he formed and retailed them, the serious plan for our destruction was formed, and beginning to be put in execution. The honourable gentleman, to shew this singular fact, read several extracts of letters from the late American Secretary to Sir Henry Clinton, and others of his

confidential correspondents, dated in the months of January, February, and March, last year, in which he informed him, that all was perfectly safe in France, there was nothing to be expected from that quarter, and therefore he planned and suggested another expedition like that of General Burgoyne, to be performed by General Haldiman, from Canada, just at the time when De Grasse sailed from Brest with the armament which captured the army of Earl Cornwallis at York-Town. In the month of February 1781, he knew nothing of the armament which sailed on the 7th of March. In the month of February he ordered a new expedition, that another army might suffer the disgrace of a surrender. He received all his American intelligence from France, and his French intelligence from America. He recommended to Sir Henry Clinton, at a time when the exchanges of prisoners were stopt, to send the American prisoners to the West-Indies, to recruit our regiments there, "because there was a great mortality" "reigned among them in that intemperate climate." This was the way which he laboured to regain the scattered affections of America. This was the way that he strove to conciliate their warring dispositions, and bring them to loyalty and peace. This was the plan and conduct of this war, from which he had retired with the distinguishing reward of a Peerage.\* The honourable gentleman said, it was no security to Parliament that the estimates of the present year did not ask for a specific number of men in addition, to be sent to America for the purposes of the war. Without forming new regiments, let them only fill up the present, and the force would be greater than it had been at any former period of the contest. Besides, it would not, and it must not be asserted, that Ministers had not got the power at any time to increase that number, by bringing before the House fresh demands. With respect to the possession of posts in America, for the purpose of carrying on a war with France, or of taking the advantage of contingencies, they could only be valuable, when, by their natural strength, they might be occupied by a few men, that they might have the opportunity of detaching a great many from them on actual service; and he called upon the House to say, whether the posts of New York, Charlestown and Halifax, were posts of this kind, or posts which could produce any other than that simple and curious one, of waiting

\* These letters are inserted in our Lords Debates, Vol. VII, page 1:1 et seq.

waiting to take advantage of contingencies. No contingencies, he said, could possibly arise favourable to this country while the present system was pursued.

Mr. *Adam* considered himself then in a very different light Mr. Adam. from what he had appeared 48 hours before: in the last debate, he was exercising his judicial authority, vested in him as a member of Parliament, by the constitution, in scrutinizing the past conduct of a minister; but this night he was called upon to act in a very different capacity, in a capacity which he did not derive from the constitution, namely, that of advising, or rather pointing out the different measures, which the executive power was then to pursue; this he held to be unconstitutional; for the House of Commons must be converted into a Privy Council, and a council without grounds or documents to go by, to direct the Crown; this was unconstitutional, for by the constitution, the House had an indisputable right to examine into the past; but they could not dictate the measures to be adopted, without encroaching on the rights of the executive power. Gentlemen seemed apprehensive, lest the army in America should be recruited up to the full complement, or number stated upon paper; but he thought the character of Sir Guy Carleton, who was to command that army, took away all grounds for such apprehensions. That officer was extolled on all sides for his great military abilities: his talents were acknowledged to be of the first magnitude, both in offensive and defensive war; but still if there was any one part of the military profession in which he excelled more than in another, it was undoubtedly in defensive war, of which he had given so brilliant a proof at Quebec, where he had acquired immortal honour by the gallant and judicious defence he made, and the signal success he obtained over the enemy. It was therefore most probable that a defensive, and not an offensive, war was the object of the ministers, who had appointed Sir Guy Carleton.

Lord *Sheffield* was against the motion, and urged that it Lord Sheffield. would be impolitic to withdraw our troops from America, as the Americans then might annoy our West-India islands. He said he did not clearly understand the motion; he knew not how we could separate the war with America from the war with France; or how we could talk of maintaining a war of posts without intending to make it a war of offence. If we had not a force in America which should be able to act as occasion might require, we must lose every post in detail from the



river St. Lawrence to the Cape of Florida. We must either fight France in America; or we must fight her in the west, in the east, or at home, in the rich fields of Britain.

Mr. Wilberforce.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was much in favour of the motion, and declared, that while the present ministry existed, there were no prospects of either peace or happiness to this kingdom.— He said, it tended to hold out wise advice and direction to ministers for their future conduct, respecting the American war; their career hitherto had rather resembled the career of furious madmen than the necessarily vigorous and prudent exertions of able statesmen. He declared, from a part of what the new Secretary had said, he began to suspect, what a subsequent part of his speech had fully confirmed in his mind, viz. that it was intended to pursue the ruinous war in the former, cruel, bloody, impracticable manner.

Mr. Tho. Townshend

Mr. *T. Townshend* spoke likewise very strongly in favour of the motion; it had been thrown out in the debate, he said, that it was not now an American war, but a French war; that America was become dependent on France, that France had conquered America; what then could be inferred, but that France, with 3400 men in America, had done more than England had with 73,000?

Mr. Turner

Mr. *C. Turner* said, that the people of England, especially the poorer sort, were so reduced by the American war, that the farmers in the country were glad to sell their corn as fast as they could thrash it, merely to support themselves. He declared that he differed from those who looked to Parliament for the salvation of the nation; he had trusted to them too long; and the only salvation now lay on the people, whom he would join on the first occasion.

Colonel Barré.

Colonel *Barré* moved, before they proceeded any farther on a subject of such importance, that the petition from the city of Bristol, lying on their table, might be read, which being complied with, he said, the many burdens and grievous oppressions which it was stated that great trading towns laboured under, by this destructive and pernicious American war, were not peculiar to it; they were common to the whole kingdom; he was confident the city of London had similar sentiments with regard to the war, and the reason that their table was not loaded from all parts with petitions of the like nature with that just read, was, that the nation did not look up to Parliament with that respect which they were formerly wont to do; they had fallen into contempt in the eyes of the public; and that, and that alone was the cause that complaints

complaints of the distresses, heavy burdens, and intolerable hardships which the nation endured, did not pour in from every quarter. An honourable gentleman had said, that this mode of addressing the Crown was unprecedented. Good God ! Sir, said he, the situation of our country is unprecedented ; and is this a time, when the nation is verging on absolute ruin, to search for precedents to warrant us in those measures which may avert that destruction. From what has fallen from the new Secretary of State, he could plainly perceive that the same wretched argument and folly which had hitherto promoted and carried on the accursed war, still influenced the conduct of ministers ; he said, we had many friends in America, and it would be cruel to abandon them to the merciless hands of the Congress. It was an entire delusion ; we had no friends in America ; and ministers had been duped into the idea of the contrary by the misrepresentations and falsehoods told them by Refugees here. From their erroneous information we might chiefly attribute our disasters in America. To contradict their lying reports to government, we needed only refer to Lord Cornwallis's public letters. In them he told us, he met none of those many loyalists he was made to believe he should in North Carolina, a province in which he stood most in need of them ; in his march throughout almost the whole province, he said, he found them timed friends and inveterate enemies. Did this language denote loyalty ? Were these the numerous friends and warm advocates for this country, that Ministers were so mighty tender of deserting ? However, his Lordship being necessitated, through want of provisions and other circumstances, to march to Wilmington, he there found a number of Americans assembling, not for the purpose of arming, as would be falsely insinuated, but merely to see that gallant General [Lord Cornwallis] who had so repeatedly beaten General Green ; and as soon as this fight was over, and they paid their addresses to his Lordship, they retired with as great expedition out of the town as they made in coming in : and he had it from very good authority, such as could not be doubted, that Lord Cornwallis could not, with every persuasion in his power, prevail on even an hundred men to arm themselves in his support. From this account of the disposition of the Americans, must not every man, endowed with any degree of reason, see the impracticability of subduing America by force.

In



In the next place, if it was meant to be made a war of posts, our forces were too numerous, and a smaller number would answer the end as effectually, and the rest might be employed with vast advantage to the nation elsewhere; therefore, when he saw no such plan in agitation, but on the contrary, that there were more regiments and forces to be sent to augment our armies, he must naturally conclude the war was to be carried on as extensively as ever, nor was he the less convinced of this circumstance, from what an honourable gentleman said, that the estimates on the table proved incontrovertibly that the war was not to be carried on on so large a scale as heretofore. The estimates, in his opinion, could afford no certainty whatsoever of the designs of government, for, to pursue their favourite plan, they might send the army from Ireland, they might send the army from England, and therefore, without some direct confession of administration, that they do not intend continuing an offensive war in America, they were as perfectly at liberty to act now as they were at the first day. To shew the deceit and the inconsistency that Ministers had shewn in the whole course of this war, with the permission of the House, he would read a paper, wrote by the Secretary [Sir Grey Cooper] of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and at his express desire, in order to be shewed to the Congress. It mentioned, after stating several particulars of the power of this nation, and the great disadvantages that would attend the perseverance of America in this war, that so high was the spirit of the nation, that Ministers had not influence to procure them any concessions from Parliament, if they were inclined to it ever so much; and, at the very same time that this paper was wrote for the inspection of Congress, the noble Lord proposed to this House offers for a reconciliation with the Colonies. Then, was it possible to suppose, that America, who had seen so much duplicity in the conduct of the servants of the Crown, would ever have faith in any propositions which might originate from them, without they had a confirmation of the sincerity of their wishes by a vote of this House, for which purpose he thought the address moved by the honourable General well calculated, and it had therefore his hearty concurrence.

The Secretary at War.

The *Secretary at War*, [Mr. Jenkinson] remarked, that it was an end to the American war was what gentlemen wished for, the withdrawing our forces would by no means have that effect; for America, when she had no force in that country to cope with, would certainly attack us in her turn; so that

we should still have an American war ; besides, her ports would be open, and would every day encrease in wealth and power, a circumstance this nation should use their utmost endeavours to prevent. He said, gentlemen wished to be informed what government meant by war of posts. His idea was, that we were to keep no regular army in the field, but in keeping those posts we had, we might add others to them whenever they should be found advantageous to us, thus affording us the means of attacking the enemy if an opportunity served of doing it with success ; he said the address now moved for was not explicit enough, the terms of it were too obscure, nor could he see any possible benefit could arise from it, if he did, it should have his warmest support.

Mr. Fox, in a most able speech, exposed the duplicity of ministers. He said he was happy to find, on a late occasion, two hundred nineteen honest, independent men. If the people would only consider the vast number of contractors and placemen, that unworthily and unjustly had seats in that House, they must consider, that a majority of nineteen, for a Minister, was, in fact, a minority, as it proved most clearly and unequivocally that the voice of the people were undoubtedly against him. He was exceeding severe on administration, and was glad to find that he had discovered who that evil spirit was that conducted all our mischiefs ; it was a person higher than the noble Lord in the blue ribband ; for the noble Lord was only his puppet, and acted as he was told. The right honourable gentleman had spoke out. He now understood what was meant. He would take the word of a principal. The other persons on the same bench with the right honourable gentleman, though ostensible ministers, were only secondary kind of beings compared to him. That infernal spirit that really ruled, and had so nearly ruined this country, which was much greater, though not so visible, as Ministers had spoken through the right honourable gentleman's mouth. He said, it was now evident, that the war was to be pursued in America in the same mad manner in which it had been conducted hitherto. He talked of the distinction of carrying on a war with America, and in America, and said, every body had hoped from what had fallen from a learned Lord, and the noble Lord in the blue ribband before the holidays, that the war in future was only to be continued with America, and not in America. But the right honourable gentleman's explanation of the sort of war of posts to be adopted, had fully convinced him. He declared, if the lear-

ned Lord did not vote for the present motion, what he had said before the holidays would bear the construction of having arisen from personal animosity, otherwise how was his speaking against one minister, and supporting another for pursuing the same measures in the same manner, to be accounted for ?

The Secre-  
at War.

The *Secretary at War* rose and explained what he had said, disavowing his being animated by any spirit but his own.

Lord North.

Lord *North* said, the conduct of gentlemen in opposition was of the most unaccountable nature. They were constantly calling on him for information in respect to this and that measure, and yet in the very same breath they said, they would not give the smallest credit to a word he uttered. This conduct, he said was a paradox ; it was contradictory and puerile. Such inconsistent invective was the strongest proof that office, not the measures of the Minister was the primary cause of the attacks of opposition. He said, he viewed the Address in two different lights ; the first was, that it was meant by it that we should withdraw our forces from America. This, he understood, was the construction put on it by some of the gentlemen who supported it ; and if so, he thought it a measure highly improper, and big with mischief to the nation. What ? said he, would you declare to the French, to Spain, to the Dutch, that you intended relinquishing New York, Charles-town, &c. for the sole purpose that they may render that measure impracticable ! for the moment you declare your intention, that moment will they use their utmost endeavours to frustrate it. Besides, the Address points out no particular place we are to evacuate ; are we to give up Canada, Halifax, St. Augustine, and the rest of our possessions in America ? As to this, we are left totally in the dark. Ministers ought ever to take care when the legislature dictates to the executive power the propriety of measures, that their directions should be so explicit and clear, that their meaning could not be misunderstood ; in this case it was the very reverse, administration was left to judge of an Address, which, from the general manner in which it was worded, might bear several constructions. If he took it in the second point of view, by way of advice to ministers, he must consider it as quite useless, for he was convinced there was not a servant of the Crown that did not as anxiously wish for peace as any member whatsoever. This they had demonstrated by the frequent commissions they had procured to be sent out for that purpose : and as to what an honourable

ble gentleman said of the duplicity of ministers, in regard to the paper wrote by Sir Grey Cooper, instead of redounding to his discredit, it was the very strongest, and most convincing proof, that could be adduced, that his inclination always led him to peace with America. He must declare, notwithstanding all that gentlemen, who, on every occasion, opposed government, had said to the contrary, that the best method, and the likeliest to be attended with advantage to the state would be, whenever they found the principles of ministers clashed with those of Parliament, to address his Majesty for their removal, he was sure it would be more decent than the method now before the House. It had been observed that it was wrong at this crisis to send out a General, whose military ability, bravery, and zeal for this country, was acknowledged by every one who had the honour of knowing him; and yet these very same gentlemen, who condemned this measure, were the first to complain of the danger New York (a post of such importance to this nation) was in of being attacked by the united force of France and America: if the case was as stated by them, did there ever exist at any time a greater necessity of employing an able, gallant officer than at this present, particularly as Sir Henry Clinton had desired to be recalled, and Lord Cornwallis, who was second in command, in a situation, at the present moment, not capable of succeeding him; and of course, if Sir Guy Carleton was not to go to America, it must devolve on a foreign general, who was the third in command.

Lord *Mahon* said he could account for the real cause of the American war. His Lordship then read an extract from the declaration of the United Colonies of America, setting forth the causes and the necessity of their taking up arms; and his Lordship declared, that the Earl of Chatham had assured him that the sentiments expressed in that paper did him much honour; but, said his Lordship, they (the Congress) are ill advised; for this (holding the paper in his hand) is a sin which never will be forgiven. This paper and the passage in particular to which he referred, was the declaration, that the system pursued by the government, in direct opposition to the plan and advice of Lord Chatham, was the cause of their discontents.

The Hon. *W. Pitt* spoke with his usual eloquence on the motion, and urged the necessity of putting a speedy end to the war. It had been, he said, remarked in the debate by the new Secretary, that to make peace with the Americans, you

must make them feel the calamities of war. Surely we ought to pay some respect to the calamities of our constituents at home, they, he would be bound to say, felt all the calamities of war.

**Mr. Smith.** *Mr. Smith* (son of the General) spoke with much diffidence, but extremely to the purpose, and in favour of the motion.

**The Lord Advocate.** The *Lord Advocate* rose to answer a part of *Mr. Fox's* speech, which was supposed to accuse him of condemning in *Lord Germain* what he approved in *Welbore Ellis*, and was against the motion.

**Mr. Banks.** *Mr. Banks* was much in favour of the motion, and shewed that it was truly constitutional for that House to interfere, and the only proper means of bringing about the desired object, peace with America.

**Mr. Thomas Pitt.** *Mr. Thomas Pitt* was in favour of the motion, and traced the American war with much accuracy and precision, as well as the different conduct of the Minister at different periods of it.

**Mr. Powys.** *Mr. Powys* moved, that the Journals of the House on the 6th of February, 1775, be read, which was done, shewing the address to his Majesty to prosecute the American war; he then argued that it was not now necessary for the House to agree to the present motion, as they perceived that the war was no longer practicable.

**Mr. Rigby.** *Mr. Rigby* said, he undoubtedly was of opinion some time back, that the American war was a just one; he still continued to think so; but he was also of opinion, that the complexion of the times had altered, and that it was no longer practicable to pursue it; yet he should vote against the present motion, (although he wished for peace) as it interfered with the executive power, and left Ministers in a situation not knowing what to do.

**General Conway.** General *Conway* explained the nature of the motion, and said it was necessary for the House to come to the resolution proposed, as a basis to treat upon, as it would shew the world that the House of Commons were in earnest. The right honourable General reviewed all the arguments that had been urged against the motion, and gave them clear and forcible answers.

It being then two o'clock in the morning, the House divided; ayes 193; noes 194.—Majority, for continuing the American war, 1.

After the division, Mr. Fox desired to know when the Minister meant to open his budget, and commenting very severely on him for delaying it so long; upon which

The *Speaker* informed him, that Lord North had early in the day mentioned his intention of bringing forward the new loan on Monday next. Mr. Fox.  
The Speaker.

Lord North said, he proposed Monday next for the loan, but he should not be able to go into the particulars of the tax that day. Lord North

Colonel *Barré* said, he was surprized how a Minister could dare behave in so scandalous and indecent a manner; after having, by every oppression, scourged the people to the last drop of blood, he wished to scourge that out of them also. It was scandalous, indecent, and insulting, to intimate on a Friday, at a time when the House was thin, that he should propose his budget on Monday. He absolutely had got to such a pitch, that he thought the House met for nothing but to grant taxes. Col. Barré.

Lord North got up in much warmth, and declared that he supposed the large minority of that evening had inspired the right honourable gentleman with courage to abuse him; he had always held forth to him such language as was not decent, but now he had been insolent and brutal. Lord North

[Here the House was in a continual roar of, to order, to order; upon which the Speaker rose, and after quieting the clamour of the House with much difficulty, said, undoubtedly the noble Lord's words were improper, but they must be attributed to heat, and he was confident he would apologise to the House for them.]

Lord North asked pardon of the House for the expressions he had made use of, but declared that the words of the right honourable member had grated so in his ear, that he could not help rising in some warmth; to be sure it was wrong in him, who had been so long used to parliamentary abuse, to be irritated at any thing. He could hear as much as any man: and he was certain the House would give him credit when he said, that he took abuse as patiently as any man. Lord North

Mr. Denning, Mr. W. Pitt, and several others declared, that they thought a particular and distinct apology was due to Colonel Barré, for the language held out to him by the noble Lord.

Lord North made first a general apology to the House for what he had said; and when this was declared by the Speaker and Lord North



and other members to be insufficient, he made an apology, without any reserve or exception whatever.

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* got up and said, he in general differed with the noble Lord in politics, and despised him as a Minister; yet as a private gentleman he esteemed him. There was a material difference, he contended, in their situation; as a Minister, he had a right to use and treat him with as severe epithets as Parliamentary form would allow: He had always done it, and he would continue to do so, as long as he continued in office. He was the Minister that had plunged us into all our misfortunes, he had expended the public treasure shamefully, he had made fraudulent contracts, he had ruined the empire, and oppressed the public to such a degree, that he called upon the most polite part of the House to say, whether he could use too harsh words to express his detestation; yet, although he was allowed this freedom, the noble Lord was not, for what was he? to be sure First Lord of the Treasury, yet he should consider he was the servant of the people, the servant of that House, and one that ought to use genteel language when he was speaking either of or to a private member of that House. At the same time he declared, he should be ashamed to behave or to talk improperly in that House. To the noble Lord, as a private gentleman, he was not in the least disposed to use any language that even looked like rude or uncivil language; less perhaps than to any one man living; but there certainly was an essential distinction between public parliamentary language, and the conversation of private gentlemen. Whatever had been the occasion of the noble Lord's heat, he, as a member of that House, had warrantably and justifiably complained of the noble Lord's conduct as a minister, and ought the noble Lord, for his having done so, to have called him brutal —

Speaker.

The *Speaker* interfered, and begged, that as the apology was made and accepted, the offensive words might not be repeated, nor the disorder revived.

February 25.

Mr. Coke.

Mr. *Coke* informed the House, that he was instructed by the bench of justices at the last quarter sessions for the county of Norfolk, to propose a revival of the game laws, which, in their opinion, ought to be reviewed, as they stood in need of very great amendments. Combinations had been formed in that county against the execution of these laws, and some  
tions

lives had been lost. In obedience, therefore, to the instructions of so respectable a body of his constituents, he moved, that a committee be appointed to take into their consideration the present state of the game laws, and report their opinion to the House.

Sir *Edward Astley* seconded the motion: he spoke also of parties armed with fire-arms; and of the necessity of revising the game laws. Sir Edward Astley.

Mr. *Charles Turner* exclaimed against those laws as cruel and oppressive on the poor: he said it was a shame that the House should always be enacting laws for the safety of gentlemen; he wished they would make a few for the good of the poor; if gentlemen were not safe in their houses, it was because the poor were oppressed: let the legislature protect them, and the gentry would have nothing to fear in their houses. He had been down in Dorsetshire, and he was shocked to see game there more numerous than the human species. For his own part, he was convinced, that if he had been a common man, he would have been a poacher, in spite of all the laws; and he was equally sure, that the too great severity of the laws was the cause that the number of poachers had increased so much. He earnestly wished to see the game laws revised, and stripped of more than half of their severity: this wish was not an interested one, for every shilling of his estate was in lands only, and he was a sportsman as well as other men. Mr. Turner.

General *Conway* rose only to give notice, that on Wednesday next he would make a motion, as nearly the same in substance as the orders of the House would permit, as that which was rejected on Friday last. His reason for bringing again before the House the subject of the American war, was, that, considering the very small majority by which his last motion was rejected, and the number of members who were absent on that occasion, he was of opinion that the sense of the House had not been fully taken: therefore, that the subject might be farther discussed, and that all the members in town might have a fair opportunity of expressing, by a vote, what was their sense of the farther prosecution of the American war, he then announced that on Wednesday he would renew his motion. General Conway.

Sir *Grey Cooper* moved for the order of the day, for going into the committee of ways and means; and next that the Sir Grey Cooper.  
Speaker



Speaker should leave the chair : which being done, and Mr. Ord having taken the chair of the committee;

Lord  
North.

Lord *North* entered upon the tedious and arduous business of the loan. He said that many parts of the necessary supply of the year had not yet been voted ; and therefore he could not state the whole of the supply with that degree of precision with which he could speak of it when all the estimates should be laid upon the table : however, he knew he could come so very near the exact account, that gentlemen would be at no loss to form a just opinion on the subject. Various sums had been already voted under the heads of navy, army, ordnance, exchequer bills ; and there still remained very considerable sums to be voted for miscellaneous services.

### N A V Y.

The committee of supply had already voted 100,000 seamen, including 21,000 marines, and for their support, 4l. per man, per month, which made

	£.	s.	d.
For the ordinary of the navy	5,200,000	0	0
For building, re-building, and repairing ships	409,766	12	9
	953,519	0	0

Total for the navy,	6,563,000	12	9
Of the navy debt he intended to pay off this year	1,500,000	0	0
Which would make the whole voted, and to be voted for the navy, for the service of the present year	8,063,285	12	9

It might be thought that 1,500,000 was too small a sum for the discharge of the navy debt this year, when compared to that which had been voted last year for the same purpose, which was 3,200,000l. but then it was to be remembered, that it was a particular circumstance, which did not occur often, that had enabled Parliament to pay off so large a sum; this particular circumstance was the renewal of the Bank charter, for which 2,000,000l. were advanced by the Bank. According to the terms of the agreement, 1,000,000l. was to be advanced last year; the other, on or before the 1st of March, 1782: the Bank, however, in order to accommodate government, had advanced before the expiration of the year 500,000l. of the million, which was not to become pay-

able till March next ; so that the whole of the two millions had not yet been applied to the discharge of the navy debt ; there remained still half a million, which he would add to the 1,500,000*l.* that he intended to dedicate to that use this year, by which means he would be enabled to pay off 2,000,000*l.* of navy debt. Adding, therefore, this half million to the gross sum of 8,063,000*l.* already stated, the whole supply for the navy for the present year would amount to 8,563,000*l.* just about 127,000*l.* less than had been voted for the same service last year.

## A R M Y.

There had been already voted for the ordinary of the army	—	£.	s.	d.
		4,208,097	2	6
There remained to be voted for the extraordinaries of the army	—	3,516,214	5	8
		<hr/>		
Which together amounted to	—	7,724,311	8	2
		<hr/>		

## O R D N A N C E.

For the ordnance there had been voted 1,612,089 19 5  
Exclusive of the saltpetre contract, which had been broken ; if it should be renewed on more advantageous terms for the public, then the ordnance would have a claim of between forty and fifty thousand pounds.

## E X C H E Q U E R - B I L L S.

Bills had been issued to the amount of	3,400,000	0	0
And also for the vote of credit	—	1,000,000	0 0
		<hr/>	
Total	4,400,000	0	0
		<hr/>	

These were the sums which had been already voted by Parliament. There remained to state to the House the sums which still remained to be voted.

The various deficiencies in taxes of former years, and of sundry grants, amounted to 882,643*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* but then in this sum was included a deficiency which always existed, and which was always allowed in the land and malt taxes, of 100,000*l.*

With respect to the grants of Parliament, they would appear, to the Levant company 5000l. to the African company 13,000l. for roads and bridges in Scotland 5000l. to the city of London, towards rebuilding Newgate, 10,000l. to American sufferers 68,439l. 16s. This last article to be sure, he said, was more than was paid last year under that head, the sum then being only 57,912l. 10s. but the reason was, that a considerable number of the American sufferers had been ordered to return, which they had, he was free to own, obeyed cheerfully; and it was always customary to grant them one year's salary, and a quarter advance for the expences of their passage, which occasioned the sum of 10,000l. more this year than the year before, consequently next year there would be a saving of that 10,000l. and should they stay in America, the whole sum would be annually saved: but, on the contrary, if they were obliged to return, undoubtedly they must again receive the like pension. There were also for the British Museum 3000l. and for American civil governments 14,957l. 10s. 5d.

He begged pardon of the committee for having omitted the expence attending the convicts at Woolwich, which would this year amount, according to Mr. Duncan Campbell's account, to 14,719l. 4s. Towards the building at Somerset-house, what seemed to be the intent of Parliament, to grant annually 25,000l. and with respect to the saltpetre contract with Mr. Tounson, it was entirely put an end to: but supposing that Mr. Tounson did not supply the saltpetre, some other contract must be made; he should therefore estimate that at 50,000l. which would make the whole of the miscellanies to be voted 209,788l. 15s. 5½d. which being added to the 8000l. already voted, made the whole sum under the head of miscellanies exactly 217,788l. 15s. 5½d. therefore the supplies for the present year would stand as follow:

			£.	s.	d.
Navy	_____	_____	8,063,285	12	9
Army	_____	_____	7,724,311	8	2
Ordnance	_____	_____	1,612,089	19	5
Exchequer bills	—	_____	4,400,000	0	0
Deficiencies	_____	_____	882,643	6	7
Miscellanies	_____	_____	217,788	15	5½
Total of supplies,			22,900,119	2	4½

## W A Y S and M E A N S.

The only ways and means that Parliament had already granted was that of the land and malt-tax, which amounted to 2,750,000*l.* and the next great object which the House was to turn their eye to, was the sinking fund, the disposable part of which was always made up to the 10th of October, and appeared as follows:

		£.	s.	d.
In 1779	—	2,394,753	7	8½
1780	—	2,977,661	12	7
1781	—	3,039,024	11	9½

Upon which a medium being struck on the three years account, the average would appear 2,803,813*l.* 4*s.* 0½*d.* which ought to be compared with the produce of the sinking fund, without grants on the one hand, or deficiencies on the other, which in the three years alluded to would upon the whole appear to be

		£.	s.	d.
In 1779	—	2,792,587	12	1
1780	—	3,079,467	18	2½
1781	—	2,874,481	18	5

The medium of which appeared to be 2,874,081*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* but the medium he should take would be 2,915,512*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

He next informed the committee, that there appeared a balance in the Exchequer at Michaelmas last, of 203,795*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* unappropriated, arising from grants and surplusses of last year: but there would appear a deficiency of 51,68*l.* in the Christmas quarter, which was to be accounted for by the India Company not being able to pay up the balance due for their customs, on account of the late arrival of their ships; but which sum the Company would be sure to pay in this quarter: and as the interest of three and a half per cent. on one stock would cease on the 5th of July next, and continue for the future at three per cent. there would be a saving of a half per cent. which would be annually 22,500*l.* it therefore for the half year would be 11,250*l.* which being added to the medium of the disposable part of the sinking fund for the three years mentioned, would make the sum of 3,181,858*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* and if added to the medium of the produce of the sinking fund, without grants or deficiencies, it would make 3,293,558*l.* 1*s.* 4½*d.* but he should only take the sinking fund, and unappropriated surplusses, at 3,100,000*l.*

The Exchequer bills of last year he said were 3,400,000*l.* but he should this year take them at 3,500,000*l.* which

would not be any injury, as they went off well, and it was nothing but fair to take the advantage.

The sum arising from the sale of French prizes was to be sure a mere trifle, it was only 10,000*l.* and the money arising from the sales in the Ceded Islands he had last year estimated at 3500*l.* but they had turned out better than he expected, and he had now put them down 5000*l.* the sale of gum seneca amounted to only 1000*l.* the surplus of grant, to 16,608*l.* 6*s.* 0½*d.* and money arising from savings in the last year he would take at 100,000*l.* therefore all those sums taken together would form the whole of the ways and means, and would appear as follow :

	£.	s.	d.
Land and malt	2,750,000	0	0
Sinking fund	3,100,000	0	0
Surplus of grants	16,608	6	0½
Exchequer bills	3,500,000	0	0
Savings of money	100,000	0	0
French prize-money	10,000	0	0
Ceded Islands	5,000	0	0
Gum seneca	1,000	0	0
Loan which he meant to propose	13,500,000	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>22,982,608</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0½</b>
And the supply being	22,900,119	2	4
The surplus of ways and means would be	82,489	3	8

Before he went farther, he said, he would recapitulate the whole of the account current, unmixed with any observation, for the satisfaction of gentlemen.

## S U P P L I E S, 1782.

## N A V Y.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
100,000 seamen (with 21,305 marines)	5,200,000	0	0			
Ordinary of the navy	409,766	12	9			
Building, &c. of ships	953,519	0	0			
Navy debt	1,500,000	0	0			
Carried over				8,063,285	12	9

A R M Y

## A R M Y.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	-	-	-	8,063,285	12	9
49,455 landmen (with 4175 invalids - - -)	1,242,835	2	3			
General and staff officers	43,840	6	0			
Guards, garrisons, &c. -	1,315,523	5	10			
5 battalions for Gibraltar and Minorca - - -	56,074	19	4½			
13,472 troops, Hesse Cassell	367,203	9	10			
2,094 ditto, Hanau - - -	61,108	11	0½			
Regiment, Waldeck - - -	17,498	3	2½			
4,300 Brunswickers - - -	93,497	15	8			
Regiment, Brandenburg An- spach - - -	43,665	12	3			
933 troops, Anhalt Zerbst	23,818	11	11½			
Provisions for foreign troops in America - - -	55,469	0	0			
Augmentation to troops of Hesse Cassell - - -	15,499	17	5			
Ditto, Brandenburg Anspach	3,282	12	5			
Ditto, Anhalt Zerbst - - -	4,942	19	0			
Artillery to foreign troops -	27,683	14	0			
Embodying militia in South Britain, and 4 regiments of Fencibles in North Britain	677,497	15	10			
Cloathing ditto - - -	100,594	17	1			
Regiment of light dragoons and 2 regiments of foot	21,329	18	8			
1 regiment of light dragoons, 7 battalions, and a detachment of foot, for the East-Indies	36,280	10	8			
Land extraordinaries and aug- mentation (Chelsea hospital included, and reduced offi- cers) - - -	3,516,214	5	8			
				7,724,311	8	2

## O R D N A N C E.

Ordinaries - - -	712,366	3	10			
Extraordinaries - - -	899,723	15	7			
				1,612,089	19	5
Carried over - - -				17,399,687	0	4

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	-	-	-	17,399,687	0	4
Turkey company	5,000	0	0			
British Museum	3,000	0	0			
American civil governments	14,957	10	5			
African forts and settlements	13,000	0	0			
Roads and bridges in Scotland	5,000	0	0			
Rebuilding Newgate, on account	10,000	0	0			
Ditto, Somerset-house	25,000	0	0			
American sufferers	68,439	16	0			
Saltpetre, &c. contracts	50,000	0	0			
Justitia hulks	14,719	4	0			
Commons addresses	8,672	5	0			
				217,788	15	5

## EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

Vote of credit last session discharged	1,000,000	0	0
Discharged before Christmas recess	1,500,000	0	0
Discharged after Christmas recess	1,420,000	0	0
Remain unissued to pay lottery prizes	480,000	0	0
	4,400,000	0	0

## DEFICIENCIES.

Deficiency, fund 1758	35,149	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, 1778	183,380	3	8
Ditto, 1779	102,806	9	4
Ditto, 1780	153,193	8	11
Ditto, coinage	8,113	16	7
Ditto, land and malt	400,000	0	0
	882,643	6	7
Total	22,900,119	2	4

WAYS

**W A Y S and M E A N S, 1782.**

			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Land and malt	-	-	-	-	-		2,750,000	0	0

**SINKING-FUND SURPLUSES, viz.**

Medium produce of three last years	-	-	-	2,803,813	4	0	
Balance in the Exchequer, Michaelmas 1781	-	-	-	203,795	11	10	
Duties from the India Company, payable this month, postponed on account of the late arrival of last year's fleet	-	-	-	163,000	0	0	
Half-year's dividend of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, on $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. annuities 1758, from 5th July, 1782	-	-	-	11,250	0	0	
				<u>3,181,858</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	
Taken for the round sum of							3,100,000 0 0
Surplus grants, 1781	-	-	-	<u>254,475</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	
Deduct interest on Exchequer bills, &c.	-	-	-	144,331	18	9	
Paid Bank of England prompt payment to proprietors of loan, 1781	-	-	-	<u>93,537</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	
				<u>237,869</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	
Nett surplus of grants							16,608 6 0
New Exchequer-bills	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,500,000 0 0
Annuities and lottery	-	-	-	13,905,000	0	0	
Deduct lottery prizes	-	-	-	<u>405,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
							13,500,000 0 0
Sundry savings	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,000 0 0
French prize-money	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 0 0
Sale, Ceded Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 0 0
Duty on gum seneca	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000 0 0
							<u>22,982,608</u> 6 0
				Total			



	£.	s.	d.
Supply - - -	22,900,119	2	4
Ways and means - -	22,982,608	6	0
	<hr/>		
Excess of provisions - -	82,489	3	8

Gentlemen no doubt would ask him, he said, how he came to propose a loan of 13,500,000l. when there did not appear that sum already voted and not provided for by ways and means; he therefore begged leave to acquaint them, that Parliament had already voted - 16,768,002 4 3 $\frac{1}{4}$   
 And the only sum provided for by ways and means was - 2,750,000 0 0

Deficient	14,036,002	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
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By this account, consequently, he was strictly within the rules of Parliament to propose a loan of 13,500,000l. He knew only three ways by which loans had ever been made; to accept of the offers made in private by individuals, stating the sums which each was ready to advance; an open subscription with a deposit of part of the subscription money before hand at the Bank; or a close subscription with a few individuals. Against the first mode he had very strong objections; he had been the object of so much abuse, obloquy, calumny, and misrepresentation (last year) for the distribution of the loan, that he could not think without trembling of exposing himself to a repetition of such unmerited treatment, by making the loan this year in the same manner. Gentlemen had thought proper to say, that by the distribution of last year he had made himself friends; but the fact was, that for one friend he had made, he had raised up twenty enemies: for those who had made offers, wrote for such large sums, that it was impossible to give them even a tenth part of what they asked; and therefore even those who had got some scrip, were so dissatisfied at having got so much less than they had asked, that they never thought of thanking him for what they had got, but felt resentment for what they had not got. If last year he made enemies, he must have made many more indeed this year; for the number of persons who had applied to him this year was double that of the last. Towards the last loan, 1145 persons had applied for scrip; for a share in the present, 2469 had made applications; and they made offers to the amount of 73,290,000l.

73,290,000*l*. However, he was very clear, that in the list there were names of persons who had never been creditors in the whole course of their lives, though he did not doubt but they had many creditors: he was nevertheless very well satisfied, that three-fourths of those who applied were solvent men, and able to make good their bargain, not for all they asked, but for all they might get; but if he had accepted their offers, how was he to have made the distribution? If he was to make it of himself, it might be hazardous, as he could not be supposed to be acquainted, of his own knowledge, with the circumstances of all. If he should take the opinion of a friend, then it would be said that the friend had the distribution of the loan, and acted from partiality; and, indeed, if he should not apply to a friend on the occasion, he knew it would be said he had; and therefore he had resolved not to take upon himself by any means, or in any shape, the distribution of the loan, that he might thereby avoid the obloquy, misrepresentation, and calumny, that had been heaped upon him last year, when he was said to have given the loan among his friends in Parliament. With respect to members of Parliament, he observed *en passant*, that a member of Parliament, merely as such, ought not to have a preference; on the other hand, he ought not, as a member of Parliament, to be excluded from serving himself and his country, by lending his money to the public. When money was to be borrowed, it was to be taken from every quarter where it could be found.

The second mode of making loans by open subscriptions at the Bank, with a deposit of money, was, in his Lordship's opinion, better calculated for the times of peace than for war; for if in peace-time there was a less *bonus*, so there was less *risque*: but in war there was great *risque*, and it was rather odd to call upon men to make deposits before hand to purchase danger. He admitted, however, that it might be used as a proper instrument to curb and check extravagant demands of those who, in a close subscription, (the third way of raising a loan) should endeavour to avail themselves of the distresses of the public, and insist upon exorbitant interests and *douceurs*. The third mode, or close subscription, was the mode he had adopted, as it would free him from the calumny he might draw upon himself by the first, and was at the same time free from the inconveniencies of the second. Two proposals had been made to him by two different sets of gentlemen, the one party not knowing of

of the offers of the other. At the making these proposals were present the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank, and several other gentlemen of eminence in the mercantile world; and they all agreed, that the proposal with which he had closed, was considerably more advantageous to the public than that which he rejected, and more favourable than the bargain of last year, which he owned to be extravagant.

The terms which he had accepted, and which he had brought to Parliament, were, in his own mind, very preferable. The proposals for the agreement, were;

100l. 3 per cent. valued at 54l.	—	54	0	0
50l. 4 per cent. valued at 67l.	—	33	10	0
A long annuity of 17s. 6d. at $15\frac{1}{2}$ purchase,				
valued at		13	11	3
3 lottery tickets for every 1000l. at 13l. 2s. 6d.				
per ticket, or 18s. 9d. per cent.		0	18	9

Total 102 0 0

The interest to the lender will be  
of course

100l. 3 per cent.	3	0	0
50l. 4 per cent.	2	0	0
Annuity	0	17	6

£. 5 17 6 per cent.

exclusive of the douceur in the first instance of 2l. per cent. to the money lender. When he stated the 3 per cent. at 54l. he rated them at  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths under the market price of this day, and he had under-rated the 4 per cent. in the same proportion; because it was fair to suppose, that a new mass of capital being carried to market, would sink the price of stocks; but still he had taken the fall very low, because he did not believe from experience that the fall would be considerable. At the time of the last loan, the price of stocks was kept up by an idea that a return of peace was probable. However, he had but barely stated, that at that time there was a tendency towards a peace; for he thought that nothing could be more injurious to the public credit, than that any false rumours should be spread to raise the price of stocks: it was the interest of the public that it should be understood that every thing was carried on fairly and above board between the Treasury and the money lenders; nor would he amuse with false hopes of peace, if he thought he could gain 10 per cent. for the public on the bargain; for such a gain could never compensate for the injury that imposition would do to public credit.

The

The House had now heard the terms of the bargain he had made; he thought them good; he thought them infinitely better than those of last year's loan; and he hoped the committee would concur with him in agreeing to them.

As to the lottery, he had heard so much of the excessive gambling occasioned by it, that he had turned it in his head how it could be prevented; and he had resolved to give up the whole lottery, rather than countenance such gambling; but recollecting that those who are filled with a spirit of gambling will always find means to indulge in it, and the lottery being of considerable advantage to the public, he thought it would not be improper to let the lottery stand, that thus the private vices of individuals might be made to turn to public utility; but at the same time he would most readily concur in any measure that should be pointed out to check the excesses in gambling occasioned by it; for this purpose he had thought of doubling the sum paid for taking out licences; but he imagined afterwards, that though the number of offices would decrease in consequence of such a measure, still gambling would very likely be carried to as great an extent in a few offices as in many. It had occurred also to him to have all policies, and shares of tickets stampd, and to lay on a tax for the stamp; but then he was deterred from that resolution, by recollecting, that in gambling there always is a point of honour which makes one party place confidence in another, and which would defeat the end of such a regulation.

His Lordship stated, that the interest on the whole of the supply would amount to 793,125l. a year. Gentlemen would consider that this sum was the burthen to be laid on the people, and not the nominal addition to our debt. The national debt was no more than the sum of annuities to be paid. To raise this sum new taxes must be imposed; these taxes must be productive; and as those which he intended to propose were many in number, many of them novel in their nature, and all stood in need of much study to render them clear to the understanding of gentlemen, he hoped they would not take it amiss that he should not proceed with the taxes, till this day se'nnight; and he was the more desirous to crave that delay, as he really had not strength of body, or clearness of understanding, sufficient to adhere to the old practice of giving both the loan and the taxes on the same day. His Lordship, after having been full two hours on his legs, concluded his long laborious work with moving,

Q q 2

“ That

“ That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds be raised by annuities, and the further sum of four hundred and five thousand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

“ That every contributor to the said thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds shall, for every one hundred pounds contributed and paid, be entitled to the principal sum of one hundred pounds in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1782; and shall be added to made one joint stock with the three pounds per centum annuities, consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirty-second, and thirty-third years of the reign of his late Majesty George the Second, and by several subsequent acts, and shall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England at the same time and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said three pounds per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there.

“ That every such contributor shall also be entitled to the farther principal sum of fifty pounds in annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum, to commence from the 5th day of April, 1782, and shall be added to and made one joint stock with certain annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum, which were consolidated by the acts of the twentieth and twenty-first years of the reign of his present Majesty, and shall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said four pounds per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there.

“ That every such contributor shall likewise be entitled to an annuity of seventeen shillings and sixpence per centum, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1782, and to continue for the term of seventy-eight years, and then to cease, over and above the principal sums of one hundred pounds after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, and fifty pounds after the rate of four pounds per centum per annum, in respect of every one hundred pounds to be contributed and paid towards raising the said sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds; which said annuity of seventeen shillings and sixpence per centum, so to continue for seventy-eight years, shall be added to and made one joint stock with certain annuities payable at the Bank of England,

England, which were granted for the several terms of ninety-nine, ninety-eight, and eighty years, and were, by the acts of the fourth and twentieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, consolidated and made one joint stock, and shall be paid and payable, and transferrable at the same time, and in the same manner, as the said annuities, so consolidated by the acts of the fourth and twentieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, are payable and transferable at the said Bank of England.

“ That the several annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, four pounds per centum, and seventeen shillings and sixpence per centum, so to be payable as aforesaid, shall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund to be established in this session of Parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund shall be a collateral security.

“ That every contributor towards raising the said sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds, shall, for every one thousand pounds contributed, be entitled to three tickets in a lottery to consist of forty thousand five hundred tickets, amounting to four hundred and five thousand pounds, upon payment of the farther sum of ten pounds for each ticket; the said four hundred and five thousand pounds to be distributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said lottery, which shall be paid in money at the Bank of England to such proprietors upon demand, as soon after the first day of March, 1783, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatsoever.

“ That every contributor shall, on or before the first day of March next, make a deposit of fifteen pounds per centum on such sum as he or she shall choose to subscribe, towards raising the said sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds, with the chief cashier or cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; and also, a deposit of fifteen pounds per centum with the said cashier or cashiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raising the said sum of four hundred and five thousand pounds by a lottery, as a security for making the future payments respectively on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to say,

On 13,500,000l. to be raised by annuities,

10 per cent. on or before the 12th day of April next.

10 per cent. on or before the 7th day of May next.

10 per

- 10 per cent. on or before the 13th day of June next.
- 10 per cent. on or before the 19th day of July next.
- 15 per cent. on or before the 22d day of August next.
- 10 per cent. on or before the 20th day of September next.
- 10 per cent. on or before the 24th day of October next.
- 10 per cent. on or before the 26th day of November next.

**On the Lottery for 405,000l.**

- 20 per cent. on or before the 28th day of May next.
- 25 per cent. on or before the 9th day of July next.
- 20 per cent. on or before the 10th day of September next.
- 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of October next.

“ That all the monies so to be received by the chief cashier or cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as shall then have been voted by this House in this session of Parliament :

“ That every contributor who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be contributed for annuities as aforesaid, at any time before the 23d day of October next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery on or before the 9th day of September next, shall be allowed an interest by way of discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum on the sum so compleating his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the same to the 26th day of November next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities, and to the 11th day of October next, in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery shall have their tickets delivered to them as soon as they can conveniently be made out.

**Mr. Byng.**

Mr. Byng thought it necessary to say a few words in reply to what the noble Lord had said of the calumny and obloquy he had experienced last year on account of the distribution of the loan : he did not know whether the noble Lord alluded to him, who had brought before the House the consideration of the last year's loan ; but whether the noble Lord alluded to him or not, he thought the present complaint came with a very awkward grace from his Lordship : if all that had been said



said on that subject had been calumny, why did not the noble Lord go into the then proposed enquiry? He then withheld the means of investigating the business, he kept back enquiry, and now complained of the hard treatment he had received. But were there not most shameful facts proved to the House with regard to that loan? It was known, that after the terms were settled, and when it was known to be a good thing, men who were set down for 20,000l. had a cypher taken from this sum, and reduced to 2000l.

The terms of the loan just proposed, he admitted, were better than those of last year; and he did not mean to oppose them; but still he must say that the bargain was not fairly made when confined to four persons; he had almost said two; and if he had said to one only, he believed he should not have been far from the truth. To bargain with so few, was injurious to individuals; for those who kept money with bankers, finding that their bankers had no scrip, would draw their money, and place it where they could purchase stock. Last year so many persons without property had subscribed, that seven millions of scrip had been carried to market in one month, to the very great depreciation of the funds. When the noble Lord rated the 3 per cent. at 54, he believed he was pretty right; but he could not agree with him that 67 was a fair valuation of the 4 per cent.; for to his knowledge, bargains had actually been made for the opening of the 4 per cent. at 68. He thought that his Lordship had unfairly for the public, omitted to state the discount, which would add 1l. 12s. 6d. to the *douceur* on the loan.

Lord North said, the discount on the money advanced at *Ld North*. different times was always considered as a part of the *douceur* to those persons who assisted Government with their money; the loan he had accepted was by far the best of the two proposed; and he had chosen to confine it to a few persons, thinking it much more advantageous for the public, as the profit (if any) when divided among a few, would be accepted, though small; when, had there been many persons concerned, they must have had a larger profit to make it worth their while; besides, being in the hands of a few, and those men of property, they could afford it cheaper, as they could nurse it as they pleased, and bring it to market when they liked, which would not be the case, had a needy set of adventurers got it. Much had been said with respect to letting Members of Parliament have a share of it: he never could discover, that a person, being a Member of Parliament



liament, ought to have any of it on that head ; nor could he see, that being a Member of Parliament ought to be any bar to him.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox, with all that ingenuity for which he is so remarkable, informed the Committee, that the noble Lord had undoubtedly this year, through the means of that chastisement which he had received last session from his honourable friend, Mr. Byng, made a better bargain for the public than he did before, yet the bargain was by no means so good as the noble Lord had endeavoured to make it appear, nor was it so good as he might have had. The noble Lord had plainly told the Committee, that he had two offers, and he had chosen the best, without letting the one party know the offer of the other. Was that a way to deal for the public ? Certainly not ! He should, instead of keeping it a secret from the two parties that were in treaty, have informed each party what the other proposed, and asked them if they chose to go any lower. If they would not, he should have tried others ; and he was confident a better bargain by far was to be made than what was made. At the same time he had reason to believe, that the party who were refused were not treated fairly. They made their offer in short annuities, not knowing that they were disagreeable. He, by nice arithmetical calculations, made it appear, that the bonus was equal to 5<sup>l</sup>. 18s. per cent. and said, the noble Lord was perfectly right in comparing this loan of his with any other in the present reign ; but what sort of a figure would it make when compared with the loans made by the Duke of Newcastle in the late war ; who, although obliged to borrow 43,000,000<sup>l</sup>. never let his loans bear more than one half premium, frequently not more than one, and once there was a discount upon it. The noble Lord had mentioned the reason of the last loan bearing a better premium than was expected, to be a tendency to a peace. He should (as it was rather foreign to the business of the day) hope the noble Lord would explain to the House what offers of peace had been made, and for what reasons they were rejected. No notice of any such offers had ever been made, therefore certainly the House ought to know what terms had been offered, and the reasons why they were not accepted ; as peace was a blessing that this nation most ardently sighed for. He reprobated the having lotteries so frequent ; if they must be had, let them, says he, be once in two or three years, but that not certainly ; then persons will not make a trade of it, as they do at present. The method taken by the noble

noble Lord of confining loans to the hands of a few persons, was, he said, the completest manœuvre that could be played off; for under that dark cloak lay all his douceurs to contractors, placemen, members of Parliament, &c. and plainly shewed how the majorities on the motions respecting the navy and the American war were procured.

The noble Lord's mentioning, that the additional capital was only a mere nominal, and not a real sum, was undoubtedly saying, that not a farthing of it was ever to be paid; and the manner in which the noble Lord's administration had gone on, made it appear perfectly so; and, as he had brought us on to the eve of a bankruptcy, it would undoubtedly signify but very little, whether we broke for 100,000,000, or 200,000 000l.

Lord North rose again, and said, that a proof of his loan's Ld. North. not having been atrociously bad this year, was, that the honourable gentleman had not given it very harsh epithets of reproach. It was a proof that at least, if it was not a good bargain for the public, it was not a bad one. If he was not better than the Duke of Newcastle, it shewed at least, that he was improving, and on the mending side himself. The honourable gentleman had mentioned the discount, as an advantage which he had not taken into the consideration, in calculating the amount of the bonus. To this it would be necessary for him to say a few words. It was by no means usual to take in the discount as a part of the douceur, for it was a matter held out only as a temptation to the subscribers for prompt payment; but not a thing which they would all naturally enjoy in consequence of the loan. If they should pay their money instantly, they would be intitled to the douceur; but if they should only make good their instalments, they would undoubtedly be able to derive an adequate advantage from their money employed in other uses. The noble Lord entered into arithmetical calculations to make this matter clear to the House; and contended, that the bonus would not be, as had been stated by the honourable gentleman, 4l. 10s. or 5l. 10s. but really 2l. as he had stated, or perhaps a trifle more if the funds should rise. The honourable gentleman, Mr. Byng, had said, that the 4 per cent. would open at 68; or at least that there were bargains already made at that sum; if so, and he saw no reason to doubt but it would be so, then there would be an increase in the bonus of ten shillings; for the subscribers having only 50l. of 4 per cent. they could gain no more than ten shillings by this probable,

but by no means certain state of the fund at its opening in the month of April. With regard to the heaviest charge that had been brought against him, of having made this close loan for the purpose of influence, and that there was so perfect an understanding between him and the gentlemen with whom he had made the bargain, that he was able to conceal members of that House, and buy their votes by giving them a share of the loan, he must answer, and declare solemnly and seriously, that he had not, directly or indirectly, recommended one person to either of those gentlemen; and that he did not know who were the persons by whom they were supported in the heavy subscription. They had made an offer of leaving a part for the great Companies, and of suffering him to fill up 2,000,000*l.* of it as he might choose. To this he peremptorily objected; he eased himself of the load totally, and the bargain was concluded on the ground of their taking, providing, distributing, and answering for the whole. In this he had it in his power to say, what, notwithstanding all the assertions of gentlemen, he had to say in the former year, that he had not given sums to particular gentlemen because they were his friends, and denied it to others because they were his enemies. He had not studied the advancement of influence in the distribution of that loan; but had as nearly as possible pursued one direct rule in apportioning the sum given to the sum subscribed. He had not marked the houses of such bankers and merchants as might be conceived inimical to him; it would be base and dishonourable in him to have such prejudices, for undoubtedly the public loans to government were not to be considered among the gifts which ministers had to confer. It was true that members of that House had subscribed to the last loan; and their pretensions to do so were certainly just and admissible; for why should members of that House be debarred from assisting government? In order, however, to prevent all imputations of partiality, the rule followed with respect to all the subscriptions of members, was to give them generally 10,000*l.* Did this appear like manœuvring? He was sensible that no man could say so; or, if they did, he was sure they could not produce one instance of partial and improper preference. Let them prove him guilty by mentioning one instance, or otherwise not charge him with crimes, of which they could not prove him to be guilty. With respect to the method of concluding the bargain in the present instance, instead of giving it to one set of gentlemen, merely because they were friendly, and withholding

it from others, because they were not equally so disposed to government, he gave the House his assurance, that he had preferred the one bargain to the other, because it was much more beneficial to the public. He must add, that he had not mentioned to the second set of gentlemen any thing of withholding from the long annuities; he had said, indeed, that the short annuities would not be eligible, because they were low.

Mr. Byng said a few words in reply, and declared, that if Mr. Byng the House had enabled him to go into the proof of the charges which he brought against the noble Lord in the blue riband, and if they would yet give him the opportunity, he would pledge himself to prove his charges. But the noble Lord had said, that he had not mentioned to the gentlemen who made the second offer, not to meddle with the long annuities. In order to prove that he had done so in part, if not directly, Mr. Byng read from a paper sent out by the noble Lord to those gentlemen a N. B. which informed them that the annuity of the three per cent. was to commence on the 5th of January, and those of the four per cent. on the 5th of April. It said nothing of the long annuities. He asserted, therefore, that these gentlemen had not been treated with fairness. They had not an equal chance with the others, and this the House would be more firmly convinced of, when he informed them, that when they went and made their offer of assistance to government, the noble Lord informed them, that if their offer was only equal to that of the other gentlemen, he would give them the preference: if it was lower, indeed, he would prefer them.

Lord North said it was very true, he had done so, and he thought it a duty as much incumbent upon him to give the preference in case of the offers being equal to those who had come forward first, as it would be to give those who came second, if their offer should be lower than the first. Ld. North.

Mr. Smith, the banker, gave the House an account of the circumstances of the offer that was made by the second set of gentlemen, the bankers in London having considered the injuries they might sustain from the partial distribution of a loan so extensive as the present, and going all into the hands of a few men of one particular description; and also desiring that the bargain should not, by being thus confined, be extravagant, had met together and determined to make an offer to government. This was a resolution of the bankers in general, and they appointed a committee to negotiate the matter with Lord North. They waited on him, and another day Mr. Smith.

was appointed, which was Saturday last. When they came to the place, after receiving some necessary information for regulating their offer, they saw the noble Lord, and he informed them, that if their offer should be lower than that of the other party, it would be accepted in preference, but if it should only be equal, that then the other party would be preferred. . . . This was an indication of partiality, which determined several of the gentlemen to propose withdrawing entirely, without making any offer whatever; for when they saw that there was such a disposition in the noble Lord, they could not have any expectation either of fairness or justice in their bargain. Mr. Smith confessed that he was one who was of this opinion. The committee consisted of nine gentlemen, and four of them thought, that after such testimony of what they were to expect, they ought to retire without making any offer whatever. Other gentlemen of that committee, however, men of great respect and experience, were of opinion that they ought to make an offer, not with an intention of procuring the loan, but reducing the terms to an economical rate, that the nation might not suffer through an enormous bargain. They did make an offer, but it was not so low as they would have given. He did not go into the room where the noble Lord was, because he disapproved of the business; but he was given to understand, that they offered in the room to take the whole, or any part of it, at 2l. a premium, and, if it should be higher, to restore the surplus: This also was rejected. He was clearly of opinion, that the bankers, by their conduct on this occasion, had been the means of procuring for the public a good bargain; but they had surely been themselves treated unfairly. The gentlemen to whom the loan was all given, had claims of a nature peculiar to themselves: One of them was distinguished and known by having made a fraudulent contract with the minister, by which the public had been injured to a considerable amount; and it was somewhat curious to see the noble Lord make another bargain with a person who had so deceived him. . . . But the case was so; and to this gentleman, among others, the loan was given. Another gentleman was the knight of a shire, who, by such enormous influence as this must give him, could not fail of rooting out the natural family interest in that county. This was a thing surely wrong, and which that House ought not to countenance.

Ld. North. Lord North declared, that he had not heard any of the gentlemen say that they were willing to take the loan at 2l. premium.

Mr.

Mr. Alderman *Harley* said, that he was the author of the first proposal that was made to government, and accepted. Many complaints had been made of the open subscription of last year; and undoubtedly it turned out that the douceur was great. He had, therefore, proposed to some other gentlemen, to make an offer to government for a private subscription on terms moderate and reasonable to both parties. The offer had been made in January last, and it was simply thus; that they would take seven millions of it at a premium from two to three per cent, leaving it in the minister's power to fill up the remainder, or they would take the whole on the same terms. Now it had been said that the noble Lord in the blue riband refused to admit the second party of gentlemen to a share in the loan, in case the two offers should be equal. He thought the noble Lord was in the right to say so; for surely if the offers were equal, the first who present themselves for the accommodation of government, had the best title; and he, for one, would not have agreed that they should have been admitted after they had formed the plan, and come with the meritorious claim of being the first to assist government in a critical moment, at a moderate rate. In a former loan, two years ago, Mr. Atkinson, he, and some other gentlemen, proposed to take three millions of the loan upon themselves; but the minister said, that the offer which they made was not such a one as he could carry to Parliament. Upon which he answered; that if the offer was not such as he, the minister, could propose, it was not such as he, a member of Parliament, ought to agree to; and saying this, he left his three millions, and the room. On the present occasion they were anxious to assist government on moderate terms, and they had done so. Their offer was accepted because it was the best.

Mr. Ald.  
Harley.

Mr. *T. Townshend* spoke of the very fine propositions which the noble Lord in the blue riband had made, respecting the firmness and impartiality with which he had acted. Would those people who were about him make the same declaration! Would the Secretaries of the Treasury say that they would not recommend the proper persons to fill up the lists of those gentlemen who were to have the loan! But indeed, when such men were to have it, it was hardly necessary to have any secret injunctions whatever. He looked upon the present as the most artful scheme of promoting the influence of ministry, which had been hitherto practised. It prevented detection, and enabled them to put on their creatures on the list without any fear of that exposure which they suffered last year. He mentioned

Mr. Thos.  
Townshend



mentioned the case of the Duke of Newcastle's loans, and shewed how much superior they were to the present.

Mr. Adam  
Drummond

Mr. *Adam Drummond* rose, and averred, that there was one of the loans of the Duke of Newcastle which bore a douceur of three per cent. He was seasonably told of it, and he thought it a very good thing, and determined to have a slice. He applied instantly, for whenever a man wished to procure any of the good things that were going, he must not protract his application; and another gentleman and he got a good comfortable share of it. It was the first loan in which he ever had any concern. After this time, it rose even  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. more. He had the clearest recollection of it, for he never forgot things of that kind.

Mr. Robin-  
son.

Mr. *Robinson* said, in answer to Mr. T. Townsend, that upon his honour he had not, and he would not recommend any one person to the gentlemen who had the loan.

Sir Grey  
Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* declared upon his honour, as a gentleman, which he preferred to his situation, that he had not, and would not recommend any person. They could not act in disobedience of the noble Lord's orders.

Mr. Hufsey

Mr. *Hufsey* asked some questions in order to satisfy himself, whether the first party of gentlemen had, from the beginning, held forth the same terms, or whether they had not, on the last day, in consequence of the appearance of a new set of subscribers, lowered their terms 2s. 6d. in the annuity, and brought it from 20s. to 17s. 6d. ? Being informed that they had made the same offer all along, he agreed that the present bargain was better than all Lord North's former bargains.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* examined the noble Lord's pretensions to credit and praise in his bargain. It had been declared, that the benefit of competition was to produce an advantageous bargain. This, however, the noble Lord had totally overlooked, had omitted to take the advantage which was declared to be peculiar to this species of loan; he had kept them asunder, and had taken the lowest without endeavouring to get lower. He remarked of Mr. Alderman Harley, and his delicacy in not taking a share in a loan of which he disapproved, that last year he had supported the most enormous loan that was ever brought forward to any Parliament. He blamed the conduct of the minister through the whole of this business. The last year he had made an infamous bargain in a bungling manner. He now wished to make a bargain equally advantageous to influence with more safety; and he declared, that Parliament ought:

ought, if they were wise or honest, to curb a practice, which, above all others, was destructive of their independence.

The question was now put, and agreed to without a division.

*February 26.*

Sir *Grey Cooper* moved, that the report from the committee of ways and means be brought up. Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* desired first to have some explanation on the subject of pensions granted to the American refugees. He understood that about 20,000*l.* had been granted this year more than the last; and that the whole amounted to 80,000*l.* for the year. He wished to be informed, if in the above sum was included the civil establishment of officers formerly under the Crown in America; he had heard, and he wished to know if what he had heard was true, that some of those officers received their full salaries, and a considerable pension into the bargain, instead of being as they ought to be like officers out of employment, put on half-pay. He advised the noble Lord to make their situations easy, by tacking them to contracts. Sir Philip J. Clerke.

Lord *North* set the honourable member right with respect to the sums; the whole amount instead of 80,000*l.* as the honourable baronet had stated it, was only 68,000*l.* and the excess of this year was not of 20,000*l.* but of about 10,500*l.* This excess he had accounted for yesterday in the committee; and upon the whole, by joining the expence of the present year and the next, it would turn out eventually, that the expenditure for this year would not, in fact, be greater than that of the last. Among the refugees there were certainly many officers of the Crown, who had enjoyed places in America; and for the most part, they did not get as much yearly from the Treasury as they used to get by their places: there were others whose pensions were larger than their former salaries; but then it was because the places such persons filled had very trifling salaries annexed to them, and such as could not support men, the emoluments of the office arising from fees. Lord North.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* did not appear to be very well satisfied with the answer; he thought the refugees ought to go back to America, and become serviceable to government, and not remain like drones in this country: if there were any Englishmen among the refugees, the noble Lord had various ways of providing for them, without burdening the country with an enormous pension list: he said that, on some future day, he would move to have the refugee list laid before the House: Sir Philip J. Clerke.



House : at all events he would oppose the report, until sufficient explanation should be given on that head.

The Speaker  
cr.

The *Speaker* informed the honourable member, that there was no ground for opposing the bringing up of the report, from any thing relating to the refugee pension list ; for it had not yet been voted : the noble Lord had indeed mentioned it yesterday in his general estimate of the expences of the current year ; but he did not propose it to the committee, to be voted then ; the day would come, when the honourable member would have an opportunity of opposing this list, if he wished so to do, when an application should be made to the committee of supply, specifically for the payment of the American pensions. It was a rule of the House, that the ways and means should not exceed the supply : the ways and means voted last night amounted to 13,500,000*l.* but then they were covered by the supply already granted : when the sums which remained to be voted should be called for, then as the pension list was among them, the honourable member might oppose it ; and if it should be rejected, there would of course be a proportionably less sum voted in Exchequer bills.

Mr. Martin : Mr. *Martin* declared, he had intended to make a few remarks on the loan the preceding day, but gentlemen seemed so impatient to attend to other avocations, more agreeable, tho' less useful, perhaps, than attending their duty in that House, that he would not detain them to hear what he had to say. With regard to the noble Lord's having been partial in distributing the loan, he thought it right, as belonging to a banking-house in the city, to say, he had never been partial to him one way or the other, and that for the best reason in the world, viz. because he had never applied for any part of a loan, not wishing to add a penny to his fortune, by taking advantage of the public necessity, and being determined not to contribute any the least assistance towards carrying on the abominable, ruinous, and wicked American war. With regard to the loan, it certainly was a better bargain for the country than that of last year, but he did not much approve of those who were selected as the money-lenders ; one of them, Mr. Atkinson, appeared to him an improper person for the noble Lord to have any farther connection with, because he had proved himself already, to say no worse of his conduct, too cunning for the Treasury. As to Mr. Drummond, he had no manner of objection to him ; it was in the fair line of his business to undertake a part of the loan, but

he could not at all think that giving a large portion of it to the right honourable gentleman, who was a Privy Counsellor, and a county member, was right. He certainly might be employed in a more dignified manner than in distributing scrip. Mr. Martin said, he was glad to hear the noble Lord intended to check the mischievous abuse of lotteries. Gambling in high life, he was ready to agree, no laws could stop entirely, but he did not entertain the same opinion with regard to the middling and lower ranks of life. Their inclination to gamble, might, he thought, be easily limited by law, and restrained altogether.

General Smith asked a question relative to the 50,000l. which the noble Lord had said the day before he meant to re-  
General Smith.  
serve for the payment of the saltpetre contract.

Mr. Kenrick informed the House, that he had caused a state  
Mr. Kenrick.  
of the contract to be laid before the Attorney and Solicitor General for their opinion, and to know how it could be rescinded, if it was an improper contract. Before he got the answer of the Crown lawyers, Mr. Townson waited on the Board of his own accord, and offered to give up the contract, nay, he insisted on it: but the Board fearing the want of saltpetre, resisted him: he then offered to submit the affair to the arbitration of any set of gentlemen, or to abide by whatever terms the Board should think proper to dictate: Mr. Townson, in a word, acted in a very handsome, gentlemanlike manner; and the Board agreed to pay him at the rate of 10 per cent. over and above the prime cost; which prime cost was not yet known to the Board.

Mr. Hussey wished that the contract should be completely  
Mr. Hussey.  
rescinded; nor did he think that the apprehension of the want of saltpetre was by any means well founded: for he understood that the annual consumption of saltpetre for the Ordnance was about 1400 tons. Now there were in the Tower of London, 1000 tons belonging to the India Company, and at their warehouse 200 tons more: the Prime and Belmont Indiamen had lately brought home several hundred tons; so that there was very little room for supposing that the Board could be distressed for saltpetre.

The Speaker was obliged again to interfere, as before, saying  
The Speaker.  
that the saltpetre contract was not then before the House. The report was read twice; and after some little conversation, was agreed to without a division, and a bill or bills were ordered in thereupon.

February 27.

The Sheriffs of London presented at the bar a petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common-council assembled, setting forth, that the petitioners, in the present state of public affairs, moved by every sentiment that can impress the human mind with regard for the common welfare of this kingdom and its dependencies, are impelled to implore this honourable House to interpose, in such manner as to their wisdom shall seem most effectual, for preventing the continuance of the unfortunate war with America. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr Alder-  
man Newn-  
ham.

Mr. Alderman *Newnham* just rose to inform the House that the city had been unanimous in this petition, as they were most heartily tired of the American war.

*Motion for putting an end to offensive war with America.*

General  
Conway.

General *Conway* rose at half past four o'clock, to renew his attempt to bring the House to agree with him, that, in the present posture of our affairs, it would be inexpedient and improper any longer to prosecute the American war. He desired that the petition from the cities of London and Bristol might be read, he declared that firm as he was in his opinion on Friday last, of the necessity of putting an end to the American war, he had this day been if possible more confirmed; for the first trading city in the world, had petitioned against the war, and they undoubtedly were the best judges of its effects. He had several inducements to renew his motion: he would do it from a principle of duty to his country, to his constituents, and to himself; and so deep was the impression which the calamities and disgraces of this unnatural and cruel war had made upon him, that while he had a mind to think, a heart to feel, or a tongue to speak, he never would relax in his endeavours to point out the necessity of putting an end to it. Another inducement was, that the last question, which he had the honour of submitting to the House, had been lost, or as some would call it carried, by so very small a majority; and he had since conversed with so many members, who were absent when that question was discussed, and who had assured him that if they had been present when it was proposed they would have voted for it; that he could not bring himself to think, that the sense of the House could fairly be said to have been taken on the subject; members had frequently made light of their attendance, but he begged them to consider and reflect that perhaps all the mischiefs and calamities of that  
was

war were now to be attributed to the absence of a single member. But these were not his only inducements ; he had still another, from which he expected no inconsiderable advantage ; two members of great weight, and deservedly of great weight in that House [Mr. Rigby and the Lord Advocate] had, in the late debate on the American war, fairly confessed that they were tired of the war ; they had declared themselves converts to the opinion of its impracticability ; and they had delivered themselves on that subject in a very manly manner : all he regretted was, that they had not followed up their manly declaration with a manly vote for the Address. They were now avowed converts ; the light had shone upon them, they were thrown down from their high horse of starvation and unconditional submission, but, unlike Paul, after his conversion, they had not become the champions of that people and cause of which they had been such violent persecutors. Their conduct appeared to him perfectly inexplicable : and if he might borrow an image from the sacred text, he might say that they and others had received the gift of tongues ; cloven tongues had fallen upon them ; not tongues of truth and sincerity, but double tongues ; they had one tongue for Parliament, and another for private companies ; with the one they censured and condemned the American war, and with the other, they voted against every proposition that had a tendency to put an end to it : the world would judge of the consistency of such conduct, and their own honour would tell them how unworthy it was of them.—He was sorry to say that these two members were not the only two, who were gifted with these cloven tongues : he had dined in company with an honest plain soldier a few days ago, who observed, that he never had been more astonished than at hearing many members of Parliament most heartily condemn in coffee-houses, the very same measures for which he had seen them the most strenuous advocates in Parliament : whether it was matter of astonishment or not, it was an undoubted fact, that the representation of the old officer was founded in truth ; and that there were but too many persons within those walls, who could bear witness to it. Upon all those, who spoke thus with double tongues, he called, to reflect upon the calamities which by their conduct they would be instrumental in heaping upon their country ; and he hoped that all sense of honour and patriotism was not completely extinguished in their breasts, but that they must be roused to a total dereliction of those principles, upon

which they had hitherto enabled ministers to undo their country.

To the motion, which he had the honour to submit to the House on Friday last, he understood there were two objections; and as they might perhaps be made with equal propriety against the motion, which he intended to make at the end of his speech, he would endeavour, as well as he could, to remove them. One objection was, that it was unconstitutional in that House to interfere with its advice in those things, which specially and indisputably belonged to the executive power. This was a position, which none could have been hardy enough to have made, if they had been at all versed in the history of Parliament. Ministers could not find time enough to look into the Journals of the House; they confined their study entirely to one book; and in the contents of it, they were certainly well versed; the book he alluded to was the red book; it was in that they found the greatest comfort, amusement, and assistance; it was there they found the calendar of their saints, whose patronage they experienced on all occasions: but if they could have spared a small portion of their time for the reading of the Journals, they would have found that the objection which had been made to his motion, as if it militated against the principles of the constitution, was founded in falsehood; for it appeared from the Journals, that from the days of Edward the Third down to the present reign, Parliament had at all times given advice to the Crown, in matters relating to war and peace. In the reign of Richard the Second, it had been frequently done; and also in that of Henry the Fourth. There was one remarkable instance of this in the reign of Henry the Seventh; that Prince consulted his Parliament respecting the propriety of supporting the Duke of Brittany against France; and also of declaring war against the latter; and he told his Parliament that it was for no other purpose than to hear their advice on these heads, that he called them together. In the reign of James the First, the Parliament interfered repeatedly with their advice respecting the Palatinate, the match with Spain, and a declaration of war against that power. In the days of Charles the First there were similar interferences; in the reign of his son, Charles the Second, the Parliament made repeated remonstrances, but particularly in 1674 and 1675, on the subject of the alliance with France, which they urged to be renounced; and recommended a strict union with the United Provinces: it was true, that to these remonstrances,

remonstrances, they had received answers which were by no means pleasing or satisfactory; they were told that they were exceeding the line of their duty, and encroaching upon the prerogative of the Crown: but so little did the Commons of that day relish those answers, that they addressed the King to know who it was that had advised his Majesty to make such answers to their loyal and constitutional remonstrances? In the reign of King William, repeated instances were to be found in the Journals, of advice given by Parliament relative to the Irish war, and the war on the continent: the like occurred frequently in the reign of Queen Anne; and one address, in particular, advised the Queen not to make peace with France, until Spain should be secured to Austria; nay, it went so far as to advise her Majesty not to consent to peace until Dunkirk should be demolished.

Against such a torrent of precedents, he asked, who could contend? A man must fly in the face of common sense and conviction, who could, after hearing them, continue to say that the motion which he had submitted to the House on Friday, was in its nature unparliamentary and unconstitutional. He would take it then for granted, for he would not insult the House with a doubt on the subject, that he had removed the objection that had been made to his motion on this ground; he had proved it to be constitutional. He would next endeavour to satisfy the minds of those gentlemen who had urged this other objection to it—that it was obscurely and indistinctly worded. The motion went to advise his Majesty to order his ministers to renounce the war on the continent of America, for the impracticable object of reducing the colonies by force. The object of the motion was, in his mind, very clearly expressed; it was to give up the idea of conquest, and consequently, of an offensive war; but here the ingenuity of some gentlemen had been exerted to render the meaning of the words “offensive” war unintelligible. For his part, without deriving, or at least wishing to derive, any knowledge from his profession, but judging merely as a private man, he knew very distinctly the meaning of these words; an offensive war, was a war in which attempts were made by an army, to possess themselves of what they had not before; a defensive war was that in which they confined all their exertions to defend that, of which they were already in possession. Upon this principle, could any one mistake the real meaning of his motion? He had not said a syllable of withdrawing our troops from the places which they actually held; he had not advised any such measure;



measure; and he would not advise it; perhaps he would rather condemn it. But then while he admitted that it would be proper to keep the posts we now have in America, it might be said to him, "You are a friend to posts; surely then you could have no objection to our shifting our posts, if we could find others more advantageous than those which we already hold."—But his answer to this would be, "No, you must not change your posts; for then you act offensively, by taking places which you did not before hold; and this kind of war is condemned by the motion." He might next be asked, What kind of war could be carried on from these posts? His answer would be—no kind of war whatever, except for self-defence; such a war as General Elliot wages at Gibraltar; and such a war as General Murray, it was said, had lately waged at Fort St. Philip, where, by a spirited and well-timed sally, the works of the enemy nearest the place had been destroyed: this kind of war, and this only, would be permitted under the motion: any other kind of war in America he must, in the present situation of our affairs condemn: the changing of posts would subject us to enormous expences; we should be obliged to take the field; to provide baggage waggons, sick waggons, pontons, intrenching tools, and a thousand other things, which would subject us to the same expence, as the field operations which we had hitherto carried on without advantage, but to the loss of our armies, our treasures, and the best blood of the nation. The species of war which he would think allowable, might be understood by a man of the plainest sense, without going to Mons. Guibert's Military Principles, or the Reveries of Marshal Saxe.—He wished that there were not reveries among our ministers; the pleasing dreams slip from the ivory gate, seized their fancies, and playing before their imaginations, kept them as insensible to the real interests of their country as if they were of another country.

Such were his answers to the objections stated to his motion; such his sentiments with respect to the manner in which the troops in America should be ordered to act. He adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Secretary Ellis, on the former debate, that this cursed war was not now to be considered as an American, but as a French war. If it was a French war, undoubtedly we were doing a most impolitic thing, for we were fighting France at arm's length, as she could, with 5000 troops that did not cost her more than 40l. a man a-year; maintain the war against us with 73,000 men,

men, at 100l. a man. There appeared to him a fourth kind of war, at which nature shuddered, he meant an Indian war; for he was well assured that a new place had been appointed, which he could scarce think, in times like the present, was meant as a sinecure, that was, Inspector of Indian affairs. In the name of God what could be the motive of ministers, that they wished to drive every spark of love, every tie of the Americans, whom he would still call brethren, (for so they certainly were) from us? Did we suppose that by the infernal plan of desolation, of burning, ravaging, slaughtering, and ravishing of these oppressed people, we could ever make them love us? Certainly not, they undoubtedly felt the calamities of war, and would wish for peace; but could any man think that a nation, once famed for its honour and humanity, could so far loose sight of itself, as to employ savages to butcher innocent, inoffensive men! No, it was a conduct of that kind that had made us, not as a noble Lord (Mulgrave) had mentioned in a former debate, the glory and envy of every other nation, but had made us the ridicule and contempt of every power upon earth: this he did not speak merely on his own opinion, but on those of gentlemen who had lately travelled, and heard the sentiments of others. An honourable gentleman (Sir H. Mann) in last Friday's debate had declared, that lately on the continent he had been in company, where it was asked what country he was; and on being told an Englishman, they all sneered and turned up their noses; but afterwards, in another company, it was whispered he was an American, and he was caressed by every one. Such was the opinion formed of us, owing to our despicable measures. The Americans, he had been credibly informed, wished for a peace, and would willingly treat for one, could they put any dependence in the faith of ministers: but was it possible for any people to be weak enough to trust to men that were continually shifting their ground, as our present ministers were, calling the war one day a war of posts, another a defensive war, and at last a French American war? He would not contend about mere words; for a rose, to be sure, called by any other name, would smell as sweet as if called by its proper name; and on that head he would let them have the fragrant smell of the word American. But he could not sit down without saying a few words by way of pointing out the necessity of coming to a speedy determination, lest by delaying, we should lose the opportunity of making a peace.

Every



Every gentleman knew what burthens had been heaped upon the public, and how very near we were to see our resources exhausted in the pursuit of an object which constantly fled from us, and which we never could attain; by this wild pursuit we weakened ourselves, and became unable to resist the dreadful danger that was hanging over us. At this very moment, while he was speaking, he was afraid that a dreadful blow was preparing against some vital part of the empire; for he was given to understand that a fleet of 40 sail of the line, partly French and partly Spanish, had lately put to sea, for the purpose of some great expedition, from which we had every thing to dread. The state of those powers who composed the armed neutrality, furnished us also with subject of the greatest apprehension: our resources in men and money were nearly exhausted; the best blood in the country had been spilt, and still our infatuated ministry pursued the war, without even a shadow of hope that success would attend the pursuit.—How many more human sacrifices did those ministers look for? How many more human victims were to be offered up to those demi-gods? Nothing could satiate them; nothing could preserve the empire from that ruin into which they were plunging it, but a vote of that House: He had drawn up a motion, the very same in substance with that which had been already rejected; but differing in terms, in compliance with the rules of Parliament; the first motion was for an address to the Crown; the motion which he intended to make this day, was in the shape of a resolution. He reminded gentlemen that now was the time to attend to their duty: The fate of the last question was determined by a single vote; and though it might be thought that one vote was not of any great consequence, yet it appeared, by the last division, that a single vote was of the greatest importance, and no one who wished well to his country would be absent on the present occasion: for to be absent would be in substance little short of treachery to the interest of the kingdom. He concluded, by moving the following resolution:

“That it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this Country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain  
and

and America, and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity."

Lord Viscount *Alborge* seconded the motion from a thorough conviction, he said, that it was just, and conformable to the wishes of the people at large, who, where-ever he went, were exclaiming against the American war. He had listened with great attention during the debate of Friday last, and was astonished to hear it said, "You must make war to gain peace—you must make the Americans feel the calamities of war, to wish for peace." Would any man say they had not felt the calamities of war; or would any man say, that we ourselves had not felt the calamities of war? If they did, he must differ widely in opinion from them; for, was the burning of towns, and spreading desolation where-ever we went, not making the Americans feel the calamities of war in the utmost degree? Certainly it was; and the vast burthen and increase of our taxes, was severely felt at home; besides, our army in America was not only an useless army, but was a means of our navy being neglected, for the men that were raised and sent to be slaughtered there, would have been of infinite service, if employed as marines, or by becoming sailors.

Lord. Al-  
thorp.

Sir Charles  
Bunbury.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* said, that he had formerly declared against the independence of America; though he had never concurred in the carrying on the war, because he had thought it impracticable. He understood that a right honourable gentleman had spoken out in a very manly tone with regard to the American war; a happy breeze had wafted those favourable omens to the gallery, which, by the hand of some careful reporter, were delivered to the world. As their difference of opinion had not merely separated him hitherto from that right honourable gentleman within, but also without doors, he trusted that the present happy change of his sentiments would put an end to their separation. He declared he knew the country had suffered much by the American war; his noble kinsman, however, had given the best evidence with regard to his dislike of war, by his agreement to the terms of sending out commissioners for the purpose of procuring peace. Sir Charles said, his sensibility was strong, which prevented him from speaking in public, and made him but seldom trespass on their attention; he sincerely wished, that he could but transfer some part of that sensibility to his

Majesty's ministers, and teach them to feel those sufferings, which their conduct had brought on the country. He was, he acknowledged, much better calculated for a man of pleasure than politics; but his property in the West Indies compelled him to attend to those islands, however disagreeable and uncongenial to his disposition the study might be. Bending under weights like those at present inflicted on the nation, and palliating them by the voice of a majority, he declared, was like soothing a delicate man, and making him bear up against the brawny arm of a coal-heaver. "The ravages of war were injurious to the feelings of humanity, which sighed at them." These were not, he said, the expressions of a recluse philosopher, they were the words of the celebrated Paul Jones, and did honour to his humanity. He had lately heard men wish to prevent gambling; he was very happy that his noble friend had taken some pains to hinder the lower order of people from practising that pernicious vice; he knew the higher order of people could and would break through all preventions, but he could not help wishing that an entire suppression of lotteries might take place, because he was convinced they were exceedingly injurious to morality. It was not, however, in framing or suppressing lotteries, he liked to see his Lordship engaged, many good lessons might be obtained in other places; he had seen a noble Duke and a noble Marquis, his Lordship's predecessors, on the course at Newmarket, where he could likewise wish to see his Lordship. [Here he was called to order.] He immediately declared he was speaking to order, and should come to the question presently. Had the noble Lord been used to that amusement, to which he had just alluded, he might there have learned some good lessons, in the same manner as children are taught geography from toys, made out of maps cut into pieces. The noble Duke had learned at Newmarket, never to be over-matched; and the noble Marquis, when he found himself entered in a bad match there, always thought it best to pay forfeit. He wished to address himself to the gentlemen of Lincoln, he did not mean the members for the county, or those for any particular part of it; he only intended to address himself to such, as had formerly, from conscience, supported this accursed American war; that war had originally commenced in the extremities, but it had now pervaded to the heart. They now felt that their long wool had become non-productive, the export of which was all the effect which it could or would produce.

Mr.

Mr. *T. Pitt* said, that he did not rise to enumerate the many urgent and forcible arguments that were urged the former night in support of this motion; because they had never been contradicted; he delivered it as his opinion, that if the ingenuity of gentlemen on the other side of the House had not been exerted to puzzle and perplex the meaning of the motion made on Friday last, it would have been carried unanimously, or at least by so very considerable a majority, that it would have approached very near to unanimity. He thought it necessary to say, that he was not a factious man; it was well known that he belonged to no party; and that he never would give a vote for either side of the House, unless when he thought the good of his country called for it: in the last debate on the subject of the address, it had been urged on the other side of the House, that the object of the address was to recall the troops from America; but it had no such object; if it had, he certainly would have voted against it; for he was not yet ripe to say that our troops ought to be recalled: nor would he vote for that address, or for the present motion, if he thought that in voting for them, he exceeded the line which the constitution had pointed out for Parliament to pursue. He would not encroach upon the executive power, because, without documents before him, and without that knowledge which could be acquired therefrom, he could not tell what orders ought to be given; he would not pledge Parliament to any measure which should take from ministers the responsibility annexed to their offices: they knew best what to do; they knew the real sense of the Parliament and the nation; and they knew their resources: it was therefore their business to devise plans either for war or peace, and carry them into execution at their own peril. At present the war in America prevented us from acting against France: it crippled all our exertions; and therefore he thought it his duty to vote for a resolution, which held out a prospect of a peace, that would enable us the more effectually to carry on the war against our ancient and natural enemies; and he made no doubt but the sense of the nation would be expressed and re-echoed by the decision of the present question, in the carrying of which he hoped to see something bordering very much on unanimity.

Capt. *John Luttrell* rose to deliver his opinion against the motion; but being considerably embarrassed sat down.

Mr. *Alderman Newnham* expressed his most hearty assent to the motion, because he hoped it would put an end to a de-

Captain J. Luttrell.  
Mr. Ald. Newnham.

tested and ruinous war, in the reprobation of which there was but one voice in the nation. For his own part, he was sorry that he happened to have been deprived of the pleasure of expressing by vote on Friday last, his abhorrence of that war, and his earnest wish to see it terminated; if he thought so desirable an object had been lost through his absence, he should deservedly lose the good opinion of his constituents; nay, he would undoubtedly have lost his good opinion of himself; as to the question then before the House, he thought it proper to assure gentlemen that nothing would be more acceptable to the city, than to hear that the House had agreed to it: This might appear sufficiently from the petition that had been read; all that remained for him to say was, that it had passed without a single dissentient voice, and if he had not known it sufficiently before, he should have been convinced of it last Saturday, for every man that he met looked upon him with a gloomy face, and seemed to charge him with the continuance of the war. He would undertake to pledge himself in the name of his constituents, that if ministers would make peace with America, and turn the arms of this country against the old and natural enemies of Great Britain, there was no support which they might not expect to receive from the city of London; and see given with the utmost cheerfulness.

Sir Horace  
Mann,

Sir *Horace Mann* said, that from principle he had supported the American war, under the idea, first, that it was just; and next, that it was practicable: experience, however had convinced him, that the object we had set out with was unattainable and impracticable: his eyes were now open, and he saw that it would be madness to pursue it any longer: it was therefore the best thing that could be done, in our present situation, to put an end to a war, as speedily as possible, which, if not soon terminated, would put an end to our political existence. With these sentiments, therefore, he must proclaim his conversion, and seal it, by voting for the motion then before the House.

When Sir *Horace Mann* had done, the gentlemen in opposition called loudly and frequently for the question; and no one rising to speak to it, the Speaker ordered the strangers in the gallery to withdraw, and was beginning to read the motion, when at last he was interrupted by

Lord North.

Lord *North*, who rose to oppose it: His Lordship expressed some little surprize at hearing gentlemen call for the question so very soon, and begged that they would moderate their

their ardour until he should have delivered his sentiments on the subject. If the object of the motion was peace, and that an ardent desire to put an end to the war could produce that wished-for blessing, he made no doubt but unanimity would convey one general sense of the House on that subject: — For his part, he would readily confess that peace was the object nearest his heart; the question with him was only how can peace be procured? There were two things to be considered with respect to the war, which he and every man felt to be calamitous and burthensome; or rather the war was to be considered in two points of view, the war *in* America, and the war *with* America. It was only one of these two objects, that gentlemen seemed so desirous to attain: for, from all that he had heard, he found that no one member had yet ventured to assert, that the troops ought to be withdrawn from America. The end of the war was indeed, what all parties looked to; but how was this to be brought about? He knew only of two means; by peace, or by withdrawing our troops: the latter was a measure, which so far from having been recommended by any one gentleman, seemed to be completely condemned by all: and how was the former practicable? could we make peace when we pleased? or was the mode proposed by the motion the most likely to effect a peace? His objection to the motion did not arise from a want of sincere wishes for peace; but from an idea that the motion was more likely to retard than accelerate so desirable an event. No one had suggested any grounds on which peace could be made; on the contrary, the only mode that seemed to have been pointed out to make hostilities cease, was a total dereliction of the war. But here a difficulty started: how could the House be convinced, that peace was the wish of ministers; was it by seeing that they withdrew the troops? No; for this was a measure that all condemned. Then there was but one other way of convincing the House, that ministers did not intend to carry on the war, as it had hitherto been conducted; and that was, that no army had been, or would be sent out to replace that which had been lost; and that no more troops would be sent out to America, except such recruits as might be necessary to keep up our garrisons: if that could be deemed a pledge and satisfaction to the House, he was ready to give it; but if they suspected the sincerity, ability, or integrity of the servants of the Crown, it was not by such a motion as the present that the House ought to express their backwardness to trust them any longer with

with



with the management of public affairs : they ought to address the Crown to remove those ministers, in whom they could not place confidence, and to appoint others in whom they could confide. A minister ought not to be a minister after he was suspected ; he should be like Cæsar's wife, not only free from guilt, but even from suspicion. — If the House should withdraw their confidence from him, it would be his duty, without waiting for an address for his removal, to wait upon his sovereign, and, delivering up to him the seal of his office, say to him, ‘ Sir, I have long served you with diligence, with zeal, and with fidelity ; but success has not crowned my endeavours ; your Parliament have withdrawn from me their confidence ; and all my declarations to them are suspected ; therefore, Sir, let me resign to you those employments, which I ought not to keep longer than I can be serviceable to your Majesty and your subjects ; and beg you will bestow them upon some other, who with greater success, though not with greater zeal or fidelity, may give more satisfaction to your Majesty and your Parliament.’

If the House should not trust to his declarations, he desired them, in the name of God, to find out some better security ; and when they should have found it, he wished they would prefer it to any declaration of any minister ; if they were determined to take upon themselves to prescribe in what manner the war should be pursued, let them declare it ; but let them at the same time, deliver their orders, which no doubt they would and ought to expect to have obeyed, in such clear terms, that ministers might be able to know, for certain, when they were obeying them, or when they were swerving from them. The late motion for an address was certainly not of that nature, for it would have been impossible for any minister to have known how to obey it.

As to peace itself, there were difficulties in the way greater perhaps than gentlemen were aware of. Who would say that America could make peace ? If it was true that France paid, fed, and clothed her troops, could she be said to be free to make peace when she pleased ? Under the British constitution she enjoyed blessings and advantages, many of them greater than even Englishmen enjoyed at home : for this reason he had presumed, that for the vain and empty name of independence, she would not have sacrificed the benefits she enjoyed : he had always said, that the separation of America from Great Britain would be a heavy loss to the latter ; but that it would be a grievous misfortune to the former :

former : his saying would be verified, if, as he had observed before, her independence should be a mere name or empty sound ; if, as there was reason to believe, she had only changed masters ; and that she had only changed masters was to be presumed ; because it could not be supposed that France was a knight errant for liberty, and that too at an immense expence. But still, if peace was to be made, and America free to enter into a treaty, was a public declaration that we would not act in any one given case against her, the means of procuring the best terms ? Certainly not ; on the contrary, it would produce the opposite effect. But if France was to be reduced before America could treat, then he would contend, in opposition to the motion, that nothing could tend more to weaken our efforts against our inveterate European enemies, than to keep our army in America, with their swords tied up by this declaration. Gentlemen all agreed that the troops should not be withdrawn ; if then they kept them in America inactive, did they not by inference say to the French, attack us where you please, you may be always sure that our forces in America shall not act against you or your allies ? This would be weakening our efforts ; this would be subjecting the nation to an enormous expence without any possible return.

He did not wish to make declarations in that House, because he did not think he was speaking to that House alone ; he was speaking to America, to Holland, to France, to Spain, and to all the world : it would not therefore be proper for him to explain himself, any more than for the House to speak plain on so delicate a subject : it would not be proper for him to say what orders might be given, what alliances were in agitation, or on what conditions peace might be eventually obtained ; for then France might say to America you are sure at all events of peace ; I have held out for your success, do you now hold out a little while for mine. The House would in a variety of circumstances, have opportunities to interfere in any negociation for peace ; for in some points, no minister would dare to treat of peace without the authority of parliament ; in some others, the will of ministers would be ineffectual towards peace, without the assistance of parliament. The bill for shutting the ports of America would stand in the way even of a truce, for though ministers might proclaim a truce by land, between the land forces ; yet while that bill existed, which confiscated all American property in ships,  
no



no truce could be made at sea : parliament of course must be called upon on such an occasion.

He admitted the motion to be perfectly constitutional ; it was its expediency he combated : if ministers were sincere in their propositions, that no troops should be sent to America, a very little time would demonstrate it : but if they should prove insincere, then the present motion, if withdrawn at present, or even negatived, might be renewed, and with propriety ; he therefore wished that it might be delayed, in order to give ministers a trial.

He wished to speak fairly, and to be understood ; and yet he found that it was his misfortune always to be misunderstood or misrepresented ; for he had read in some publications, if the honourable member who made the motion would believe that he read any thing, other than the red book ; he had read in the records of modern history (the news-papers) of Lord North's *war of posts*, when in fact a war of posts was what had never occurred to him ; and though he had used the words, yet it was by way of condemning the idea : however, people were goodnaturedly pleased to ascribe to him a desire to support such a war ; a war which was incompatible with the interest of the country.

The honourable member had mentioned cloven tongues, and said, that those members who supported him in parliament, condemned in coffee-houses the very measures for which they voted in that House : He did not believe that the honourable member was rightly informed respecting the coffee-house conversations ; at least, for his own part, he wished not for such friends ; nor did he believe there were among his friends, with whose support his administration had been honoured, such doubled-tongued senators : it had ever been his wish to stand upon the merits of his cause ; he wished to do so this night ; and therefore he called upon them to oblige him only by voting according to the dictates of their own judgment, and totally to lose sight of every personal consideration to him : the removal of ministers was no punishment ; the King had a right to admit or dismiss from his councils whomever he pleased : and he might, without assigning any cause, or without fixing any guilt upon the person, recall that confidence which he had been graciously pleased to bestow upon any one of his servants : he thanked God that mere disgrace in a ministerial sense was no crime ; and as the constitution had given to the King power to dismiss his servants at pleasure, so it took care that

the dismissal did not render them criminal, because no one, in the eye of the law, can be pronounced criminal without trial.

The *Attorney General* (Mr. Wallace) gave it as his opinion, that in the present circumstances nothing but a peace with America could restore this country to its former state of splendor and respect; but he did not think that the motion on the table was calculated to produce that happy and desirable object; for there were many obstacles to be removed before it was possible for that House to expect to bring the Americans to treat with them. The restrictions in the prohibitory acts must first be removed. The ports of this country must be opened for the trade of the Americans. The prohibition against the Americans, with respect to trading to foreign ports, must also be taken off; and, in short, there were many preliminaries to be settled, which in the raging season of war, when the passions of the two people were irritated by hostilities, could not, in his opinion, be adjusted well, if they could be adjusted at all. It was only by a truce that they could expect to accomplish the object which they all seemed to have in view, and which was indeed become so necessary. By a truce with America the old intimacy between the two people would be renewed; the ships of America would fill our ports — our ships would fill theirs; commerce would return to its old channels; affections would be renewed, and a disposition created favourable to a peace, founded on commercial treaties, in which we might be enabled to enjoy something more substantial than the name of supremacy without the power, and America might enjoy all the blessing of independence, consistent with her old connection with Britain. The learned gentleman urged by various arguments the necessity of a truce, and said that he had prepared a motion for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty's ministers to treat on this ground; for without the authority of Parliament, while those acts remained in force, which he had mentioned, they could not treat with the Americans on this ground. In order, therefore, that the House might have an opportunity to come to this important motion, on which a moment should not be lost, he would move “that the present debate be adjourned for a fortnight.”

Mr. *William Pitt* spoke with his usual ability in answer to the noble Lord and the learned gentleman. He said, that from what they had said, if there had been before a number of gentlemen inclined to vote against the motion proposed by the right honourable General, he did not believe that there

would now be one left unconvinced of the propriety and necessity of that motion. For what had they done? After a great deal of argument needlessly introduced as a preliminary to what was to follow, they had moved for adjourning the present question, in order to bring on one for a truce, thereby hoping to convert a few from their determined purpose, into a delusive vote, which, like all their former promises, would end in deception and disappointment. The minister had said, that "unless Parliament doubted the sincerity of ministers, in the professions which they had given of their inclinations to listen to any terms of accommodation that should come to them, and to which this country could agree, they ought not to tie them down by the resolutions proposed." In answer to this, he must say, that the House could not, with either respect to duty or prudence, place confidence in his Majesty's ministers. Was there a promise they had not falsified? Was there a plan in which they had agreed? Did any two ministers that sat on the treasury bench, agree in any one specific doctrine that they ever broached? No, there was an incessant variation: a shuffling and trifling pervaded their whole conduct, in which parliament could have no trust. The honourable gentleman reviewed their conduct for the present session, and pointed out how inexplicable they had been, and shewed, that the House had neither confidence in their professions, nor in the measures which they had taken. — The motion of the right honourable General was alone that on which the House could depend, as on the full, explicit declaration of that House they would have no changing nor shuffling to apprehend. He enforced it by strong and elegant arguments.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* made an admirable commentary on the speech of Lord North, in which he searched, exposed, and ridiculed the arguments of the noble Lord, as the most absurd and unintelligible he had ever heard; it was very singular that the noble Lord, after making propositions of his particular desire to be explicit, should have entertained the House with such an incomprehensible harangue; of which he could only say that he did not understand a syllable. The noble Lord had said that he was superior to duplicity, perhaps so, and he had taken a curious means of preserving himself from the imputation of duplicity. Duplicity was charged to the man who first said one thing, and afterwards endeavoured to give another meaning to it; but surely he could not be charged with speaking double, who had not said either one thing or another. With respect to the trust proposed by the learned gentleman, it had been done in such

a way, he had risen with such unusual eagerness and anxiety to propose this new plan, that he could not help viewing it as a miserable stratagem, to bring over, at the most, three or four undetermined votes, who might be willing to support ministry if they would, in any shape, agree to get rid of the American war. He argued with great earnestness for the necessity of coming to the motion made by the right honourable General. It was temperate — it was conclusive, and by this the House would secure themselves and their country against the consequences of that shuffling system which no promises could bind, nor experience reform.

The *Lord Advocate* replied to the remark which had fallen from General Conway in his opening speech with respect to his conversion, and to his holding a different language in the House and out of it; he assured the right honourable General, that he never did, out of that House, speak of politics, if he could avoid it, at least he was sure, that he never spoke with a double tongue. He then went into a warm defence of the measure proposed by the learned gentleman, the proposition of moving for a truce. It was the best, the most moderate, and the only method which the House, in the present circumstances, could take, to agree to the temperate plan suggested by that learned gentleman for bringing back America to her former habits of intimacy with this country. He replied at length to the arguments that had been urged on the other side.

Mr. Fox spoke next, chiefly in answer to what had come from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and in a few minutes set the matter in issue in a most clear and forcible point of view. He urged, with the most powerful arguments, the propriety of the motion made by the honourable General; the paltry stratagems to which ministers were reduced, in the last moments perhaps of their existence, to gain a short week, or a day of breath.

Lord North rose to explain.

The *Solicitor General*, in a long speech, contended, that the motion of the Attorney General was the most likely means of bringing about what was the general desire of the House.

The honourable Mr. Herbert spoke against general Conway's motion.

Mr. Hill compared the ministry to Don Quixote, the American war to Dulcinea del Toboso the new Secretary to Sancha Pancha, or rather, he said, he would call him the old Rosinante, on which Don Quixote would ride in order to fight the windmill. He said, that next to peace with heaven, peace

Ld. Advocate.

Mr. Fox.

Ld. North.

Solicitor General.

Mr. Herbert.

Mr. Hill.

peace with America was to be wished, and that the yearnings of every true Englishman's bowels over our revolted colonies, were but faintly set forth by the yearnings of David's bowels over his revolted son Absalom, and hoped the House would imitate the example of Queen Esther, who presented an address to king Ahasuerus for the life of her people, whilst the wicked minister Haman, who had counselled their destruction, was hanged on a gibbet 50 cubits high. The House laughing; he said, if they laughed at the quotation he had brought from scripture, he hoped it was unnecessary to make any apology for mentioning so obsolete a book as the Bible, as he was pretty confident that book took up but a very little of the time and attention of that honourable House, and could not help wishing it took up much more; but if they supposed he meant to reflect on the noble Lord in the blue ribband, from what he had said, he assured them he had a favourable opinion of him, wished him well, and hoped never to give a vote against him again, because he flattered himself, the noble Lord would, from henceforth, adopt such measures as he could vote for with a safe conscience; but if he put the noble Lord in one scale, and peace with America in the other, the latter would certainly preponderate; and the noble Lord (though not a make weight) would kick the beam. He said, he always wished to support government, for he owned he was educated in tory-rory principles; but he could not support the present system. He concluded, with adding, that when he ceased to vote as he thought right, he trusted his constituents would think it right to vote him out of that House.

Sir William  
Dolben.

Sir *William Dolben* said, on Friday last he had voted for the motion, and as he intended this evening to vote against it, although the two were in substance and almost literally the same, he should give his reasons to the House for so doing. The Attorney General had, in the course of his speech, mentioned an intention of bringing in a bill for a truce with America, which, in his opinion, was by far the best mode offered, he should therefore be for rejecting the present question, and for adopting that proposed.

Mr. T.  
Townshend

Mr. *T. Townshend* arraigned, with the utmost severity, the inconsistency of the honourable Baronet, who, in the course of a few days, gave two different votes on the same question, although there had not been the least change in affairs to warrant such conduct: He desired him, when he laid down on his pillow, to put his hand to his heart to examine his conscience, and ask himself if he was a consistent man.

Mr.

Mr. *Powys* spoke with feeling and lamentation at the conduct of Sir William Dolben; as a friend he must regret, but as a member of Parliament he must abhor his behaviour; he had a great esteem for his character; but how he could look his constituents, how he could look that House, or how he could look his country in the face, he was at a loss to know.

Sir *Fletcher Norton* spoke also with astonishment at Sir William Dolben's conduct; he demonstrated to the House that the question on Friday evening, and that of this night, were exactly the same in nature, and no change of affairs could warrant any alteration of sentiment with respect to the motion; for a truce as proposed by the learned gentleman, by no means precluded the Baronet from giving his assent to this motion, as in fact this question was a preliminary to a truce, or, to what was much more substantial than a truce, to a conclusive peace.

Sir *William Dolben* rose, and repeated his former reason for his change of conduct.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in a most admirable piece of satire, ridiculed the strange conduct of a man who was the representative of one of our universities, and who from his erudition and character, was supposed to have an influence on country gentlemen.

He reprobated the paltry subterfuge of ministers, in their expressing a wish for a truce, and was confident that every thinking man in the House would see through it, and not be led into the snare artfully laid for them.

Sir *Gilbert Elliot* declared, that he now plainly saw that the nation, the House of Commons, and the ministers, had been for a long time in the wrong; and he could no longer, with justice to his constituents, support their measures. Why gentlemen should make a distinction between the motion as proposed by the honourable General, and that mentioned by the Attorney General, he could not see, for certainly they both went to one and the same point; he should, therefore, give his hearty assent to the present motion.

Mr. *Rosewarne* said, he thought the motion proposed by the learned gentleman was so fair and so candid, that he must wish the present motion was postponed for at least a fortnight, when it might be again resumed, if the other was not approved of; he, therefore, must be against the present question.

General *Conway* rose, and very ably answered every objection that had been started to his motion; he considered the paltry subterfuge, as proposed by the Attorney General, to be the



the desperate attempt of a tottering ministry, and the happy forerunner of their speedy annihilation.

**Mr. Rolle.** Mr. Rolle spoke in favour of General Conway's motion and thought the two questions were so connected with each other, that every honest man ought to vote for both.

At half past one o'clock the House divided on the Attorney General's motion for adjournment, when the numbers were, Noes 234: ayes 215. — Majority against the minister, 19.

The original question was then put, and carried without a division.

The minister being thus left in a minority, General Conway followed up his first motion with another:

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to represent to his Majesty, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America; and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity. This motion was agreed to without a division.

Resolved, That the said address be presented to his Majesty by the whole House.

Ordered, That such members of this House, as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, do humbly know his Majesty's pleasure when he will be attended by this House.

An authentic LIST of both MAJORITY and MINORITY, on the above important Motion.

*Against the Adjournment.*

*For the Adjournment.*

*Bedfordshire.*

Earl of Upper Ossory — County

Hon. Sr. And. St. John — Ditto

Sir William Wake — — Bedford — — S. Whitbread

*Berks.*

John Elwes — — County

W. H. Hartley — — Ditto

Francis

*Against the Adjustment.**For the Adjustment.*

Francis Annesley — —  
Richard A. Neville — —

Reading

Ditto

Abingdon — —

Windfor — —

Watlingford

Ditto

Hon. J. Montagu — —

John Aubrey — —

Chaloner Arcedeckne — —

J. Mayor

Pen. Portlock Powsey

*Bucks.*

Earl Verney — — —

Thomas Grenville — —

James Grenville — —

William Grenville — —

Viscount Mahon — —

County

Ditto

Buckingham

Ditto

Wycomb — —

Aylesbury — —

Ditto — —

Marlow — —

Wendover

Ditto

Amersham

Ditto

Robert Waller

Anthony Bacon

Thomas Ord

Sir Borlase Warren

Richard Smith — —

J. M. Smith — —

William Drake — —

William Drake, jun. — —

*Cambridgeshire.*

Philip Yorke — —

Hon. John Townshend — —

Benjamin Keene — —

J. W. Adeane — —

County

University — —

Cambridge

Ditto

James Mansfield

*Cheeshire.*

J. Crewe — —

Sir R. B. Cotton — —

R. Wilb. Bootle — —

County

Ditto

Chester — —

Thomas Grosvenor

*Cornwall.*

Sir William Lemon, Bart.

Ed. Elliot — —

County

Ditto

Launceston — —

Ditto — —

Liskeard

Ditto

Lestwithiel — —

Truro — —

Ditto — —

Bodmyn — —

Helston — —

Ditto — —

Saltash — —

Ditto — —

Eastoo — —

T. Boulby

Hon. C. G. Perceval

Lord Malden

Bamber Gascoyne

Henry Rosvorne

William Masterman

Lord Hyde

Richard Barwell

Sir Grey Cooper

Right Hon. C. Jenkinson

J. Buller

George Hunt — —

Sir



*Against the Adjournment*

Sir John Ramsden ———  
 Thomas Lucas ———

Edward J. Elliot ———  
 Dudley Long ———

Ditto ———  
 Westloo ———  
 Grampound  
 Ditto  
 Camelford ———  
 Ditto ———  
 Penryn ———  
 Ditto ———  
 Tregony ———  
 Ditto ———  
 St. Ives ———  
 Ditto ———  
 Eowey ———  
 Ditto ———  
 St. Germain's  
 Ditto  
 Michael ———  
 Callington ———  
 Ditto ———

*For the Adjournment*

W. Graves  
 Sir William James

J. Pardoe  
 James M'Pherson  
 Sir Francis Basset  
 J. Rogers  
 J. Stephenson  
 J. Dawes  
 William Praed  
 Abel Smith  
 Philip Rashleigh  
 Lord Shuldharn

Francis Hale  
 George Stratton  
 J. Morshead.

*Cumberland.*

Henry Fletcher ———  
 Earl of Surrey ———  
 William Lowther ———  
 John Lowther ———  
 J. B. Garforth ———

County  
 Carlisle  
 Ditto  
 Cockermouth  
 Ditto

*Derbyshire.*

Lord George Cavendish  
 Edward Coke ———

County ———  
 Derby ———

Hon. Nat. Curzon

*Devonshire.*

John Parker ———  
 John Rolle ———  
 Robert Palke ———  
 Lord Viscount Howe ———  
 Art. Holdsworth ———  
 Humph. Minchin ———  
 Sir George Yonge, Bart.  
 J. Wilkinson ———  
 Sir F. L. Rogers ———

County  
 Ditto  
 Ashburton ———  
 Dartmouth  
 Ditto  
 Okehampton  
 Honiton  
 Ditto  
 Plymouth ———  
 Beeralston ———  
 Ditto ———  
 Plympton ———  
 Ditto ———  
 Totness ———  
 Barnstaple ———

Charles Boone

George Darby  
 Lord Fielding  
 Lawrence Coxe  
 Sir R. Payne  
 Hon. J. Stuart  
 Lau. Browne  
 J. Cleveland

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick  
J. Baring — — —

Barnstaple —  
Tavistock —  
Exeter

Francis Basset  
Rt. Hon. Richard Rigby

*Dorsetshire.*

Hump. Sturt — — —

County

Dorchester — — —

Lyme — — —

Ditto — — —

Weymouth, &c.

Ditto — — —

Ditto — — —

Bridport

Ditto

Shaftesbury — — —

Wareham — — —

Corfe Castle — — —

Poole — — —

William Ewer  
Hon. Henry Fane  
D. R. Mitchell  
Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis  
Gabriel Steward  
Wm. Rd. Rumbold

Thomas Scott — — —

Richard Beckford — — —

Hans Win. Mortimer —

Henry Bankes — — —

W. Morton Pitt — — —

Sir Francis Sykes  
J. Boyd.  
J. Bond  
Joseph Gulston

*Durham.*

J. Lambton — — —

John Tempest — — —

County — — —

Durham

Ditto

Sir Thomas Clavering

*Ebor.*

Sir G. Savile — — —

Henry Duncombe — — —

Sir James Pennyman —

Evelyn Anderson — — —

County

Ditto

Aldbrough — — —

Beverley

Ditto

Heydon — — —

Ditto — — —

Knareborough

Ditto

Malton

Ditto

Northallerton — — —

Pontefract — — —

Richmond — — —

Ditto — — —

Rippon — — —

Scarborough — — —

Thirsk

Ditto

York

Ditto

Hull

Charles Mellish

William Chaytor  
Christopher Atkinson

Lord Viscount Duncannon

James Hare — — —

Villiam Weddell — — —

Edmund Burke — — —

Henry Peirse — — —

Villiam Nedham — — —

Marquis of Graham — — —

Ion. G. Fitzwilliam — — —

Villiam Lawrence — — —

Earl Tyrconnell — — —

Sir T. Gascoigne — — —

Edw. Thompson — — —

Lord John Cavendish — — —

Charles Turner — — —

Villiam Wilberforce — — —

Edw. Lascelles

Hon. Frederick Robinson  
Hon. C. Phipps

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment**Essex.*

J. Luther — — —	County — —	T. B. Bramston
Sir Robert Smyth — — —	Colchester	
Christopher Potter — —	Ditto	
	Harwich — —	Hon. G. A. North

*Gloucestershire.*

Sir William Guise — —	County	
Sir William Codrington	Tewkesbury	
James Martin — —	Ditto	
	Cirencester — —	James Whithead
	Ditto — —	Samuel Blackwell
Charles Barrow — —	Gloucester	
J. Webb — — —	Ditto —	

*Herefordshire.*

Sir G. Cornwall — —	County — —	Right Hon. T. Harley
J. Scudamore — —	Hereford — —	Sir Richard Symonds
Richard Payne Knight —	Leominster — —	Lord Viscount Bateman
	Weobly — —	J. St. Leger Douglas

*Hertfordshire.*

William Plumer — —	County	
William Baker — —	Hertford	
Baron Dimsdale — —	Ditto	
J. Radcliffe — —	St. Albans	
W. C. Sloper. — —	Ditto	

*Huntingdonshire.*

Earl of Ludlow — —	County — —	Lord Vis. Hinchinbrooke
	Huntingdon — —	Lord Mulgrave
	Ditto — —	Sir H. Palliser

*Kent.*

Hon. Charles Marsham	County	
Filmer Honeywood — —	Ditto	
Robert Gregory — —	Rocheſter — —	G. F. Hatton
	Queenborough — —	Sir Walter Rawlinſon
Sir Horace Mann — —	Maidſtone	
Clement Taylor — —	Ditto	
George Gipps — —	Canterbury	
Charles Robinſon — —	Ditto	

*Lancashire.*

Thomas Stanley — —	County — —	Sir T. Egerton
Willon Braddyll — —	Lancaster — —	Abraham Rawlinſon
J. Burgoyne — —	Preſton — —	Sir H. Houghton

Hc.

*Against the Adjournment*

*For the Adjournment*

Hon. H. Walpole —  
T. Lister —  
J. Parker —

Liverpool —  
Ditto —  
Wigan —  
Clitheroe —  
Ditto —  
Newton —

Bamber Gascoyne, jun.  
Henry Rawlinson

T. Davenport

*Leicestershire.*

William Pochin —  
Hon. Booth Grey —

County —  
Leicester —

J. P. Hungerford  
J. Darker

*Lincolnshire.*

Charles Anderson Pelham  
Sir J. Thorold —

County  
Ditto

Stamford —  
Ditto —

Sir George Howard  
H. Cecil

George Sutton —

Grantham —  
Boston —

F. Cockayne Cust  
Humphrey Sibthorpe

J. Harrison —  
Sir T. Clarges —

Grimby —  
Lincoln —

Francis Eyre  
Robert Vyner

*Middlesex.*

J. Wilkes —  
Frederick Bull —  
Sawbridge —  
Nathaniel Newnham —  
Sir Watkin Lewes —  
Hon. Charles J. Fox

County  
London  
Ditto  
Ditto  
Ditto  
Westminster

*Monmouthshire.*

Hanbury —  
Morgan —

County  
Ditto  
Monmouth —

Sir J. Stepney

*Norfolk.*

Edward Aftley —  
W. Coke —  
Crisp. Molineux —  
Hon. Richard Walpole —  
Richard Hopkins —

County  
Ditto  
Lynn  
Yarmouth —  
Thetford  
Castlerising  
Ditto —  
Norwich

Rt. Hon. Ch. Townshend

Robert Mackreth  
J. Chet. Talbot

Harbord Harbord —

*Northamptonshire.*

icy Knightly —  
Thomas Powys —

County  
Ditto

X x 2

Richard

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

Richard Benyon — —	Peterborough	
James Phipps — —	Ditto	
	Brackley — —	J. W. Egerton
	Ditto — —	Timothy Caswell
Lord Viscount Althorpe	Northampton — —	George Rodney
Frederick Montagu — —	Higham Ferrers	

*Northumberland.*

Sir William Middleton	County	
	Morpeth — —	Peter Delme
	Ditto — —	Anthony Storer
Sir Matthew Ridley	Newcastle	
	Berwick — —	Sir J. Delaval
	Ditto — —	Hon. J. Vaughan

*Nottinghamshire.*

Charles Meadows — —	County	
	Retford — —	Wharton Amcotts
Lord George Sutton — —	Newark	
Robert Smith — —	Nottingham — —	Daniel Parker Coke

*Oxon.*

	County — —	Lord Charles Spencer
Lord Robert Spencer — —	Oxford	
Hon. Per. Bertie	Ditto	
	University — —	Sir William Dolben
	Ditto — —	Francis Page
	Woodstock — —	Lord Parker
	Banbury — —	Lord North

*Rutlandshire.*

County — —	G. B. Brudenell
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*Salop.*

Noel Hill — —	County	
Richard Hill — —	Ditto	
Sir Charlton Leighton	Shrewsbury — —	William Pulteney
	Ludlow — —	Lord Clive
	Ditto — —	Frederick Cornwall
Thomas Whitmore — —	Bridgenorth	
Hugh Pigot — —	Ditto	
	Bishops Castle — —	Henry Strachey
	Ditto — —	William Clive

*Somersetshire.*

Sir J. Trevelyan — —	County	
	Ilchester — —	Samuel Smith
		J. Penning

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

J. Pennington — —	Milbern Port — —	J. Townson
Clement Tudway — — — —	Wells	
Robert Child — — — —	Ditto	
	Bridgewater — — — —	Hon. Anne Poulett
Hon. J. Jeff. Pratt — —	Bath — — — —	Abel Moysey
F. Fownes Luttrell — —	Minehead	
	Bristol — — — —	Matthew Brickdale
	Ditto — — — —	George Daubeney

*Southampton County.*

Robert Thistlethwayte — —	County	
Jer. Clarke Jervoise — —	Ditto	
	Winchester — — — —	H. Penton
	Ditto — — — —	Lovel Stanhope
	Portsmouth — — — —	Sir William Gordon
	Newport — — — —	Sir Richard Worsley
	Ditto — — — —	Hon. J. St. John
Edward Morant — — — —	Yarmouth — — — —	Sir Thomas Rumbold
	Newtown — — — —	Edward M. Worsley
	Limington — — — —	Edward Gibbon
	Christchurch — — — —	J. Frederick
Sir J. Griffin Griffin — —	Andover	
Benjamin Letheuillier — —	Ditto	
Lord Viscount Midleton	Whitchurch	
Right Hon. T. Townshend	Ditto	
	Petersfield — — — —	William Jolliffe
	Ditto — — — —	T. S. Jolliffe
	Stockbridge — — — —	Hon. J. Luttrell
John Fuller — — — —	Southampton — — — —	Hans Sloane

*Staffordshire.*

Sir J. Wrottesley — — — —	County — — — —	Lord Viscount Lewisham
Hon. E. Monckton — — — —	Stafford	
R. B. Sheridan — — — —	Ditto	
	Tamworth — — — —	J. Courteney
	Ditto — — — —	J. Calvert
	Newcastle — — — —	Arch. M'Donald
George Anson	Litchfield	
Thomas Gilbert	Ditto	

*Suffolk.*

Sir T. C. Bunbury — — — —	County	
Sir J. Rous — — — —	Ditto	
T. Staunton — — — —	Ipswich	
Sir G. W. Vanneck — — — —	Dunwich	Barne Barne
	Orford — — — —	Lord Vis. Beauchamp
	Ditto — — — —	Hon. R. S. Conway

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

Sir C. Davers	Aldeburgh — —	Martin Fonnereau
Rt. Hon. H. S. Conway	Sudbury — —	Sir J. Marriot
	Eye — —	R. Philipson
	Ditto — —	A. Jones Skelton
	Bury	
	Ditto	

*Surrey.*

Admiral Keppel — —	County	
Sir Joseph Mawbey — —	Ditto	
	Gatton — —	Lord Newhaven
	Ditto — —	R. Mayne
Edward Norton — —	Haslemere	
W. Spencer Stanhope	Ditto	
Sir Robert Clayton — —	Bletchingly — —	J. Kenrick
	Rygate — —	Hon. J. York
Rt. Hon. Sir F. Norton	Guildford — —	George Onslow
Sir Richard Hotham — —	Southwark	
Nathaniel Polhill	Ditto	

*Suffex.*

Lord George Lenox — —	County	
Hon. T. Pelham — —	Ditto	
	Horsham — —	James Wallace
	Ditto — —	Sir G. Osborne
Sir H. Gough — —	Bramber	
Hon. H. F. Stanhope — —	Ditto	
J. Peachy — —	Shoreham — —	Sir C. Bishop
	Midhurst — —	Henry Drummond
	Ditto — —	Sir Samson Gideon
	East Grinstead — —	Sir. J. Irwin
	Ditto — —	H. A. Herbert
Sir T. G. Skipwith — —	Steyning	
P. W. Baker — —	Arundel — —	Thomas Fitzherbert
Thomas Kemp — —	Lewes	
Thomas Steele — —	Chichester	

*Warwickshire.*

Sir Robert Lawley — —	County	
Sir G. Shuckburgh — —	Ditto	
Robert Ladbroke — —	Warwick — —	Hon. C. Greville
	Coventry — —	Edward Roe Yeo
	Ditto — —	Lord Sheffield

*Westmorland.*

James Lowther — —	County	
Phil. Honywood — —	Appleby	
Hon. W. Pitt — —	Ditto	

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment**Wilts.*

C. Penruddock	County	
William Hufley	Salisbury	
Hon. W. H. Bouverie	Ditto	
	Devizes	Sir J. T. Long
	Ditto	Henry Jones
	Marlborough	Earl of Courtown
Henry Dawkins	Chippenham	
John Dunning	Calne	
Right Hon. J. Barré	Ditto	
	Malmesbury	Lord Viscount Fairford
	Ditto	J. Calvert, jun.
	Hindon	Nat. W. Wraxall
T. Pitt	Old Sarum	
W. P. A'Court	Heytesbury	Francis Burton
Samuel Estwick	Westbury	
J. Whalley Gardiner	Ditto	
	Wootton Bassett	Hon. H. St. John
	Ditto	William Strahan
	Luggershall	G. Aug. Selwyn
Lord Herbert	Wilton	
	Downton	Hon. H. S. Conway
	Ditto	Robert Shaftoe
	Bedwin	Paul Cob. Methuen

*Worcestershire.*

Hon. Edward Foley	County	
Wm. Lygon	Ditto	
Sir J. Rushout	Evesham	
C. W. Broughton Rouse	Ditto	
Hon. A. Foley	Droitwich	
Edward Winnington	Ditto	
T. Bates Rous	Worcester	Hon. Wm. Ward
	Bewdly	Lord Westcote

*Cinque Ports.*

	Hastings	Lord Vis. Palmerston
	Ditto	J. Ord
	Sandwich	Phillip Stephens
	Ditto	Sir R. Sutton
John Trevannion	Dover	Sir J. Henniker
	Romney	Sir Edward Deering
	Hythe	Sir Charles Farnaby
	Rye	W. Dickenson
	Ditto	Hon. T. Onslow
. Nesbit	Winchelsea	
	Seaford	J. Durand

*Wales*



*Against the Adjournment.**For the Adjournment.**Wales.*

Lord Viscount Bulkeley	Anglesea	
Sir George Warren	Beaumarris	
Charles Morgan	Breconshire	
	Brecon	Sir C. Gould
	Cardigan	J. Campbell
J. Vaughan	Caermarthenshire	
J. Parry	Carnarvonshire	
	Carnarvon	Glyan Wynne
Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.	Denbighshire	
Richard Middleton	Ditto	
Sir Roger Mostyn	Flintshire	
Watkin Williams	Flint	
Ch. Edwin	Glamorganshire	
E. L. Vaughan	Merionethshire	
W. Mostyn Owen	Montgomeryshire	
	Montgomery	Whitshed Keene
	Haverfordwest	Lord Kensington
	Radnorshire	T. Johnes
	Radnor	Edward Lewis

*Scotland.*

	Kintore, &c.	Staates Long Morris
	Airshire	Sir Adam Ferguson
	Argyleshire	Lord F. Campbell
Earl of Fife	Bamfshire	
	Berwickshire	Hugh Scott
	Lauder, &c.	Francis Charteris
	Dumfriesshire	Sir R. Laurie
	Dumfries, &c.	Sir R. Herries
	Edinburghshire	Henry Dundas
J. Hunter Blair	Edinburgh	
	Elginshire	Lord William Gordon
	Fifehire	Robert Skene
	Anstruther, &c.	Sir J. Anstruther
	Aberbrothick, &c.	Adam Drummond
	Haddingtonshire	Hugh Dalrymple
	Kincardineshire	Lord A. Gordon
	Kircudbrightshire	P. Johnstone
	Kinrosshire	Geo. Graham
	Lanerkshire	Andrew Stuart
	Linlithgowshire	Sir W. A. Cunningham
	Culrofs, &c.	James Campbell
	Perthshire	Hon. J. Murray
J. Shaw Stewart	Renfrewshire	
Sir G. Elliott	Roxburghshire	
	Selkirk, &c.	Sir J. Cockburn

*Against the Adjournment.*

Sir T. Dundas — 234

Sirlingshire

Sutherlandshire —

Wigtownshire —

*For the Adjournment.*

Hon. J. Wemyss

Hon. K. Stewart — 215

## T E L L E R S.

Lord Maitland — —

G. Byng — —

Newport, Cornwall

Middlesex

Harwich — —

Stranrawre, &amp;c.

J. Robinson

W. Adam

*The following Noblemen and Gentlemen paired off:*

Ambrose Goddard —	Wilts	with Richard Vernon, Oakhampton.
Sir Ph. J. Clerke —	Totness,	with Earl Nugent, St. Maw's
Lord G.A.H. Cavendish	Derby,	with W. Hanger, Michael.
J. Bullock — — —	Steyning,	with J. Strutt, Malden.
Charles Dundas —	Orkneys,	with Sir J. Durham:
Rt. Hon. W.G. Hamilton	Wilton,	with Earl of Lisburne, Cardiganshire.
Thomas Halley — —	Herts,	with George Ross, Cromartysire.

February 28.

The *Attorney-General* rose almost as soon as the Speaker had taken the chair, and moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies of America. He said he would not then enter into any detail of the nature of the bill; but would reserve himself for another opportunity, when he should have to speak to a fuller House. The Attorney General.

This brought on a conversation which lasted about a quarter of an hour.

Mr. *T. Townshend* wished the right honourable member would even then, thin as the House was, enter into a detail, or give some explanation of the particular objects of his bill. Mr. Thomas Townshend.

Sir *George Yonge*, on the contrary, wished that no explanation should be given in so thin a House: on the very principle of the bill, there must be great ground for explanation, without speaking of the detail; for if he was not mistaken, reference must be had to acts of Parliament for a century back; and therefore it would be needless to explain at this time, what must be explained over again in a full House. Sir George Yonge.

You may be assured, that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the interests and permanent welfare of my kingdoms.

Gen. Conway.

General Conway rose to move an address to his Majesty. He was sorry, he said, that it had fallen to his lot to trouble the House so often; but he hoped that they would excuse him, on account of the great importance of the subject, on which he had so often taken the liberty to solicit their attention; often foiled in the course of the present war, in his attempt to put an end to hostilities with America, he had for once succeeded in a motion from which great expectations might be formed, though he had no great reason to flatter himself or the House very much from the answer that had been made to the address, which had followed his motion, as it was not quite so explicit as he could have wished: however, he thought it right and proper to return thanks for it to the throne, expressive of the satisfaction of the House, at those pacific dispositions which were manifested in his Majesty's answer. But he trusted he should be seconded by the House, in his desire to secure themselves, and this country, against the possibility of a doubt that the American war was not now completely concluded. Something, perhaps, might yet be wanting to confirm the resolution of the House last Wednesday; something by which ministers would be so expressly bound, that however desirous of evasion, they would not have it in their power to evade the injunction of that House; but now he would move, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious answer to their address presented to his Majesty on Friday last, and for the assurances his Majesty has most graciously been pleased to give them of his intention, in pursuance of the advice of this House, to take such measures as shall appear most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies: and that his efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the permanent welfare and prosperity of his kingdoms; This House being convinced that

that nothing can, in the present circumstances of this country, so essentially promote those great objects of his Majesty's paternal care for his people, as the measures which his faithful Commons have most humbly but earnestly recommended to his Majesty."

Lord *Althorpe* said a few words to second the motion. If Lord Althorpe. It was necessary for the honourable General, with his brilliant abilities; to apologize for troubling the House, how much more occasion had he to do so? But he should consider himself as wanting in duty to his sovereign, if he did not, in the present instance, rise to second the motion for the address of thanks: At the same time, he said, he was not wholly and perfectly satisfied with the answer that had been given to the late address; and he wished that the honourable member would take some step that might tend to enforce the spirit of that address. With respect to the motion then before the House, he hoped it would be carried unanimously, as a mark of that respect which the House entertained for his Majesty.

The *Speaker* read the motion; and, having put the question, it was carried *nemine contradicente*. The Speaker.

General *Conway* informed the House, that he had another proposition to make, which he thought absolutely necessary, and without which the great point that had been carried on Wednesday last, would be rendered nugatory and ineffectual. He was really ashamed to speak so often to the House on the subject of the American war; but he trusted this would be the last time he should obtrude himself on their patience. His habits and disposition were so contrary to the principles of this war, that he absolutely had a most rooted aversion to it; and, therefore, though he was convinced that he had spoken too often on the subject, he could not resist the impulse he felt to rivet, if possible, those fetters, which he hoped the address voted on Wednesday had put upon the American war. There were several strong reasons which urged him to persevere in making use of every means in his power to put an end to it. He had every reason to believe that there was a general desire in the Americans to make peace with Great Britain. There were persons at no great distance, authorised to treat with us about peace: and though hitherto the Americans had not bound themselves to any specific proposition relative to the West Indies, or an exclusive trade to France, which could stand in the way of a separate peace he was given to understand that some-

something was in agitation, or on the tapis with the court of France, which, if concluded, would be of irreparable disadvantage to this country; our readiness to treat with America would, in all probability, prevent any thing definitive from being concluded between the Congress and France. These were his reasons for wishing for an immediate cessation of hostilities with America, and recommending to government, that, without loss of time, they would open a treaty of peace with America. The answer delivered to the address on Friday, was by no means generally understood; it was conveyed in a language not any ways satisfactory, as it did not say his Majesty would put an end to the American war, but that he would take such measures as appeared to him, that is, to his ministers, to be most conducive to harmony; he had no doubt of his Majesty's gracious intention; yet as the same men had openly declared in that House, that, to make peace with America, you must make them feel the calamities of the war, it was not unnatural to think that they would still advise vigorous measures to be pursued, especially as they chose not to understand what the true intent and meaning of the words offensive war conveyed; he had himself always been bred up in the military line, and nothing could appear more clear than the meaning of the words offensive and defensive. The prayer of the address was to put an instant end to the American war as a basis for a peace; and as there were persons near at hand properly authorised to treat for the same, undoubtedly it meant to negotiate with them, as the most speedy measure that could be adopted; now was the time for the blow to be struck, before it was too late; and as, from the present answer, his Majesty's ministers might screen themselves from the public, by saying, they took such measures as appeared to them most conducive to putting an end to the war; they might think, that a war of posts, which had been so variously described, was the most proper measure; that the keeping the posts we had already got, or the abandoning them and choosing new ones, was the best; or they might think the recruiting the army lost under Lord Cornwallis, was a proper measure; yet, in his opinion, none of those heads were left to their choice, for they were bound to put an immediate stop to the war, and those who advised his Majesty to the contrary, were highly criminal, and ought to be brought to justice. He would therefore move a resolution, which would make the

the sense of this House so clear and manifest, that his Majesty's ministers could not possibly mistake it; and by which the House and the country would have the satisfaction of knowing that this mad war would no longer be pursued—His motion was “That, after the solemn declaration of the opinion of this House in their humble address presented to his Majesty on Friday last, and his Majesty's assurance of his gracious intention, in pursuance of their advice, to take such measures as shall appear to his Majesty to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both, this House will consider as enemies to his Majesty and this country, all those who shall endeavour to frustrate his Majesty's paternal care for the ease and happiness of his people, by advising, or by any means attempting, the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force.”

Lord Althorpe rose to second the motion, which he did in a few words. He coincided entirely with the right honourable General, that this was wanting to finish and complete the business of the week before; and this, no doubt, would give complete satisfaction to every man. His Lordship declared, that one great inducement to him to second this motion, was, because he felt in his own mind, a want of confidence in the present administration, which their continued series of misdeeds, was alone sufficient to justify; he thought, therefore, the House could not be too cautious in having their sense and wishes as explicitly declared as possible. The line of conduct this motion (superadded to that of Wednesday,) would most plainly chalk out, he flattered himself, would lead to peace with America, and by putting an end to that fatal war, which had caused all our calamities, he trusted an end would also be put to the present administration. Lord Althorpe.

Lord North did not rise, he said, to give any opposition to the motion; but he would observe at the same time, that he could not by any means agree with those who thought it necessary: in his opinion, it had for its object only to strengthen that which was sufficiently strong already.—The majority of that House had resolved, that peace should be made with America; and the answer given from the throne, to the address which had been voted on that occasion, was so satisfactory. Lord North

tory, that the House had just declared, that it was a satisfactory answer, by unanimously concurring in a motion to return thanks to his Majesty for making it : where, therefore, could be the ground for coming to a resolution, which seemed to doubt the propriety or sincerity of that answer, for which thanks had been just voted without one dissentient voice ? He was not of the disposition of those who complained of majorities in that House ; who condemned them ; and by factious and seditious misrepresentations, held them out to the public in the most odious colours : A majority of that House was, in Parliamentary language, the House itself ; it could never make him change a single opinion, yet he bowed to that opinion which was sanctioned by the majority ; though he might not be a convert to such opinion, still he held it to be his indispensable duty to obey it, and never once to lose sight of it, in the advice which as a servant of the crown, he should have occasion to give his Sovereign. It was the right of that House to command ; it was the duty of a minister, to obey its resolutions ; Parliament had already expressed its desires or its orders, and as it was scarcely possible that a minister should be found hardy, daring, infamous enough to advise his Sovereign to differ in opinion from his Parliament, so he could not think that the present motion, which must suppose the existence of such a minister, could be at all necessary.

He could not help however observing, that when Parliament was giving orders, the breach of which was to draw down upon ministers the infamy of being deemed enemies to their King and country, these orders should be so clear, so plain, and so explicit, that it would be impossible for ministers to mistake their meaning : he was sorry, that in the present instance, this was not the case ; for the resolution of Wednesday last, of which the present was a kind of confirmation, was clouded with obscurity, which would render it impossible for a minister to know for certain, whether he was adhering to, or deviating from, the orders of the House. If he understood those orders right, and if he did not, he wished the House would explain them to him, the object of the late address was peace with America ; and that keeping this object in view, all the measures that ministers should advise, were to be calculated to effect that object as soon as possible.

Several voices were heard to cry no, no.—Lord North wished then to be informed if he had mistaken the meaning of the resolution.

General



General *Conway* upon this, rose to explain the meaning of the address: the noble Lord, he said, had totally mistaken it; the meaning was not that peace should be made with America as soon as possible; but that the offensive war with America should immediately cease; the object of the address was an immediate cessation of all hostile operations in the field, though it did not by any means go to withdraw the forces, or to prohibit a defensive war. It did not recommend to Ministers to seize the first opportunity of making peace with America that might offer, but it expressly directed an immediate operation of war, by ordering that Ministers should instantly forego a prosecution of offensive war with America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force. Men, the General said, naturally expressed their ideas in that way which their education made most familiar to them. Having been bred in the army, he had chosen a military term to convey his meaning to the House, and to a military man nothing could be a more clear, distinct, and simple idea, than that of offensive war. Without going into a long discussion of the nature of the several sorts of wars, a war of posts, &c. &c. that had been talked of by different gentlemen on a former day, he had expressly used the term offensive war, and as offensive and defensive war, were contrasted terms extremely simple, he could not help wondering that any difficulty should be made, at least if there was, he thought he ought to have been helped to a more distinct term than that of offensive war, by those who affected not to understand it. The General said, he recollected in the last war prince Ferdinand had, previous to the commencement of a campaign, wrote home for instructions whether it was the wish of the Minister that he should make an offensive or a defensive campaign. The compliment was paid him, of desiring him to make which ever he thought most advisable; but neither in the army in Germany, nor at home, was any the least doubt entertained of the essential difference between offensive and defensive war. The General added some other arguments to prove that the terms he had adopted, were perfectly intelligible, that they certainly were not to give Ministers any instructions to seize the first opportunity that might offer, of making peace, but immediately to forego any further prosecution of offensive war with America, for the purpose of reducing America to obedience by force.

Lord *North* replied, that as far as he was concerned, he would make it his study, because it was his duty, to fulfil, to



the utmost of his power, the orders of Parliament. He would make it his study, of course, to understand them. A little time would make it appear, whether he was sincere or not. If he should be found to have deviated from the sense of the House, then he should acknowledge himself to be a criminal indeed: but if, in the prosecution of this business, he should be found to have acted only erroneously, where it should be clear that it was his intention, *bona fide*, to adhere to the sense of the House, he trusted that he should find in that House judges who would overlook errors, when they should be convinced that the intention was fair and upright.

Mr. T. Pitt.: Mr. T. Pitt was of opinion, that the resolution of Wednesday last was so clear and explicit, that it was not possible, that its true meaning could be misunderstood: if that part of it which declared, that the war should no longer be carried on in America, seemed to admit of any difficulty it was sufficiently cleared away by the subsequent part — “for the impracticable object of reducing the colonies to obedience by force.” If the question was merely military, he must at that time make a very awkward figure in speaking upon it; but it was of a political nature; it was whether the war should be prosecuted on the continent of North America for the purpose of subduing it by force? to this question he was perfectly competent for him to speak; and therefore he was free to say: that such a war was completely condemned by the resolution. — Whether our present posts in America should be changed for others more convenient or advantageous — whether our troops should go out to forage, or attempt to repel an assailing enemy; these were questions of a military nature, upon which it was not his business to decide: he left all this to the executive power, to act at their own peril: for he would not consent that Parliament should take from ministers an atom of their responsibility.

He was happy to see that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon found it inconvenient to make any opposition to the motion. It was a happy omen for this country, and he congratulated them upon it.

Lord Howe.: Lord Howe felt an inconvenience or impropriety in the wording of the resolution before the House, which he thought ought to be removed; as it then stood, it would involve guilt, and brand with the name of enemies to their country, even the lowest subalterns in the army, who should act contrary to the late resolution of that House: now in his opinion, the great object of the resolution was to restrain minist-

ters from ordering the troops to prosecute the war; and the restraining ministers would, in effect, restrain the army; and as it might be dangerous to carry the restriction down to the subalterns, as it would make them criminal, and responsible to a part of the constitution, from which they did not usually receive orders, so he thought it would be proper to make an amendment in the motion; and instead of saying, 'that all those should be deemed enemies to their King and country, who should advise, or by any means attempt the prosecution of the war,' &c. to say, 'who should advise, or direct the prosecution,' &c. This he said, would confine the resolution to those to whom it ought constitutionally to be confined — the ministers of the crown.

He said, he clearly saw the meaning and tendency of the motion; but he felt that officers acting at a distance might not so easily understand the meaning.

His Lordship said, he knew perfectly well that if any officer was to command a garrison, and the enemy invested that garrison or post, and the officer was to make a sally, and, if successful, to pursue, that was not offensive war, because it was a defensive operation; but still officers might have doubts upon other points of service; in order, therefore, to remove those doubts, he moved, as an amendment, to leave out the word attempting, and insert the word directing.

General Conway said, he did not perfectly agree with the noble Lord. He had used the word attempting in order to conclude every circumstance and thing that might occur and precisely to prevent a possibility of an infringement of the orders of the House, by declaring any such infringement highly criminal. But he could not see any hardship upon military men that would result from the words of his motion. If a minister so far disobeyed the orders of that House, as not to send them out to officers in command, the minister, and not the officer, would be criminal in case orders were disobeyed, and offensive war should be hereafter pursued. Take the case the other way: If Ministers did their duty, and sent the orders out to officers with the necessary instructions to make those orders the rule of their conduct, and nevertheless officers should presume to prosecute offensive war, then the officers would be guilty, and not the Ministers. With regard to the noble Lord's idea of offensive and defensive war, he was completely of the same opinion. Undoubtedly, making a sally, as the noble Lord had described, or quitting one post, and taking another, in a country where

it was necessary to keep an army, were not offensive operations; when he talked of offensive war, he meant fighting our enemies in the field, with an obvious view to conquest.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* was of opinion, that the original motion was extremely proper, as it would not be right to tie down Ministers to the manner in which they should act, and leave it in the breast of Generals to act as they pleased, and perhaps directly contrary to the sense of the resolution of that House.

Mr. Pulteney.

Mr. *Pulteney* thought the words of the original motion were too severe, particularly in the part pointed out by the noble Lord, as it would destroy the discipline of the army; and even a corporal would refuse to obey the command of his superior, saying, it was contrary to the vote of the House of Commons. It would be attended also with an inconvenience of an unconstitutional nature; it would teach the military to look up to that House for orders, which they ought to receive only from the executive power. But those were not the only inconveniences, which would attend the resolution as it then stood; it would spread an idea, that Parliament, by extending its orders to the army, was of opinion, that it could not enforce obedience without extending the line of responsibility; and that ministers were too great for punishment, when subalterns were to be rendered responsible.

Mr. William Pitt.

Mr. *William Pitt* hoped there never would be room for any one to entertain an idea that ministers were too big for punishment, and out of the reach of Parliament; that House had drawn the line, and he made no doubt but those who should transgress it, would find that Parliament did not want power to bring them to punishment, let their rank be what it might: it was not therefore because the House could not punish the ministers who should disobey its orders, that responsibility was extended to those who should receive commands from ministers, contrary to the sense of that House, and obey them: but solely that there should not exist a possibility of ministers first disobeying the orders of the House, and then shifting the blame on the shoulders of their officers.

He could by no means agree with the honourable gentleman, that the discipline of the army would be affected in the least degree, and certainly it was proper that some persons should be responsible for their conduct in the business; for Ministers who wish to carry on this destructive war, would probably not act directly contrary to the resolution of that House.

House themselves, yet they might give their Generals such orders, that the whole end of Parliament might be defeated; certainly then those Generals, let them be who they would, ought to be responsible, as they must know they were acting directly contrary to the resolution of that House.

Lord *Howe* and General *Conway* were each up several times on this point. At length his Lordship declared, he meant not to insist upon his proposed amendment; it was therefore withdrawn, and the debate proceeded on the original motion. Lord Howe.  
Gen. Conway.

Mr. *Fox* rose, he said, to speak but a few words on the motion, for as the noble Lord in the blue ribband had said that he should not oppose it, there was no occasion for him to enter into any detail of argument in defence of the proposition; but some things had dropt from the noble Lord, on which he must animadvert. But he must first beg leave to say that he was one of those who was completely and totally dissatisfied with the answer of the Crown to the address of that House. When he spoke in this manner, he would be undoubtedly understood to mean, that he was dissatisfied with the answer which his Majesty's Ministers has advised his Majesty to give. It was the answer of the Ministers, and, among others, of that Minister, who had, on that day, been heard to declare, that he disapproved of the resolution of that House on which the address was founded; they had put an answer into the mouth of his Majesty which he could not approve of, because it was not an answer sufficiently clear and specific; for what did it say? That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to put an end to the offensive war carried on in America, for the purpose of reducing the Americans to obedience by force? No. But that his Majesty would take such measures as shall appear to him (that is, as should appear to his Ministers) conducive to the restoration of harmony. Could this be satisfactory? Parliament had pointed out the specific means by which to accomplish the object; namely, by putting an immediate stop to offensive war; but his Majesty's Ministers, instead of declaring in their answer that they would guide themselves by this advice, make his Majesty declare that they will take such steps as appear to them conducive to the object. He was not in the House when the motion for an address of thanks was agreed to, as he understood, unanimously; if he had, notwithstanding what he had just said, he should have voted for it, for he was careful to distinguish between the obligation that was Mr. Fox.  
due

due to his Majesty personally for the grace of his answer (and he sincerely believed that his Majesty was, in his royal mind, most graciously disposed to restore the blessings of peace to his unhappy people) and those Ministers who wished to make the Crown follow a plan of conduct directly opposite to the advice of his faithful Commons, were not friends to their country, and should be deemed criminal. This answer of the Ministry, coupled with their language in that House, was perfectly intelligible; for here they declared, and particularly the Minister of the American department, the best way to conclude a peace with America was to make them feel the calamities of war. This expression the new Secretary of State had made use of but a few days before. His Majesty he sincerely believed, wished to conclude peace with America, as his faithful Commons had advised him; but his Ministers undoubtedly meant no such thing, for their language was different.

But the noble Lord had said, that he never would, nor should any man presume to act in contradiction to the voice of the majority of that House; nor dare to call it in question; nor dare to abuse it, in any shape. For his own part, he must claim to himself the right of declaring his opinion freely and fully of the conduct of Parliament in discharge of his own conscience, and of his duty. When majorities acted wrong in his opinion, he would, both within that House, and out of it, declare his disapprobation of their conduct: but the noble Lord pronounced it, as the indispensable duty of a Minister to hold the decision of the majorities of that House in the strictest reverence. Had he always done so? Did he not remember the vote of a majority of that House, declaring that the influence of the Crown ought to be diminished? What then was his duty upon that occasion? Surely to second the endeavours of that majority, to reduce the influence. Did he so? No. He there counteracted, opposed, and at last defeated and destroyed the desire of that House; nay, he advised the Crown in a shameful manner, to dissolve the Parliament before its regular period, lest they should, in another session, carry into execution the resolutions of a former. — Did he not, by his conduct, bring upon that House, the disgrace and ignominy of having declared what was their duty, and afterwards failed to perform it? If the noble Lord sought for credit in his declarations of respect for the decision of majorities, let him now come to the resolution of the 6th of April, 1780, and reduce the influence of the Crown, and then he would be considered

considered as a fair man; but the noble Lord would other-ways incur the censure of saying things in argument which he by no means meant to abide by. His situation was truly embarrassing. He had said in debate the other evening, and he said it by way of menace, that if the voice of the House should be against him, that was undoubtedly by being against the principle and system of his administration, he should no longer continue in place: The House had been against him; the majority of the House was against him; and still the noble Lord kept his place: Such was his respect for majorities, and such the credit that ought to be given to his declarations in that House. But it was no way strange, that he should now affect to pay regard to the decision of majorities; he stood in a situation which, he would be bound to say, had not been preceded since the Revolution; he remained in place when the House had condemned the system. Being then to carry on measures contrary to his own opinion, what must be done? When he went into his Sovereign's presence, he must address him in language to the following effect: "I am come, Sire, to advise you to a measure, which is expressly contrary to my own opinion, and to all I ever told you; but, however, it is the opinion of a majority of the House of Commons." The noble Lord was to gather every thing from the opinion of that House, since he seemed resolved to carry on measures of which he disapproved, if this country should be so reduced, so poor in spirit, or so indifferent as to suffer a Minister to have the conduct of affairs in a moment so dangerous as the present, when he dared not to execute his own plans. The free, incorrupt voice of the majority of that House was, indeed, respectable. He did respect it; and respecting that, he must condemn and despise the majorities of another description, which that Minister had procured by means of corruption. When he saw a majority, composed of contractors, whom a majority of that House had previously declared to be ineligible to sit there, he could not respect that majority. The House having, by solemn resolutions, declared contractors, the Lords of trade, and certain other officers of the state, incapable of sitting in that House, he could not afterwards respect a majority made up of those men alone. He thanked God that the House of Commons had come to the resolutions of Friday last. Whatever were their present effects, they must, in the end, be decisive; for they had, by these resolutions, broken, destroyed and annihilated the principle



principle and basis of the present system, they had overcome corruption; and the system, thus deprived of its foundation, must crumble into pieces. It was impossible to believe that the ministry could be so daring and profligate as to go on after what had happened on Wednesday last; they could not have the presumption, surely, after the tidings that had come that day; they could not be impudent enough to go on. That day they had heard that the important island of Minorca was lost; that the garrison, consisting of 1500 men, had surrendered prisoners of war; and that there were circumstances in the loss of this island, which made it particularly criminal in Ministers; for, besides the loss of the garrison, he understood that there were several regiments now on their way to relieve the place. In the last war, the loss of this important fortress and island, drove a much greater Ministry than the present from their seats. The nation would not then suffer loss, disgrace, and calamity, without calling their rulers to a severe account. Would they now suffer loss after loss, disaster after disaster? Were they so habituated to defeat? Had Ministry made them so familiar with sorrow that they could now bear loss without a complaint? He hoped not. He had heard that day another report; he sincerely hoped it was not true; he had no other reason for believing it, but the probability, that the most important island remaining to us in the West-Indies, except Jamaica, he meant St. Kitt's, was taken. He desired Ministers to inform the House, if it was true that this calamity also had come upon us; and where they meant to stop; when they would confess that they had done enough. From his soul, he believed, that such was their accursed obstinacy, that even when they had lost nine-tenths of the King's dominions, they would not be satisfied till they had mangled and destroyed the last miserable tenth also—pride and obstinacy was so predominant in their natures. He could not help observing with pleasure, the triumph of men in every quarter, on the resolutions of the House on Wednesday last. The exultation, the triumph, the hope, painted and expressed in every countenance, was a test of the desire which they had for the object recommended in that House; and the consequences that it had produced on the funds, and on the credit of the nation, were also inconceivable. The people saw or heard of our triumphs without emotion. They heard of the victories obtained by his Majesty's Ministers without gladness. The stocks remained the same, the faces of men wore the same gloom; but on the instant that a victory was gained

gained over his Majesty's Ministers, whom they considered as the greatest enemies of their country; their joy was immoderate, the funds were immediately advanced, and the credit of the nation raised, because there was a prospect of the Ministry going out of place. All yet would be well in their conception if this should be brought about. When the noble Lord two years ago brought in a bill for conciliatory propositions with America, the funds were not affected; they hoped for no benefit from any thing that he should undertake; but when the Parliament declared it, they instantly proclaimed, now that the Minister is beaten the country may be saved. He professed that though he could not thank God for the many calamities which had overtaken the unhappy land, in consequence of the fatal system by which the King and people had been deluded, he still considered it as beneficial that the triumph of Wednesday last had not come sooner. It had, coming as it did, completely and effectually destroyed corruption; the reign of it was at an end. If the conquest had come sooner, before we had been so instigated against the baneful consequences of a system of corruption, perhaps there might have been contrived some paltry and insignificant coalitions which would have made the system more palatable. Now they were aroused, and leagued by a sense of common danger, to a plan of general and united action; though they might go on for a day, a week, a month, or a year, it was nothing to a man who viewed things on a great scale; the foundation was taken from it on Wednesday last, and it must fall down, and then an effectual remedy would be found to prevent its ever rising again. The honourable Gentleman concluded with asking Ministers if the report concerning St. Kitt's was true,

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* said, that in former Parliaments it was not customary for gentlemen to animadvert and challenge the decision of majorities; they were always held sacred, and ought to be so, for in fact, a majority was the sense of the whole House; every person was included who spoke either for or against a motion. With respect to the loss of Minorca he believed it to be true, but it did not immediately belong to his office to receive such intelligence, and with respect to St. Christopher's, he could only say it had been so rumoured, but he had not heard any thing officially about it.

The Speaker was just going to put the question, when Mr. *Rigby* stood up: he said, he rose not for the purpose of dividing the House, but merely of giving his negative to the motion.



tion then before the House, that it might not pass unanimously as the last had : and here he could not help taking notice, that it was a little singular, that so many gentlemen should disapprove the answer to the Address, and yet, that when a motion was made to return thanks for this very answer which so many condemned, not one dissentient voice was heard against it ; the honourable member who moved it, the noble Lord who seconded it, and the honourable member who had lately spoken, had all condemned the answer, and yet it was carried *nonne contradicimus*. This was a proof, in his opinion, that the charge so often brought against ministers, might be better applied to opposition ; that they were divided among themselves. Some approved of the speech, others did not ; the great leader of opposition himself had declared against the answer ; but still it was carried unanimously, that the King should be thanked for it. Then came another motion, which to him appeared perfectly nugatory, because he could not conceive, that any minister would be hardy enough wilfully to disobey the orders of that House : but he imagined it was proposed to calm tender consciences ; and that it had been made to conceal dissensions : the vote of thanks, and the present motions were to balance one another ; and one set of men in opposition very likely had agreed to vote for the *yes*, on condition that another description should vote for the *second*.

∴ Much had been said about the majorities that had been against the noble Lord : how had he got rid of the resolutions of these majorities ? Why by other majorities. And how had these majorities been obtained on both sides ? By opinion. [A loud laugh.] Gentlemen, he said, might laugh, but his assertion was true : it was the language of former days as well as of the present, that all who were in were corrupt ; and all who were out were factious : these opinions had produced various resolutions in that House : but it was by no means a phenomenon in politics that a minister should keep his place, after having been left in a minority ; and here he cited some instances in which even the honourable General who had made the motion had been left in a minority, and one in particular, when the Duke of Newcastle's brother, a man by no means famous for eloquence, had kept Charles Townshend in a minority for two months together : all sides of the House had been occasionally wrong : the Act which repealed the Stamp Act contained a clause, which

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strongly declared the right of Parliament to bind America ; and the honourable member under the gallery, (Mr. Fox) had voted for the Boston port bill. With respect to the charge brought against the minister of the loss of Minorca, it was idle and unjust. Every thing was laid at his door, which convinced him that in the spirit of opposition, they blamed him indiscriminately both for what he did, and what he did not ; both for what was right and what was wrong. With respect to the true meaning of the resolution, he declared it was his opinion, that it would be difficult for ministers to issue their orders conformably to it ; for he had heard, from some officers of high rank, and who had served in America, that if they were there now, and that the resolution of the House should be sent to them, they really would be totally at a loss how to act under it. If a general forage should be ordered by our commander, and an action should ensue, would this be repugnant to the spirit of the resolution ? If Long-Island should be attacked, it would require field operations to defend it, for it was one hundred miles long ; York-Island was seventeen miles long ; and Staten-Island was of considerable size ; now as no one had ventured to say our troops ought to be withdrawn, so no one could say that the officer commanding our army, might or might not be censurable for operations which would require marching and countermarching, and other field operations. He believed the people were tired of the American war, and indeed he was perfectly tired of it. That the people were tired, he was confident, from a circumstance he had observed last week ; for being in the country, and hearing the bells ring, he directly concluded it was on account of the majority obtained over the minister ; but on enquiry was told, it was because there “ was a peace with America ;” so little were the people acquainted with the nature of the business, that they thought an act of Parliament could establish a peace. He was himself a great lover of majorities, and should always own, that he thought the noble Lord in the blue ribband the best of all his Majesty’s ministers ; but if there was so little faith to be put in his word as to make the present question necessary, it would be better to move at once to remove him from his office. The honourable gentleman in the course of his speech said, that he was tired of the American war ; though he was by no means tired of receiving cash ; but he could speak his honest opinion uninfluenced by his place.

Mr. Fox,

Mr. Fox said, he felt himself particularly called on to answer why he voted for the Boston Port bill; it was on the minister's pledging himself, that if the tea that was thrown overboard was paid for, the idea of taxation should be dropped; and that it was the intention of the Americans to pay for it was clear, as there were at that time merchants in London who pledged themselves, nay offered to pay for it. With respect to the right honourable gentleman's wondering why Lord North was blamed for the loss of Minorca, was he not Prime Minister, was he not a Privy Councillor, was he not the chief person who had access to his Majesty, and who advised with him in his cabinet? Certainly then he ought to be responsible; and the noble Lord himself had boldly and honourably declared it a few nights since, for he said, when debating about Lord Sandwich, if his conduct is blameable, I am to blame as well as he, as one of the advisers of those measures. But the endeavour of the right honourable gentleman to screen the noble Lord from blame about Minorca, was too pitiful a quibble, for even that quibbling minister himself to make.

Mr. W.  
Pitt,

Mr. William Pitt was surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) declare he was not tired of receiving cash, if he was not, he would be bold to say the nation was tired of paying cash; and that they paid immense sums was perfectly known to that honourable gentleman who profited more by the war than any four men in that House.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby got up to declare, that however lucrative his office might be, it had, previous to his taking it, been held by the fathers of the two last gentlemen, and he made no doubt but those gentlemen had some eye to holding it whenever he might be obliged to give it up; undoubtedly he was not tired of receiving money, but yet he was not to be told, that because men received the emoluments of office, they were the authors of our ruin.

Col. Barré.

Colonel Barré took notice of the expression of Mr. Rigby, that if the country was tired of paying, he was not tired of receiving. It was no wonder. From the paper on the table it appeared, that for six years of the greatest distress and calamity that had ever occurred, he had had no less than 600,000*l.* of the national money in his hands; and that just in the moment when that House had complained of the enormity of such profits, he had drawn for more, and had kept in his hand a balance of near 900,000*l.* The honourable gentleman made some severe comments on this circumstance, and

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gave it as a reason for the honourable gentleman's conduct. He adverted to what had been, and was frequently thrown out against the opposition, that they were a rope of sand. To this he should say, that it was to their honour, holding different opinions as they did, that on this grand question they were united, since it must be by principle. They were united by principle against the present system, and they were united by the strongest tie that could bind men—by the just apprehension that, under this system, their country must be ruined.

A good deal of altercation taking place here, not directly to the question, on the language of Mr. Rigby, and the answers and retorts, the Speaker begged them to return to the question.

Mr. *Solicitor General* called back the attention of the House to the objection of Lord Howe, and said he thought it very forcible, as it would most certainly be exceedingly unfit that officers should be brought into embarrassments that must be detrimental to the service; for if they must not dare to act in obedience to their commands, when they might, by so acting, offend against a resolution of the House of Commons which they did not clearly understand, the service must suffer. He said the word direct, instead of attempt, would do better; or the word command.

Mr. Solicitor General

General *Conway* shewed that both these words would go more particularly to affect officers than the word attempt; for to direct, and to command active operations, was peculiarly the duty and business of officers; but he had already, as he thought, sufficiently explained his meaning.

Gen. Conway.

The *Secretary at War* said, that he was also of opinion that officers would be very much embarrassed to discover a proper line of conduct in their obedience to the orders which they might receive from ministers, and in the resolutions of that House. He would therefore move an amendment, he said, by leaving out the word attempt, and inserting the word direct in its stead. The Speaker informed him that word had been already moved in amendment of the motion, and could not be again moved. After some farther conversation about that point, the motion was put in its original form, and agreed to without a division.

The Secretary at War.

March 5.

General *Smith* stated, that in the course of the proceedings of the committee, on the business of the Bengal judicature, Mr.

Gen. Smith

Mr.

Mr. R. Barwell, a member of that House, who had been directed to appear before that committee to give evidence, had refused to answer some questions, which had been put to him by the committee : the minute taken at the time, was read ; and it appeared, that Mr. Barwell had not refused to answer, from any wish to conceal truth, or suppress evidence, but merely from motives of delicacy, which urged him not to speak on the subject of a transaction in India, (the resistance made by the Supreme-council against the orders of the judges) in which he himself had had so great a share. It appeared also, that Mr. Barwell had insisted on having a right to a copy of the minutes of such questions and answers as had passed between him and the committee ; and also that as a member of the House he had laid claim to a right to be present at the debates of the committee relative to his refusal to answer some of their questions : the General then observed to the House, that as truth was the great object of the committee's investigation, he trusted gentlemen would agree with him in the opinion that it was highly proper that the House should interpose its authority, and order that Mr. Barwell should answer the questions put to him in the committee ; and that others as should be hereafter put to him in the course of their enquiry ; also that no member should be present at their debates, except those who were members of the committee ; and lastly, that the committee should not be bound to give minutes of their proceedings to any one, before they should finally make their report to Parliament : on these heads he made three separate motions, which were agreed to without opposition.

Mr. Barwell.

Mr. Barwell said that he had no manner of objection to them ; when the House commanded, it was his duty to obey, and the only difficulty he felt before, when he resisted the wishes of the committee, and declined giving answers to certain questions put by them, arose from a delicacy to interfere in that place, between Mr. Francis, who had long had complaints against the Governor of Bengal, in a transaction in which he had taken an active part in India, in support of the Governor.

Sir Thomas Rumbold.

Sir Thomas Rumbold had a complaint to make of a different kind from that of the last speaker, who complained that he had been examined on points to which he thought would be indelicate in him to speak, for his part, the complaint he had to make was, that he had not been examined at all by the Secret committee. The reports of that committee

already before the House, were very voluminous, but there remained still others to come in; so that it would be absolutely impossible for any man to be able, in the short space between this and Monday next to read the reports, much less to draw up a defence against such charges as might be deduced from the reports: and yet on Monday next propositions or resolutions were to be submitted to the House, in which his character, fortune, and every thing dear to him, might be involved.

The *Lord Advocate* said he believed he should not be able to proceed so soon as Monday; but whenever he should offer any resolution to the House, which might point at the honourable member, or at any other gentleman, it would be but fair to allow him, or any other gentleman, or whoever else might be affected by such a resolution, ten days, or a fortnight, to prepare for a defence, before the House should pronounce definitively on the subject. The Lord Advocate.

Sir P. J. Clerke brought up, for the fifth time, his annual bill for the exclusion of contractors from seats in Parliament: it was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on a future day. Sir P. J. Clerke.

Lord Mahon observed, that this excellent bill, which had twice passed the House of Commons, had been as often rejected by the Lords: he rose to inform the House, that if it should be rejected there a third time, he would point out a remedy; and if no one else should move it, he would undertake to do it himself; and that remedy was a resolution of the House itself, that no contractor should have a seat in it. Lord Mahon.

Mr. Whitbread moved, with the approbation of Lord North, who had advised the measure, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the contracts made by the Commissioners of the Navy and Victualling offices for supplying his Majesty's fleet with corn, butter, cheese, biscuit, porter, wine, and other spirits. The motion passed without opposition. Mr. Whitbread.

The order of the day, for going into a previous committee, to consider of the Attorney General's proposition for bringing in a bill to enable his Majesty to make peace or a truce with America, was called for, and read. The Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Ord having taken the chair of the committee,

The *Attorney General* rose to make his proposition. Peace with America, he said, was the great object of his intended bill; and to such a bill he trusted no opposition whatever could be made from any quarter of the House. Peace was the The Attorney General.



the general wish of that House, and of the nation at large, and he hoped that if unanimity ever marked the progress through Parliament of any bill, the bill which he should have the honour to propose, would be unanimously supported. This bill was calculated to remove certain bars and impediments which stood in the way of peace. By an act commonly called the Prohibitory-act, all commerce whatever was cut off between the Colonies and Great Britain, until the former should be declared to be in the King's peace, that is to say, completely and fully restored to their allegiance to, and dependence on this country; a period which he feared was at so remote a distance, that to wait for it before the prohibitory law should be repealed, would be absurd and ridiculous. The only way now left, in his opinion, to restore the connection between the two countries, would be to open our ports to them, without which no truce or peace could be advantageous to this country. But the Prohibitory-act was not the only one that ought to be repealed: in the year 1774, the Congress had complained of certain other acts, to which his intended bill should have a reference; and in general to all acts relative to commerce with America, from the 12th of Charles II, down to the date of the present troubles. By the 12th of Charles II. every thing that was destined for the consumption or use of English America, could by law, be shipped only in England, and the whole produce of the Colonies could not be carried elsewhere than to England: this act of course must be repealed, as well as many others which it would be tedious to enumerate. These were the outlines of his bill, and having said this much, he moved, 'That the chairman be directed to move in the House, for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America.'

Having made this motion, he added these few observations:—that it appeared to him necessary, in the present circumstances of affairs, to bring in this bill as soon as possible, not solely for the purpose of repealing the acts alluded to; which might be repealed in a future period, when the measure should be agreed upon after a negotiation, but to remove the cause of certain jealousies, which he understood existed, relative to the sincerity of Parliament, in its wishes for peace.—When the Commissioners were sent out to America, they were empowered to suspend those acts, which it was now his intention to repeal: but then as all their proceedings were to be subject to the revision and approbation of Parliament, it was insinuated in America, that Parliament was not sincere

in its proposals, as it might rescind or annul every thing done by the Commissioners. The same doubt might still exist; and the apprehension of such a thing would probably deter the Americans from entering into a separate treaty with us, lest they should be abandoned by their allies, and afterwards be deceived by Parliament. To remove the shadow of such a doubt, he thought it best for Parliament to begin by repealing the acts in question; and that would certainly be the best test of their sincerity.

Mr. Fox rose next: he assured the Committee that no-Mr. Fox. thing but the personal respect he bore the learned gentleman had prevented him from treating the proposition before the Committee just as it deserved to be treated; and that was to burst out a laughing when he had heard it, and then walk out of the House; for nothing could be so ridiculous and farcical as to hear such a proposition from that side of the House, and from a member who, on Wednesday last, had combated as far as he was able, a resolution, the obvious tendency of which was that very peace with which the learned gentleman seemed at present enamoured: the supporters of the present administration entertained at present a wish for peace; but they had been beaten into it; and nothing but flagellation and correction could drive them to think of peace:—pity it was that so much correction should be necessary!—The learned gentleman said, and said truly, that opening our ports to the Americans, and facilitating mutual intercourse with them, was the most effectual way to incline them to return to that preference which they used to give to our market over any other. Pity it was, that the learned gentleman and the other friends had not discovered this four years sooner; then we should not have to lament the loss of America and our West-India islands; we should not have to regret the loss of Minorca, or be now reduced to this melancholy situation, that of all our foreign possessions, those in India excepted, we could scarcely say that we had now remaining more than Jamaica and Gibraltar; and God only knew how long these might remain in our hands! When he rose, it was not with an intention either to support or oppose the motion of the learned gentleman, from which however he was free to say, that he expected very little good; but before he should consent to furnish ministers with the means of making peace, he would ask how far it was probable that they were inclined to make peace? Gentlemen knew well that Spain had offered her mediation, before she declared war—



Would ministers tell upon what grounds it was rejected? In the year 1781 one of the most powerful princes of Europe had offered a mediation—Upon what principle was it rejected? Those who do not listen to mediations, can scarcely be called friends to peace: but if measures destructive of peace had been pursued, would any one say that the present ministers were inclined to it, or proper agents to negotiate it? Was it true that our ministers had flatly refused to suffer any agents from America to meet their plenipotentiaries, under the mediation of the prince alluded to? If it was true, then it was to be concluded, that as they have driven the Americans to treat through France, they would consequently have taken the most effectual means to rivet the alliance between them; and of course nothing could be more injurious to the interests of this country. The learned gentleman therefore, in looking for the impediments and bars to peace, which he was desirous to remove, ought to look to his right and to his left, and in the persons of his friends, the ministers, he would find the greatest impediments to peace. Before he should sit down, he had a proposal to make to the ministers; he would inform them for certain, that there were persons now in Europe, who were fully empowered to treat for a peace between Great Britain and America; and though he believed they would not treat with the present ministers, still he would put them in a way of making peace; nay more, if they did not like to interfere in it themselves, he would undertake to negotiate it for them himself. He saw a learned gentleman smile at his proposal; he was not surprised at it; nor could he have brought himself to make it, if the good of his country did not urge him to it; and he might propose it without being guilty of more inconsistency than the noble Lord, who condemned the resolution of Wednesday last, for peace with America, though at present he was willing to act every day contrary to his inclination; and to be constantly advising the Sovereign to pursue those measures, which he so much condemned. Our affairs were so circumstanced that ministers must lose their places, or the country must be undone: he would therefore let them enjoy those emoluments, which they held so dear, provided he could save his country: for this end he was willing to serve them in the business of peace, in any capacity, even as an under commis, or messenger. But in so doing, he desired it might be understood that he did not mean to have any connection with them: from the moment

ment when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind : he could not for an instant think of a coalition with men, who in every public and private transaction, as ministers, had shewn themselves void of every principle of honour and honesty : in the hands of such men he would not trust his honour, even for a minute.

Lord *North* observed, that as the honourable member had not said one word in opposition to the motion, or to the principle of the bill, to which the motion referred, he believed, that in decency to the mover, he ought not to enter into any discussion about it, but let it go immediately to a vote. However, since he had risen, he would take some notice of the extraneous matter, which had fallen from the honourable member. He had been pleased to say, that ministers were not inclined to peace : this charge he would meet with a flat denial, at least in as much as it related to himself. He had always been a friend to peace ; and there were men in that House who knew it. To a bill of the nature of that which was now in question, he certainly had not always been a friend ; because he had always thought inferences might be drawn from it, by no means conducive to peace : but he no longer feared, that the bill would give room for those inferences, because he knew they must be already drawn from another measure already adopted by that House—the resolution of Wednesday last.—To the policy of that resolution he did not, and could not subscribe, but as Parliament had thought proper to pass it, and as ministers were bound to obey the orders of Parliament, so he should make that resolution the standard of his future conduct. The honourable gentleman had said, that there were persons in Europe authorized to treat of peace between Great-Britain and America; if so, the propriety of passing the bill now in question, must appear the more striking to gentlemen ; because it must facilitate that peace, for which all parties seemed to wish so ardently. But then the present ministers could not be fit to negotiate for peace, because a proffered mediation had not been followed with good effects. For his part, when he opened the last year's loan, he had said that there was “ a tendency towards a peace ;” a general mediation had been offered ; at that time nothing specific had been proposed ; and therefore he had made use of the expression, “ a tendency towards a peace,” and a stronger one he ought not to have used, without going farther than the state of the negotia-  
tion—

tion would admit, The honourable Member was kind enough to offer his services in a negotiation; but he would not take any part with the present Administration; and the reason that he assigned was, that he could not trust his honour in their hands for a moment that were without any principle of honour or honesty: these were good and substantial reasons, and better certainly could not be assigned; and the same should serve him against the honourable Member. He would never employ a person who publicly declared that he could not have confidence in him. He was intitled to say just as much of that honourable gentleman; and therefore he would not trust his honour in the hands of that gentleman; and thinking of him as he did, he was determined not to employ him as his negociator.

The honourable member seemed to be in a great hurry to get the places of the ministers; at least he was in a great hurry to drive them from their places, though he was not able to learn that among those who wished to succeed, there was any settled system or agreement, and therefore it would be for the good of the public that he himself should stay in, and continue in office to prevent, as he had hitherto done, confusion in the state, and the introduction of principles which might not be constitutional; with this view he was determined not to go out of office, until he should receive his royal master's commands so to do, or till the sense of that House, expressed in the clearest manner, should point out to him the propriety of withdrawing. — As to the emoluments of office, God knew that though they were indeed much greater than his abilities deserved, still were they forty times greater than they were, they could not compensate for the anxiety and vexations incident to situations, aggravated by the uncandid treatment he frequently met in that House: it was not love of power or greatness that determined him to hold his place, so long as his Sovereign and Parliament would permit; he spoke in the presence of men who knew how little he was attached to either; but there was a certain pride of office which prevented him from resigning; and he would so far listen to that pride, that he would not resign until he could do it with gratitude to his gracious Sovereign and to the public, from whom he had found so great support during the course of his administration.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox assured the noble Lord, when he said he was dishonourable in private transactions, he meant in such as were of half public, half a private nature; and not at all in his private

private character, or in such part of his public character as related to money matters, in which he was ready to admit that he stood clear from every imputation. He wished however, in every other respect, it should be believed that he was understood to have spoken no harsher than he meant. He ridiculed the idea of the noble Lord's remaining in office to prevent confusion; and was surprised at the difference which he found in the noble Lord's language on this day and Wednesday last, relative to resignation.

Lord North jocosely said, that he undoubtedly had prevented much confusion; and if he had not prevented more, it was because there were others who had greater abilities to create confusion than he had to prevent it. He maintained that his language both on this day, and Wednesday, was the same, respecting resignation: he said on Wednesday, and he now repeated it, that if any one branch of the legislature should so far withdraw confidence from the executive power, as to interfere on all occasions, and give particular directions how the executive power should proceed, it would be better, and more constitutional, entirely to remove the ministers, than to leave power in their hands, after confidence had been withdrawn: and he added on Wednesday, and repeated it now, that if he found himself so little the object of the confidence of Parliament, as that every day he should find that Parliament was under the necessity of directing him how to act, he would undoubtedly, in that case, retire from office. But as long as Parliament should not think it necessary to remove him either by a vote, or by totally withdrawing their confidence,—the honourable member would excuse him, if he should resolve still to retain his situation.

Mr. T. Townshend, Captain John Luttrell, and some others spoke; and the committee at last agreed to the motion without a division, and adjourned.

*March 6.*

Sir Joseph Mawbey claimed the attention of the House to what he called an indecent behaviour in ministers, who always took care to have inserted in the Gazette every address from any little paltry borough that flattered or cringed to them, but the important address to his Majesty, to put an end to the cursed American war, and his Majesty's answer to it, had not yet made its appearance; he therefore desired to know the cause of such neglect.

This

This brought on a conversation between Lord North, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Townshend, and others, which was put an end to, on

**Lord Surrey** Lord *Surrey*'s rising to declare, that however indecent ministers had behaved on former occasions, and with respect to the late address, they had never behaved in so shameful a manner as on Friday last; for when the House of Commons went up with the address, who should they see close to his Majesty's right hand but that declared and most determined foe to America, General Arnold. Surely if ministers had the least particle of shame left in them, they would have advised his Majesty otherwise, and not so wantonly have insulted the people.

**Lord North.** Lord *North* desired the House would permit him to postpone going into the taxes, as he was not ready, owing, in a great measure, to the hurry of business, and the late hours which the House had for some time past sat. He was exceedingly sorry he should so far trespass on their indulgence, but he trusted their candour would excuse him, as he would very shortly name a day, and stand to it.

**Mr. Burke.** Mr. *Burke* said, he did not rise to oppose allowing the noble Lord the indulgence he requested, but he thought it rather extraordinary, that on the 6th of March the noble Lord should come forward and say he was not prepared with his taxes to pay the interest for a loan which had been voted above a week. If the noble Lord, who by the nature of his office could procure every information possible, was not prepared on the taxes he meant to produce, was it reasonable or just to suppose that persons, totally unacquainted with them, could, with a degree of justice to their constituents, vote those taxes at first sight? If the taxes the noble Lord meant to produce were grounded on the former ones, such as doubling the excise laws, or any thing of the kind, the House would be prepared to debate on the subject; but if the taxes to be proposed were, as the noble Lord mentioned on opening the budget, numerous and novel, it was nothing but fair that he should give the House some information what they were. He had himself just looked over the blessed fruits of the noble Lord's administration, and there he found that we were loaded with ten new taxes, viz. beer, wine, soap, leather, houses, coaches, post-chaises, post-horses, stamps, and servants, (a friend here hinted to him that he had forgot sugar) upon which he said he had totally forgot sugar; but to be sure, now we had lost St. Kitt's, and in all human

human probability should soon lose Barbadoes and Jamaica, it was not extraordinary he should have forgot that valuable article, as we shall soon have no sugar to tax.

He did not wonder the noble Lord was at a loss about new taxes, for what fresh burthen could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed, if we rode, or if we walked; if we staid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were masters or if we were servants; if we drank wine, or if we drank beer; and, in short, we were taxed every way possible. Thus, after being taxed in the manner mentioned, he had endeavoured to see how the account could stand, when viewed in a mercantile form, and the first thing was, debtor by loss, one hundred million of money; he next looked for a creditor side, and what rendered it most curious was, that there it stood, creditor by loss; we had purchased one hundred million worth of national disasters, and the whole, when in one view, appeared as follows:

*Debtor by loss.*

*Creditor by loss.*

ONE HUNDRED  
MILLION OF  
MONEY.

One hundred thousand men,  
and the loss of  
Massachusetts,  
Pennsylvania,  
New-York,  
Virginia,  
Maryland,  
South Carolina,  
North Carolina,  
Florida,  
Georgia,  
Delaware,  
New Jersey  
Rhode Island,  
Connecticut,  
New Hampshire,  
St. Vincent,  
Grenada,  
Dominica,  
Tobago,  
St. Christopher's,  
Senegal,  
Pensacola and Minorca,  
Which, at a moderate computation, produced to this country annually,  
Four million five hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Now, as the account stood in such an advantageous manner, it was impossible but the public must see the cause of the noble Lord's gratitude; which he talked of so much on Tuesday last; he undoubtedly owed much gratitude to his Sovereign, for keeping him from losing so many valuable dominions, and he owed much gratitude to the public; but he desired the noble Lord would inform the House, whether he meant to raise, by his new taxes, the sum of 800,000*l.* merely to pay the interest of the new loan, or whether he meant to raise 1,300,000*l.* to pay both the interest and deficiencies of his other taxes. This was a thing the noble Lord ought to do, as it was very material, and what he owed in gratitude to that House.

The noble Lord had told them he would continue in his office out of gratitude to the people. "Gratitude, the noble Lord's gratitude!" Oh, Sir, said Mr. Burke, addressing himself to the Speaker, the noble Lord's gratitude is like that of another fallen angel like himself, described by the poet,

The debt immense of endless gratitude  
So burdensome, still paying, still to owe.

So with the noble Lord, his debt immense of gratitude was endless, and could never be discharged, and therefore he had presumed to fly in their face and to insult them with such language as ought to be reprobated by every man in the House, who had a sense of the decency due to Parliament, from the noble Lord, and how ill it became him of all men, to say that he would continue in his office out of gratitude.

Lord North

Lord North said, the taxes he meant to produce were numerous, and many of them novelties in their kind; therefore he had been obliged to postpone them, as, from their novelty, it was impossible, without time, to make any thing like a true estimate. New taxes were frequently uncertain in their produce, and undoubtedly there might be frequently at the end of the year great deficiencies, some of the taxes not answering as was expected.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox desired the noble Lord would answer that part of Mr. Burke's speech which requested to know what end the taxes were to be raised for, and when the noble Lord meant to move these taxes.

Lord North

Lord North said, he would, on Monday next, without fail, bring in the taxes; and he only meant to raise 800,000*l.* to pay the interest of the new loan.

Mr. Fox, on this, attacked his Lordship with uncommon force;—the noble Lord had at last confessed himself totally exhausted



exhausted in point of finance, and no longer able to raise taxes to pay the interest of a debt, occasioned by his cursed American war; the people were burthened, and so loaded with innumerable oppressions, that even the noble Lord was at a loss how to distress them any farther. His constituents, he said, felt severely the fatal effects of that noble Lord's administration; and indeed the whole nation felt them too severely; for he had, by a determined obstinacy to keep in place, ruined above nine-tenths of the British dominions, and seemed equally determined to ruin what little remained. The noble Lord had lately talked of his gratitude, and that he only staid in office to see his country righted. In the name of God, what good could the country expect from a man whose whole administration had been one continued scene of blunders. From the noble Lord's confession to-day, he had proved himself what he always took him for, viz. an ignorant and bad financier, a man totally unacquainted with the resources of the country, and certainly unfit, and unworthy of the office he held. He had said, his taxes were novel, and uncertain in their produce; it was unnecessary for him to have mentioned the latter, for the deficiencies of the noble Lord's former taxes, which were annually added, and of consequence became an additional load upon our shoulders, plainly proved it. The taxes the noble Lord meant to produce on Monday next, were supposed to raise 793,000*l.* the interest of the new loan; but whether they would produce 3 or 400,000*l.* the noble Lord was totally ignorant. Thus he went on year after year, making taxes which were inefficient for the purpose intended, and consequently must add fresh burthens; therefore it became the duty of the noble Lord to mention to the House when he intended to propose taxes to pay off the former deficiencies, which otherwise would remain a dead weight to whoever should succeed the noble Lord in office. The way for a minister to establish his credit with the public, would be to have his taxes ready, and those substantial, at the time he came and asked for a supply; not to borrow so large, so enormous a sum, and then be at a loss how to pay even the interest. It was conduct such as he never remembered, and what must stamp indelible disgrace on the noble Lord, who, in a former debate, a few evenings since, said, "You should not speak out and declare your readiness for peace, it will prevent your getting such good terms as you have a right to demand." Could any thing speak out plainer to our ene-



mies than the noble Lord had done himself this day? Had he not declared to all the world, that this nation was incapable of any longer carrying on a war, by saying he was unable to raise more taxes?

The greatest piece of delusion the noble Lord had been guilty of, was in keeping the nation in a profound darkness with respect to the state of their affairs. He deluded them by a set of taxes which they were led to believe were sufficient for the purposes intended; therefore the public suffered him to go on, not knowing their situation; if they did, long before this would they have cried out against him, and awakened from that state of lethargy which had been so disgraceful to them, and so ruinous to their country. He would not trouble the House any longer, but conclude with declaring a firm belief that the last token of the noble Lord's gratitude, would be the losing of Barbadoes and Jamaica, after which, there being nothing more worth giving up, he supposed his Lordship would quit his office.

Sir Joseph  
Mawbey.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* said, as the noble Lord had deferred his taxes until Monday next, and the call of the House stood for to-morrow, it would be exceedingly proper that the call be put off until a proper day, that gentlemen might not leave town at a time when such material business was likely to come on; he should therefore move, That the order for the call to-morrow be discharged, which was done without a division. He then moved, "That the House be called over on Thursday se'nnight;" upon which

Mr. Rolle.

Mr. *Rolle* got up, and proposed an amendment, by inserting the words, "three months" instead of "se'nnight;" which was seconded by Mr. C. Turner.

The Speaker.  
er.

The *Speaker* said, the first question for the call of the House had been withdrawn, on a full assurance that no opposition would take place on the worthy Baronet's second motion.

Mr. C.  
Turner.

Mr. *C. Turner* declared, his reason for opposing it was because he thought the call of the House a mere farce, nonsensical thing, and quite unnecessary. If members were not attend without being compelled, they were unworthy of being members of that House, and ought not to sit a seat. If the present times would not make them attend, no call of the House could be of service. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) had frequently called opposition a rope of sand, but had been answered the other evening,

such a rope as it was, they could, when occasion required it, hold together by the firmest of all ties, principle. The rope of sand had done a glorious work lately; but it was not one or two good acts that were sufficient to make him esteem a House which he had so long detested; they must go on, and the people must join them; for this was the time for the people to join Parliament; if they did not, they deserved to be slaves as long as they lived.

Parliament must give him greater proofs of their honesty, than they had done, before he would believe them, or put any faith in their works. He loved the Hanoverian succession, he was fond of a Hanover King, while he continued to act for the good of his people, and he would in the greatest distress prove his love, by putting his hand in his pocket, and helping to support him; but if the King acted against his people, and endeavoured to gain a corrupt controul over his Parliament, he would be the first to join the French, or any other power, against such a King; for he wanted none of the luxuries of the present age, he could live upon one-third of his estate, and would, sooner than submit to the present set of ministers, retire to Switzerland, or some other remote corner of the earth, to spend the remainder of his days. The present ministers stiled opposition a rope of sand; he called the ministry in return a rope of onions, for they stunk in the nose of all England, and would, he hoped, either rot all together, or speedily drop off one by one.

The *Speaker* then put the question, that the word, “se’n-<sup>The Speak-  
er.</sup> night” stand a part of the motion, upon which the House divided,

Ayes	—	—	—	106
Noes	—	—	—	90

so the House is to be called over on Thursday next.

The order of the day was then called, for reading, a second time, the bill to prevent vexatious removals of the poor, which occasioned a long conversation between Sir George Yonge, Lord Mahon, Mr. Poney, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Robinson, Sir P. J. Clerke, Sir Richard Sutton, &c. but was at length carried without a division.

The *Lord Hinchinbrook* reported to the House that their address of, Monday last, to return the thanks of the House to his Majesty, &c. had been presented to his Majesty, and that he was pleased to receive the same very graciously. <sup>Lord Hinch-  
brook.</sup>

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland*, from the committee of secrecy, appointed to enquire into the causes of the war, <sup>Lord Advo-  
cate.</sup>

that now subsists in the Carnatic, &c. made another repo of their proceedings, which was ordered to be printed.

*March 7.*

Sir Grey  
Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* informed the House, that the manufacturers of snuff had petitioned against the unfair practice which at present prevailed in the importation of foreign snuffs.

All foreign snuffs, says he, as the law now stands, pay a duty of fifteen-pence on every pound, value five shillings, except French snuff, which ought to pay at the rate of 75 per cent. ad valorem; but the smugglers, to evade the just duty, import French snuff under the article of Flemish, and sanctify such a proceeding with a Custom-house oath, by which means every pound is valued at no more than four-pence, and consequently pays only three-pence per pound duty, instead of paying fifteen-pence; this illicit method hurts the fair trader very materially in that article; therefore, to prevent such practices in future, he wished that a law might be established for the equalizing the duty, and to make every pound of foreign snuff imported, whether Flemish or French, pay a duty of fifteen-pence per pound, which he trusted would put an end to the present grievance.

Sir George  
Yonge.

Sir *George Yonge* said, he thought some degree of preference ought to be paid to our good ally, the Emperor, and the snuff imported from his dominions ought not to be charged with so high a duty as that from France. He likewise thought, as we had lost our growth of tobacco, we ought to consider some act to encrease the growth of that article in England.

Sir Grey  
Cooper.

Sir *G. Cooper* said, as the duty meant to be laid, was no more than usually had been on Flemish snuff, he could not suppose the Emperor would feel himself affronted; nor would he wish to connive at French snuff being imported under the head of Flemish.

Lord Surrey.

Lord *Surrey* informed the House, that in the reign of Charles the second, an act was made to prohibit the growth of tobacco in England, since that time a law had been made, allowing Ireland to plant tobacco; but the right did not extend to Scotland, yet the people at Kelfo grew great quantities, and had never been molested, upon which some persons near Leeds in Yorkshire attempted the same, but had been prosecuted for so doing. He could not suppose it was meant to suffer Scotland to enjoy privileges which were denied

denied to Englishmen, he therefore thought the laws prohibiting the growth in England ought to be repealed.

The Speaker informed the House that now was not a proper time to debate on that business, as the motion intended was a matter of revenue.

Sir G. Cooper then moved, that a committee be appointed on Tuesday next, to consider of the duties now paid on the portation of foreign snuff.

Sir Grey  
Cooper.

*March 8.*

*Motion, by Lord John Cavendish, of censure on his Majesty's Ministers.*

WHEN the private business of the day was finished, Lord John Cavendish addressed the Speaker. The business he said, to which he took the liberty to call the attention of the House, was of the most serious nature, and of the last importance to the state. — The great and splendid empire of Britain was nearly overturned; calamity, disgrace, and disaster were pouring upon us from every quarter; and the measure of our misfortunes was likely to be soon completed by the loss of all our dominions in America and the West-Indies: if it was yet possible to prevent any part of such disaster from being completed, it was only by investigating the cause of our calamities; for until that should be ascertained, it would be impossible to find out, or apply a remedy to the evil. In endeavouring to explore that cause, and ascertain the most effectual means to remove it, he assured the House he was not under the influence of any other passion than that of love for his country: from the present ministry either collectively or individually, he had never received a personal incivility; and therefore the gratification of resentment could not be ascribed to him as a motive for the measures he was going to propose. He never had asked or received a favour from any former administration that he had supported; and he was determined, let who would be ministers, never to ask a favour at their hands; therefore he hoped the House would give him credit, when he assured them that in any change of ministers he entertained not the least idea of any personal interest to himself; if he could serve his country, the great object of his wishes would be completely gratified.

Lord John  
Cavendish.

He intended to propose to the House a string of resolutions, so clearly founded in fact, that he did not know that  
any

any one could venture to controvert them. When he looked round for the causes of our calamities, the first thing that struck him was the profusion with which the public supplies had been voted. The sums already voted for the present disastrous and disgraceful war, under the three heads of navy, army, and ordnance, amounted to the immense total of 100,000,000*l.* to this sum he might add the difference between the navy debt at the end of the year 1774, and that of the present year; which, with a few items, still to be voted for the service of the current year, would swell the total to 103,000,000*l.* The taxes which the war had made it necessary to impose already exceeded 3,000,000*l.* annually. In the last glorious war we had been led from victory to victory, from conquest to conquest, and the taxes laid no during the war, amounted to no more than 2,500,000*l.* What a difference in the sums! What a difference in the consequences of the expenditure of both! at the end of the last war, the whole world was at our feet; and there was not in the world a navy but our own. In this disgraceful war, we have already spent infinitely more money; and purchased nothing but losses and disgrace: America was gone, Minorca was no more, and our dominion in the West-Indies nearly annihilated; while our navy was every where inferior to that of our numerous and combined enemies.

Could the nation, if woeful experience had not demonstrated it, have imagined or suspected, from the sums voted for the navy, that we should be every where inferior to the enemy, on an element where we used to ride triumphant, and where we had been fondly taught to think that we should still continue to triumph? No man could have thought such a thing, if he had read the list of sums voted by Parliament, for the use of the navy. During the peace, the naval establishment had been kept up so high, that it doubled any former peace establishment in this kingdom; the reason assigned, was, that it had become necessary always to have a respectable naval force in readiness, for sudden emergencies, and to keep in awe the neighbouring maritime powers. But had that object been accomplished? Had the neighbouring powers been kept in awe? The very reverse; for they were suffered to raise a most formidable marine, whilst our own, notwithstanding the immense sums voted for it, seemingly decreased in proportion as that of our enemies increased. If this was an event, which from the nature of things might have naturally been expected; why had ministers shewn so little fore-

fight as to provoke the different wars in which we were actually engaged? The American war, the source and origin of all the others, might surely have been avoided; but since ministers had rashly and unwisely run into it, why had they not taken the wise precautions of securing friends on the continent, in order to prevent a war with France and the rest of the House of Bourbon? This was an unpardonable neglect, which ministers could not attempt to palliate, but by a defence, which, of itself would be sufficient to prove, that they were unfit to govern a state, namely, by proving, that they wanted foresight. He feared they wanted something else; he feared they wanted their senses; for upon no other ground could he account for the war into which they had hurried us with Holland. The Dutch were our oldest friends and allies; they had been allied to us for more than a century; they were bound to us by a thousand ties of interest and of principle; but these ties were dissevered; and these our old friends and allies were pronounced to be enemies. This was a fatal declaration; and though some gentlemen might think, that, as yet we had not suffered any thing from the Dutch war; yet, let them look into the ordinance estimates for the present year, and they would find there some monuments of our disgrace; and must soon be convinced that we have already felt the Dutch war extremely burdensome; for the better defence of our coast, a chain of fortifications had been erected along the coast to the north of Scotland, to protect it from the Dutch; this measure was at once expensive and disgraceful: it evinced the weakness of our fleet, the decrease of our marine, and the apprehensions of the nation. In the last war no such fortifications had been erected; they were not necessary; our navy then was equal both to the defence of our own coast, and the annoyance of that of our enemies; but those days were no more; the navy of England was comparatively gone, and with it all our glory. But by whose fault was our navy gone? Was it by the fault of Parliament? The very reverse; for exclusive of the immense sums voted for that service since the beginning of the war, no less than 25,000,000*l.* had been voted for it during the peace. Such had been the liberality of Parliament — This liberality was requited by the most shameful neglect.

But this was not the only loss we had sustained by the war with the Dutch; it had cramped our operations in other quarters, and greatly served the purposes of the House of Bourbon,



Bourbon, as it diverted a considerable part of our naval force, which might have been better employed against our natural and inveterate enemies. If in their weak and backward state of preparation the Dutch had caused so great and so fatal a diversion of our naval force, what had we not to dread from them in the next campaign, when they should be in a much better condition to annoy us?

Would gentlemen, then, think that he spoke rashly or uncharitably, when he should say, that the present calamitous situation of the country had been produced by the want of foresight in Ministers, previous to the war, and their mismanagement since its commencement? If this was true, and he believed a review of their administration would demonstrate it, would not gentlemen allow that it would be highly improper to trust them any longer? Gentlemen were at liberty to do as they should think proper; for his part, he would propose those resolutions, which his regard for the welfare of his country had suggested to him; and, if they should be carried, he would follow them with another for an address to the King, not specifically to remove any one minister, or to point out any man or set of men to his Majesty, as the most proper persons to serve him; but merely to pray that his Majesty would take such steps and make such arrangements in his councils as should prevent the total ruin of the country.

He concluded with the following motion: "Resolved, That it appears to this House, that since the year 1775 upwards of one hundred millions of money have been expended on the army and navy, in a fruitless war."

The House desired he would read the remaining three, which he did, as follows:

"Resolved, That it appears to this House, that during the above period we have lost the Thirteen Colonies of America, which anciently did belong to the Crown of Great-Britain (except the posts of New-York, Charles-town, and Savannah) the new acquired colony of Florida, many of our valuable West India and other islands, and those few that remain are in the most imminent danger."

"That it appears to this House, that Great Britain is at present engaged in an expensive war with France, Spain, and Holland, without a single ally."

"That it appears to this House, the chief cause of all these misfortunes is owing to want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's Ministers."

Lord John read his four resolutions to the House, and then concluded, by regularly moving the first.

Mr. *Powys* seconded the motion; he, as well as the noble Mr. *Powys*, Lord who preceded him, disclaimed all personal resentment against any man in office: he had no communication with one of them out of that House, and therefore it was impossible for him to have any personal animosity against any one of them. He declared, that it was a matter of the most perfect indifference to him, by what set of men the country was governed, provided it were well governed; and that if it was now only a struggle for places and power between two parties, he would sit a silent and indifferent spectator of the contest. But the question was not now who should govern the state; but whether there should be left any part of the state to be governed?

The noble Lord in the blue ribband had said a few days ago, that if Parliament should withdraw its confidence from him, he would resign — that period was come; the confidence of Parliament was withdrawn; and the shackles with which that House had thought it necessary to fetter his hands were the strongest proof of it. — The noble Lord had given the House a specimen of the speech he should make at the moment of his resignation; would to God he had pronounced it at the proper theatre—at St. James's, in the presence of his Majesty! — Whenever the happy moment should arrive, when that noble Lord, to the unspeakable joy of the nation, should really go to his Sovereign to resign his employments, he hoped he would not forget to draw to the King a picture of the flourishing state in which he found his Majesty's empire, when the government of it was entrusted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it. The noble Lord had said also, that it was to prevent confusion that he had remained in office: the House would judge how far the noble Lord was candid in this declaration, and how far it was founded in truth, when they should take the trouble to consider who were the men most likely to succeed him, and what were the principles to which they pledged themselves. The first thing to which these men stood pledged, when they should get into office, was, to check profusion and prodigality in the expenditure of the public money: this was one reason for ministers to be afraid that confusion would be introduced into government, if œconomy should be made to succeed to prodigality. These men stood pledged also to explore the



dark recesses of that *sanctum sanctorum* of government — the civil list; and to lop off the useless and unnecessary branches of that establishment, and apply the savings to the purposes of the state. They stood pledged, in fine, to pursue some plan of improvement in the manner of sending representatives to Parliament. They did not stand pledged to adopt visionary plans; but such as would really tend to cut off the causes of corruption in the constitution of Parliament. Such were the men from whom the noble Lord was so apprehensive of confusion; but with how much cause, the House would form its own judgment: among these men were some of the first abilities in the kingdom; some who were the representatives of the most opulent families in the nation: others among them were the descendants of all that was great, all that was illustrious: among them was the son (heir to his father's virtues and unexampled talents) of a man who had carried the British name to the very highest pinnacle of glory; and who had quitted the reins of government, only when he found that, by a secret, but baneful influence, he was no longer able, with honour to himself, or safety to the state, to execute those counsels which he was not permitted to direct; among them were those men who invariably stood firm in the profession of those principles to which his Majesty's family owed the crown; and yet from such men, the noble Lord pretended to apprehend confusion. — Rebellion raged in the extremities of the empire; and which our state physicians without the least concern, were going to get rid of by amputation: but they were alarmed indeed, lest the dreadful disorder of œconomy should seize the vitals of government, and crush their administration.

To draw a just and proper contrast between these men and the present ministers, he would trouble the House with a short analysis of the latter. To begin with the youngest in office. The King of Sardinia is stiled King of Cyprus and Jerusalem; he said, with the same justice as the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ellis) is stiled Secretary for the American department; yet the King of Sardinia has no power over Cyprus nor Jerusalem, neither has the honourable gentleman any power over America. He gave no great reason to hope, that such measures would be pursued, as would be for the benefit of the nation: the House knew what had been the principles of that gentleman, and if he should adhere to them, the nation had no reason to rejoice at his appointment: since he came into office, he had given a kind of sketch of his po-  
litical

litical creed; he could not call it a sincere profession of faith; on the contrary, he must look upon it, at best, but an instance of occasional conformity; he recanted no former error; he abjured no former principle; but seemed only to give way a little to the temper of the times; he had once been loud in opposition; but was now so drenched in the lees of ministerial complacency, that all the starch and buckram of his character was gone; and he himself reduced to the most perfect state of pliability.

The noble Lord in the blue ribband was of a no less pliant texture: He scarcely had a principle of his own to follow; but led on by the impulse of secret and unknown influence, his principles were swallowed up, and he blindly submitted to adopt those of other men.

The noble Lord had said he would always act in conformity to majorities of that House, yet when a reform was to take place, in abolishing a number of useless offices, he had thrown every obstacle in the way of that reform, and had totally defeated the object intended by a majority of that House. The noble Lord, he believed, now stood in a situation that no Minister before him ever did; for after finding that he had lost the confidence of the House, he still remained in office, contrary to his own declaration, that he would quit, if the sense of the House was against him; would he wish for a greater proof than he had already experienced? if he did, he trusted the House would give it him. The old Secretary of state had retired to the Upper House, and was transplanted into a Viscount, for the having compleated the loss of America; certainly, by the same justice, the noble Lord in the blue ribband, for his eminent services in having begun and continued, until he had finished the ruin of his country, ought to be transplanted into the first Duke; — for, surely, if being an enemy to his country was a ground for promotion, the noble Lord stood foremost for the highest honour.

In the other House of Parliament there were ministers of whom as little good could be said, as of those he had already mentioned. Lord Stormont filled the office of one of the Secretaries of state; but what treaties had ever been signed by him? In what instance had he shewn himself a statesman or politician? Perhaps he might receive accounts at his office; the accounts of the marriages, births, or deaths of princes on the continent, which he notified to the King: but here ended all his politics; how far he was a proper person to treat of peace

with America, might be presumed from one of his answers — “his Majesty’s ministers receive letters from rebels, only when they sue for pardon.”

Lord Hillsborough was another minister in the other House; all he would say of him, was, that he had once corresponded with America; and the traces of his correspondence had not yet been worn out of the memory of the Americans. Of the naval minister, he would say nothing; for it was out of his power to describe his character, as he ought: he believed, however, the House did not want a description; nothing could give it better than a review of the history of his administration at the Board of Admiralty.

These were the men who remained in office for the purpose of preventing confusion; and of preventing it on the part of men from whom order, regularity, and success, might, with more propriety, be expected than confusion apprehended. Would the gentlemen who had hitherto supported ministers consider attentively the contrast, and say that they deserved to be still supported? He was ready to admit that many gentlemen of the most independent fortunes had supported them, from principle; but how greatly had their number decreased! How few of this description of gentlemen still adhered to them!

*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

As to the resolutions read by the noble Lord, he believed them to be strictly founded in truth: no one could deny his noble friend’s premises; he was of opinion that few would dare to controvert his conclusions: and he had not a doubt but if the noble Lord in the blue ribband should set aside his contractors, and the few friends who might vote with him from private friendship, the resolution which he got up to second, would be carried by such a majority, as would make the noble Lord heartily ashamed of his minority.

Mr. Martin. Mr. *Martin* rose next, and spoke to the following effect. I think myself happy in having caught your eye thus early in the debate, as the few words I shall attempt to offer to the House would be heard perhaps with impatience at a later hour. I am exceedingly happy that a motion so good in itself, and so much tending to the consolation and comfort of this suffering country, has been offered to the House, by a noble Lord whose public and private character, and whose family principles must endear him to all who love the public and a

free

free constitution. Sir, the noble Lord will do me the justice to believe that I can have no mean or selfish view in paying him any compliment, on this or any other occasion; indeed, Sir, he is far above any poor praise that my feeble talents can bestow. But, Sir, in times like these, when public virtue finds no other external reward, it is highly fitting it should receive the hearty and well deserved praise of those who admire it—but no more of this.—Sir, as to the question itself, I should be very sorry if it could be thought that I had personal dislike to any of the present administration: I, Sir, am too inconsiderable to have any sort of connection with them, other than that of a private member of Parliament. Indeed, Sir, I rather fear that I have not had that degree of public dislike to them, which became me as a public man, from the good qualities I have heard ascribed to some of them in social life. Sir, since I have made any observations in politics, I have constantly thought that the principles of the Administration were of a tendency to root out that free constitution on which we set so great and so just a value. Having often taken the liberty to mention to the House my opinion of the American war, I shall only now repeat in general, that I regard that war as the grand evil which has at least been continued to weigh us down, and to overwhelm us with disgrace, as well as misfortune, by the present ministers. Sir, I do not say that I think all ministers are equally corrupt, or even that all ministers are in any degree so. I believe, for instance, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband, is naturally honourable and pure; but, Sir, he may have false pride, and improper notions of the government of a free people; and these notions, irritated by ill success and opposition, may have carried him far beyond those bounds, which rectitude of principle, and a good disposition would have confined him to. This, Sir, may be true in some degree, of the colleagues of the noble Lord, but however that be, or whatever be the cause, the effect has been almost fatal to this country. And, Sir, when I say fatal, I do not mean merely in respect to the loss of many valuable possessions, and the diminution of our navy, in proportion to that of other powers; but in respect to the wounds the constitution has received, to the horrid corruption of the morals of the people, and to the gross and ruinous influence of the Crown, which has been condemned by a majority in Parliament, though no measure has been since taken to stop, or even to check it in the least degree. Sir, I had the misfortune (which seldom happens to me) of not being in the House, when an honourable

honourable gentleman, whose great abilities will probably lead him into administration, if this vote should pass, made the strongest profession, in the strongest language of his determined resolution, if in power, to persevere in those noble principles, he has so oft avowed. Sir, that honourable gentleman has, on various occasions, declared himself a steadfast friend to the people. And here, Sir, I beg I may not be misunderstood, as if I meant to speak for the populace, in distinction from the public at large. Sir, I respect all ranks of persons, and am persuaded, that the honourable gentleman, when he speaks for the people, means his country at large. Sir, this country at large has many grievances, which, perhaps, have not originated in this administration, but which they have been so far from redressing, that they have, to say the least, rather encouraged and fomented them. Sir, I wish to see a real patriot administration, an administration loving the public, and loyal not only to the King, but to the true constitution of this country. Sir, the leaders of opposition, have for many years talked the language of integrity and disinterestedness: if, upon trial, they should shrink not only from their language, but their principles, I trust that I shall join with every independent gentleman in this House, in giving them as hearty an opposition as I have generally given to those gentlemen, whose principles I have detested, and whose conduct I have disapproved, though, as I have repeatedly said, I have had no personal animosity to them whatever. Mr. Speaker, I hope, above all things, that whoever may have the conduct of public affairs, that they will so far consider the rights of humanity, as to make a reasonable and general peace their first and principal object. I apprehend, Sir, that ministers naturally, from their situation, lose those feelings for their fellow-creatures that are common to persons in other situations. But let them remember that others feel, and feel most cruelly the calamities of war. Let them therefore act in their public capacities rather in the principles of universal justice and rectitude than from motives of what is vulgarly called national glory, but which is often really nothing more than national vain-glory, and a spirit of tyranny and oppression.—Sir, I trust, I shall be believed, at least by some few, that I have no personal, or at least no lucrative view, in a change of ministers. I may be honoured with a slight acquaintance with many of the gentlemen who sit on this side the House, but I regard the duty of a member of Parliament, as so sacred a trust, and pure in its nature, that I never

I never wish for any other advantage from it, than that of serving the public to the best of my poor abilities. Sir, till this way of thinking, however romantic it may appear to some gentlemen, shall be more general, we may have one administration somewhat better than another, but we shall never be governed as we ought to be.—Sir, I heartily thank the House for their kind attention, and shall detain them no longer than to read a very short paper from an author of no small reputation, which, though written in the year 1770, twelve years ago, seems to me in many points so very applicable to our present circumstances, that I will make no farther apology for giving it in a very few words.

‘The palm of ministerial firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so himself, with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo*; and I am ready enough to believe, that, while he can keep his place, he will not easily be persuaded to resign it. Your Grace was the firm minister of yesterday; Lord North is the firm minister of to-day. To-morrow, perhaps his Majesty, in his wisdom, may give us a rival for you both. You are too well acquainted with the temper of your late allies, to think it possible that Lord North should be permitted to govern this country. If we may believe common fame, they have shewn him their superiority already. His Majesty is indeed too gracious to insult his subjects, by choosing his first minister from among the domestics of the Duke of Bedford. That would have been too gross an outrage to the three kingdoms. Their purpose, however, is equally answered, by pushing forward this unhappy figure, and forcing it to bear the odium of measures, which they in reality direct. Without immediately appearing to govern, they possess the power, and distribute the emoluments of government as they think proper. They still adhere to the spirit of that calculation, which made Mr. Luttrell representative of Middlesex. Far from regretting your retreat, they assure us very gravely, that it increases the real strength of the ministry. According to this way of reasoning, they will probably grow stronger and more flourishing every hour they exist; for I think there is hardly a day passes in which some one or other of his Majesty’s servants does not leave them to improve by the loss of his assistance. But, alas! their countenances speak a different language. When the members drop off, the main body cannot be insensible of its approaching dissolution. Even the violence of their proceedings is a signal of despair. Like broken tenants, who have had



had warning to quit the premises, they curse their landlord, destroy the fixtures, and throw every thing into confusion, and care not what mischief they do to the estate.'

The Secretary at War

The *Secretary at War* rose next. He admitted that the fact stated in the resolution before the House, which declared that 100,000,000*l.* had been expended, was unquestionably true, but still it would, in his opinion, be very impolitic in Parliament to come to such a resolution; not because it would make known to our enemies every secret relative to our finance, with which they are not already very fully acquainted; but it would express a degree of impatience under our distresses which must necessarily be detrimental to us in a negotiation for peace: to state our heavy and accumulated expences, would argue a most heart-felt weariness of the war; and of course, would imply an impatience to get rid of it: from such a preliminary to peace, no good was to be expected; it would declare to the enemy, that being sick of, and exhausted by the war, we were ready to purchase peace on any terms: this would be dangerous language to hold to an enemy, and the truer the more dangerous.

The war in which we were engaged with America was undoubtedly unsuccessful; but it was not for this the less just in its principle; it was undertaken to defend the rights of Parliament; and the general voice of the people had concurred in the justice of that measure. If we found ourselves now, after a tedious and unsuccessful war, obliged to relinquish the object of it, we were exactly in the same situation in which the most powerful, and most wise nations, stood in their turn: the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, had each been exhausted, and almost ruined. It was true, indeed, that, at the end of the last war, our power had been carried to the most unexpected height; but that was the very reason why we were now without allies; for it was the natural consequence of great power to excite envy; and envy produced enemies: our greatness was formidable to Europe, and Europe perhaps rejoiced at seeing it cease. Austria and Bourbon had been too formidable for their neighbours; and their neighbours combined to ruin them in turn: we were the third great power that had been humbled, and the same cause which gave birth to leagues in those times, produced a similar one against us now, and kept the powers not immediately concerned in it, from joining with us: this was the true reason why we were without allies; and ministers stood perfectly innocent on that head. He did not mean to combat the truth

of the resolution before the House; but he was clearly of opinion that it would be highly inexpedient to agree to it in the present posture of affairs; and therefore, in order to get rid of it, without giving a negative to what he could not deny, he would (and accordingly did) move for the order of the day.

Mr. T. Townshend said, he was surpris'd to hear the Secretary at War declare, that the present motion was dangerous, on account of its informing our enemies what sum of money the war had cost us. Good God! was not that sum to be seen in the votes of the House? Was it any information to our enemies that we had lost America, and our valuable islands? Did not they know it as well as we! Was it any information to our enemies to say we were at war with France, Spain, and Holland, and without an ally? Was it any information to say, that these disasters were owing to a want of foresight and ability in our present ministers? Certainly not, for that was a fact he believed all Europe knew. The greatest secret he believed of the four was, that we were at war, for our enemies scarce knew it by our proceedings. But our ministers were more criminal than the last proposition stated, for if they wanted foresight themselves, they had been warned of the danger, and told the consequence at the beginning of the war; but they had obstinately refused to listen, and when they were told that France and Spain would interfere in favour of America for the purpose of crushing this country, they replied, "France and Spain have colonies of their own, they cannot assist America, for it will be setting a dangerous example to their own subjects, and be a stimulation to them to rebel;" and with respect to our going to war with the Dutch, ministers had termed that a wise and prudent measure, for they declared there was less to fear from them as an open enemy than as a secret one; for by their smuggling they supplied our enemies with naval stores, and thereby were a more formidable enemy than ever it would be in their power when acting offensively. After the present ministers had plunged us into those expensive wars, how had they conducted them? Not for the glory and welfare of the state, but for some little paltry revenge; and to support them, had been oblig'd to burden the subject, (to use the noble Lord's own words) with taxes, numerable and novelle in their kind, and very uncertain in their produce. The noble Lord had taxed houses, servants, and every article of life that could be named, and rendered it almost impossible for the poor labouring

Mr. T.  
Townshend.



labouring man to exist; our manufacturers, our merchants, and our bankers were ruined, yet the same system of measures was to be pursued, and we were to be loaded with fresh burdens, until our ruin was compleated. Certainly the times, the situation of affairs, called loudly for a change of ministers, and unless that was speedily done, the country must be entirely ruined.

Mr. Secretary Ellis,

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* rejoiced that the resolution before the House would afford gentlemen an opportunity to declare whether their confidence in the present ministry was extinct or not; it was not manly to pursue a system of motion-making, tending always to remove ministers, but still studiously avoiding the most effectual way to remove them; if it was true, as gentlemen were pleased to assert, that Parliament no longer had confidence in the present servants of the crown; if the fact was as it was stated, a direct motion to that effect could not fail of success: the present motion was of that nature; and therefore he rejoiced that the moment was come, when the ministers and their friends, and their enemies, and the world at large, might be able to ascertain the truth of the assertion so frequently made in that House; that ministers had totally lost the confidence of Parliament. He was ready to admit that Parliament, in passing the vote of Wednesday se'nnight, had given leading symptoms of a want of confidence in the servants of the crown; it was therefore his wish, as well as that of the most determined enemies to Administration, that the House would this day come to a final decision on the subject, and declare openly, that they had no confidence in ministers, if such was the case.

An honourable gentleman had thought it a bad omen, that he had not recanted any former error: he certainly had not recanted; for he did not see that he had been in any error: he had voted for the American war from principle; but he did not depart from that principle in concurring now with other gentlemen, that circumstances had happened, which rendered it necessary to abandon the object of that war. No man wished more ardently for peace than he did; and though his noble friend (Lord North) and he had on Wednesday last been left in a minority, they did not at all differ from the majority of the House on that day in the principle of the question; it was merely upon the expediency that he had differed from the majority.—The honourable member had thought proper to charge him with excessive pliability of charac-

character, because, now that he was in office, he was willing to pursue measures opposite to those which he had voted before he had been called to his Majesty's councils: the honourable gentleman should have said at the same time, that circumstances had happened which had altered the nature of the contest, and made it necessary to depart from those principles upon which the war was undertaken, with the tide of popular applause in its favour. To those circumstances he had bowed; his principles were still the same: he only thought that now they ought not be enforced.—It could not be said, that there were any very great temptations to induce him to accept of the office he now filled: At the time he accepted the seal, he was in possession of a lucrative employment, without responsibility; he had then, as it had been said on a former occasion, a warm comfortable bed, from which he had stepped into the ship of state in the midst of storm and tempest; by this change he was called to a place of responsibility, and, from the late resolution of Parliament, of some danger: these circumstances being considered, he believed gentlemen could find very little cause for this extraordinary pliability with which he was accused.

To the resolution before the House, he must declare himself an enemy; because, though no good whatever could arise from it, much mischief might be produced by it:—the enemy, he was very well aware, was undoubtedly acquainted with the state of our expences, but still, if those expences were sent out into the world, authenticated and sanctioned by that House, the consequence would be, that our enemies would think we were falling into despair; and they would in proportion rise in their terms, as they saw us proclaim to the world that we were exhausted. Peace was his earnest wish, but he could not think that such a peace as must follow such declaration, was worth wishing for. Gentlemen, he believed, would confess with him, that the man who should advise the Congress to declare to the world, that their resources were exhausted; that they had overburdened their constituents, and that their paper-money was not worth a farthing, and who should give this advice for the purpose of obtaining a safe and honourable peace, must absolutely be an idiot or a madman. Would not gentlemen suppose a man to be out of his senses, who after having supported for a long time a very expensive law suit, should go to the opposite attorney, and by way of inducing him to compromise the matter, should tell him that he was reduced to the

last farthing; that he could no longer see counsel, and that unless the matter should be compromised, he should be under the necessity of giving up the suit? Would any man say that such was the language by which the attorney could be persuaded into the compromise? Certainly not; and yet those who should vote for the resolution before the House, would hold exactly a familiar language to obtain peace; and probably with as good an effect. He would suggest another consideration against the resolution:

We had been unsuccessful, it was true; but then were gentlemen ready to say positively that those who planned our measures, and those only, were to blame? It was possible that many of the plans might have miscarried, through the fault of those who were to carry them into execution; he really did not mean to excuse any one; but he wanted merely to shew the fallacy, nay the injustice of the position—that if a measure miscarries, the persons who planned it are solely responsible. Perhaps, in many cases, neither the persons who planned, nor the persons who were to execute, were in fact to blame; the wisdom of Providence, which baffles the foresight and wisdom of man, might have decreed that we should be unsuccessful.

The honourable member had considered him as a minister; true he was one, but he had been so very short a time in office, that the honourable gentleman could not as yet say that he had done any thing to deserve censure; indeed, though he was certainly responsible for every thing that he had taken a share in, in the cabinet, still to speak properly, he had as yet performed only one single official act; and he was happy to know, that far from being censured, it was applauded by all descriptions of men; that act was the appointment of Sir Guy Carlton to the chief command of the army in America. Mr. Ellis concluded by calling upon gentlemen on his own side of the House, and adjuring them as men of honour and as Christians, to vote against the motion for the order of the day, and to support the resolution of the noble Lord; if they in their conscience had, like gentlemen on the other side of the House, really lost all confidence in the present ministry.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke got up to answer the honourable gentleman, and in one of the best adapted pieces of satire we almost ever remember to have heard him make, observed, that the present ruinous system of affairs was not defended by any one man of real independent property; there was no man

in that House, unless he had a place, a contract, or some such motive to speak, that attempted to defend them; therefore it was highly indecent for men to echo their own praise, and to be the only persons that could justify their conduct; they were all exactly in the same tone, and played into each other's hands extremely clever: If a motion censured the American Secretary, he was defended by the Secretary at War; if the Secretary at War was censured, the American Secretary thought it his duty to defend him; and if the noble Lord in the blue ribband was accused, then both the others cried out, Would you remove a man who is at the head of your affairs at this critical period? He would answer, yes; now was the time, for the voice of the people was against him, and without their having faith in him, all his ends must be frustrated. Ministers, he said, always made use of the excuse, "That you blame our measures after the event has happened, because they miscarried." If ministers meant to exculpate themselves, let them come forth, shew the House what their plans were, how they had formed them, and what they intended; then it would be in the power of the House to judge whether they deserved blame or not, but certainly it was very natural to censure men from the event of their actions, for by what other criterion could you judge them? When first he heard the new American Secretary proclaim his profession of faith, he was inclined to think there was some likelihood of his salvation, but as he still persisted in his errors, all that hope of extreme unction was wiped away, and he was now as far from being saved as any of his colleagues. He said, Mr. Ellis had got out of a good warm bed, and ventured, with his eyes scarce open, into a vessel tossed in a tempest, and riding on the billows in a violent storm. He thought him exceedingly unwise in having done so; and declared it might be said to him, what the wife of Brutus said to her husband,

Is it not for your health thus, my Lord, to commit  
Your weak condition to the raw cold morning.

Upon the present occasion, the honourable gentleman had talked as a physician, a lawyer, and a divine. To answer him as a physician, he should declare, that on finding his former doctor had ruined his constitution, he would call in the advice of a more skilful man in the profession, and not  
trust

trust to him who had so mistaken his disorder; he would seek out for the most able physician that could be found, for one that every person gave a good name to, for one that the family could trust with confidence. To answer him as a lawyer, he would plainly tell him, that after having lost him thirteen estates, he could put but very little faith in his abilities, nor could he trust him to go any farther.—Oh, says the lawyer, in answer, you have lost your estates it is true, but your title still remains good, it was that I contended for; would not he immediately answer again, what signifies my title, are not my estates gone, can you deny that?—Oh, replies the lawyer, don't complain, your title is still good, and you may by another suit recover them.—Yes, answers the client, but there is your bill yet to be considered, that I am afraid amounts to as much as the worth of the estates. After a conduct of that kind, can any man suppose the client would suffer the same lawyer to carry on another suit for him? certainly not; a man of more integrity and greater abilities would be sought for. To answer him as a divine, he was sorry to say, he appeared to have been a bad opinion of the justice of Divine Majesty, to suppose that all our misfortunes could arise from Providence counteracting the designs of his majesty's ministers. He undoubtedly heard and believed, that Divine Providence has sometimes scourged a land for its wickedness; and the scourge it had inflicted on this country, was a set of abandoned wicked ministers, for they were the greatest curse that Providence could have inflicted. He had heard of Divine Providence striking persons stupidly blind; he was of opinion a punishment of that sort had been inflicted on the present ministry, which occasioned them to act as they did. The Hon. Secretary, he said, had declared, that he quitted a warm bed for a post of danger; in his firm belief the country was left merely for the purpose of introducing a Scotch warming pan, [the Lord Advocate of Scotland] that was the chief cause of the new Secretary's being created. He then reprobated the measures of administration for a series of years, and declared, that in looking over the papers on the table, he saw that the sum of 57,000*l.* was set down in the year's expences for presents to Indians; and with other sums for services performed by these savages; the whole amounted to 100,000*l.* with which great sum he only found 25 men and children butchered. Surely we had overpaid these good allies of ours, or had estimated the women and

dren very high. That sum of 100,000*l.* would have purchased two 50 gun ships complete, which, in his opinion, would have been employing the money to a better purpose.

On looking into the expence incurred for furnishing the garrison of Gibraltar, it appeared that no less a sum than 569,000*l.* had been expended from the Ordnance Office; therefore it would be considerably under the mark to say that 600,000*l.* had been expended there, which would, had it been applied to the use of the navy, have built fifteen line of battle ships, of much more consequence to this country than Gibraltar for the purpose which we keep it. At the commencement of our war, we should have sent a strong fleet to Gibraltar, to prevent a junction of the Spanish fleet with the French, and should have had another fleet to watch the harbour of Brest, and thereby have prevented them from joining the Spanish: At our breaking out with the Dutch, we should have had a fleet to command the entrance to the Baltic; instead of which we had done neither. We had suffered the fleets of France and Spain to join, and had likewise suffered the Dutch, with an inferior force, to slip past us; we had sent our fleet to Gibraltar, when it should have prevented the sailing of de Grasse, and protected our riches from St. Eustatius; in short, "we had done those things which we ought not to have done; and we had left undone those things which we ought to have done, and there was no help in us." He had, he said, just cast his eye over some of the expences incurred by the American war, and found that the article of forage was not a trifling one; the article of oats was no less a sum than 80,000*l.* the article of hay 36,000*l.* and the transport service, for those two articles, amounted to 43,000*l.* in looking on a little farther, he observed that the victualling bills amounted to 1,250,000*l.* which led him to think there must be a vast army in America; but on enquiring among gentlemen returned from that place, he learned, that our army did not consist of one-third of the force that was charged, and that the number of men actually employed in America, could not devour the provisions said to be expended. He then turned in his mind what could become of the provisions, and was at one time in a peculiar manner led to believe, as he had heard it was a French war, that we were victualling the French; in short, after the most minute enquiry, he was obliged to leave off where he began, and remain totally in the dark. The noble Lord, in the  
blue



blue ribband, he said, had declared, that he would never quit his office, until he could quit it with honour; he therefore congratulated the House on the happy prospect they had of keeping the noble Lord in office, for if he never quitted his post until he could quit it with honour, he would be bound to say he would retain it until the last hour of his life.

Sir John  
Delaval.

Sir *Sir John Delaval* rose, he said, as a country gentleman, just to say, that he had a high opinion of his Majesty's ministers.

Sir Harry  
Hoghton.

Sir *Harry Hoghton* rose for the same purpose; and in expressing his sentiments of the ministry, he threw out an insinuation against Mr. Burke; he said the honourable gentleman might be supposed to act under circumstances not perfectly independent. His prospect of being, if he had not been, the agent of New-York, might have the effect which gratitude always has on a mind of sensibility,—it might attach him to their interests.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* said, that whoever had communicated the intimation to the honourable Baronet was a liar; and he could assure him, that if it should be told to him again, he might consider the story as a lie. The meanness of the imputation he despised; nor should he have considered it as worthy even of the notice which he had given it, had it not been brought forward, decorated with a dark colouring of seeming candour. He had been a member of that House for seventeen years, and he defied any man breathing, even the honourable Baronet himself, to charge him with one sinister, with one dirty, with one interested transaction.

Mr. Dun-  
combe.

Mr. *Duncombe* paid a warm compliment to the purity of Mr. Burke's character, and very much commended the propositions before the House; for it was impossible that this country could go on farther, under the management of men who had lost every particle of confidence with the people.

Earl Nu-  
gent.

Earl *Nugent* said, that the support which he gave to the ministry, was founded on the conviction of their neither wanting foresight nor ability. The opposition seemed only anxious to push the ministry out of place, without taking any care previously to form a system of stability, by which the country might be benefited. He sincerely declared, that he pledged himself to the misfortunes of the noble Lord in the blue ribband; he would abide by him in adversity on the principle which he had supported him in power. He had suggested the most practicable means of

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putting an end to the American war; perhaps the only plan which we had left, but it had been treated with disrespect.

Sir *Horace Mann* gave a firm approbation of the motions proposed to the House: they were temperate and salutary; they were in fact become indispensable. For the present distracted and trembling system could not go on. It was not possible that his Majesty's ministers could proceed without the confidence of that House, and without the opinion of the country. They had lost both. He formed for himself no prospect from a change in administration; his views were for the empire; and he was convinced that by the discharge or the retirement of the present men, a ministry might be formed possessed of real talents, strength, and union; if that House could not furnish them, they might from the mass of the people be collected; and all that was great, solid, and commanding in the nation, might be combined and directed to our salvation. Sir Horace Mann.

Mr. *Rawlinson* stated to the House, that he had received advice from a Captain of one of the ships he owned, having arrived at Lancaster, and brought the news, that he fell in with the Quebec frigate, ten leagues to the westward of Bermudas, who informed him, that Sir Samuel Hood had gone with his fleet to the relief of St. Christopher's. That he had the good fortune to take the whole of the French force, and to relieve the island. He said farther, that St. Christopher's, as appeared from his account, had never been captured; the French had landed, indeed, and taken possession of part of the island, but Brimstone-hill had not surrendered. This he thought news of the most flattering nature, and that it was authentic, he declared, he had every reason to believe, as he knew the Captain who brought it to be a man of strict integrity, and he had his deposition in his pocket. He wondered not, he added, that the other side had not ventured that day to say one syllable respecting St. Kitt's; the news he had just mentioned was the cause of their silence on the subject; they dared not face it, though had it not arrived, he doubted not but a great deal of censure would have been thrown upon ministers for their having lost that island, notwithstanding it was a matter with which they had little concern. Mr. Rawlinson.

Lord Viscount *Maitland* made an admirable commentary on this poor triumph of ministry. Heavens! what must the state of that government be, which founded all its pretensions to national support from the probability of one Lord Viscount Maitland.



disaster out of many being retrieved ! The noble Lord contended strongly for the propositions on the table, and said, that in the failure of argument to refute them, the other side of the House had endeavoured to protect themselves by slandering a character, the most respectable of any in that House ; even in this however, they had their usual misfortunes, for Mr. Burke, of all others, was the man on whom calumny could not sit. He ridiculed the impolicy and the folly of suffering a ministry to continue in the execution of measures of which they disapproved. He gave as a proof of the impolicy, the instance which these very men had afforded, of prematurely dissolving the Parliament which voted for reducing the influence of the crown.

**Mr. Adam.** Mr. *Adam* said of the opposition, that the principles which they were to bring into power, and the system which they were to form, must be considered on the present occasion, as the House surely would not, by adopting the motions on the table, discharge the present ministers from office, (for if they did adopt these motions, they would directly drive them from their seats) without also taking some pains to examine what were the principles of those to come in. Mr. Fox had said, in a former debate, That that man would be infamous, who, on coming into office, should forget or retract his former principles. The honourable gentleman having been so candid, as to make this declaration, previous to his coming into power, it would, he presumed, be allowed fair, and he trusted, it would be felt necessary for that House, called on, as they were, to vote a removal of the present ministers, to pause for a few minutes, in order to recollect and consider, what had been the principles and doctrines of the men who were to form the new ministry, if a new ministry was to be formed. . . . And first, the honourable gentleman had more than once declared, that the voice of the people was to be collected without doors from the people themselves, and not from their representatives—a position that went not only, to what he thought, a breach of the constitution, but was an express reprobation of the majorities of that House, notwithstanding that the honourable gentleman had found it convenient, to hold up a late majority, as an authority of the first importance ; a doctrine which he was ready to subscribe to, though not more than to the authority of majorities in general. The honourable gentleman had also repeatedly told them, that he was an advocate for annual parliaments, in opposition to the wisdom of their

their ancestors, who, after the maturest consideration, adopted septennial, as the most serviceable to the common weal; and the most useful to government, at the same time that they infringed not on the rights of the people, so as to injure those rights in the smallest degree. The honourable gentleman had likewise expressed a desire to alter the representation of the people; a measure, gentlemen would see, that would be a violent alteration of the constitution, which had for so many years been looked up to and admired as the most perfect system of political arrangements and distribution of power that human wisdom could frame. He then adverted to the plan of Mr. Burke, for reducing the civil list, and declared that he should consider it as a direct violation of national faith, and a measure to which he was sure many gentlemen of that House could not agree. If then an administration was to be formed of men possessing these principles, could unanimity be expected to take place, and that harmony and concord which was from all sides allowed to be necessary to our salvation. It could not, in his opinion, be expected. He insisted on it, that our success last war, after the change of the ministry, was more owing to unanimity than even to the abilities and exertions of the late Earl of Chatham, great and extraordinary as those abilities and exertions undoubtedly were, or even to the gallant and good conduct of our Admirals and Generals: he therefore earnestly recommended the example as worthy and necessary to be followed immediately. It was from unanimity alone that we could look for better fortune! Let parties unite, let faction be extinguished, let true patriotism, founded on a real love for the country, prevail, and the success that had attended the last war might be hoped for, as distinguishing the progress of the present, whence alone a safe and honourable peace might be expected; Mr. Adam declared he should vote for the motion for the order of the day (moved for by the right honourable gentleman, the Secretary at War) because he thought the noble Lord's fourth proposition an unfair conclusion, because if ministers were to be removed, it was necessary that their successors should have some system or plan that warranted a prospect of better fortune, and because he did not think the principles of the present opposition promised any thing sufficiently advantageous to the country, to atone for the confusion, that, he sincerely believed, would follow a change of administration at that moment.

Mr. Holdsworth.

Mr. *Holdsworth* spoke a few words on the news so loudly trumpeted to the House by Mr. Rawlinson; he did not think, under all the circumstances with which it came, that it ought to receive any great credit.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* now rose, and in an excellent speech of argument and explanation, answered the matters thrown out by Mr. Adam. He had declared, and he repeated the assertion, that he would be an infamous man, who should on coming into place, abandon the principles and professions which he had made when out of place. He was happy to say that every principle he had ever held had been adopted by a majority of that House, the decision of which had given sanction to his opinions. The two great leading principles of his mind, in which he differed from the King's ministers, were, the prosecution of the American war, and the influence of the Crown; in both these matters he had been supported by the opinion of Parliament. The resolutions of the 27th of February, had concluded the American war, and those of the 6th of April, 1780, had declared the influence of the Crown ought to be reduced. The general principle of reducing that influence he warmly adopted. The corruption of that House was intolerable, and to all the resolutions which the House had come to at that time, for excluding contractors, for excluding the members of the Board of Trade, of the Board of Green Cloth, &c. he, from his heart subscribed. All these members the House had declared to be incapable of sitting and voting in that House. By taking up Debre't's List of the division on the late memorable occasion, instead of leaving the minister in a minority of nineteen, he would prove, that by taking away these contractors and placemen, who were declared by the House to be incapable of voting, the majority against the minister was upwards of a hundred. To all the details prepared for the reduction of influence, he did not subscribe; but in this he was clear, and decided, that that House ought to be made what it was originally intended to be — the representative of the nation. With respect to shortening the duration of Parliament, it had always been his opinion, that it ought to be shortened; it was, however, a question on which honest men might differ, for honest and free men would differ, and he was clearly of opinion, that the shortening the duration of Parliament would do nothing, without reducing at the same time the influence of the Crown; but he thought the shortening the duration of Parliament would be one great means of reducing that influence,

ence he wondered not, that his noble friend, who moved the propositions that day, and several other of his honourable friends, did not perfectly agree with him respecting the necessity and expediency of shortening the duration of Parliaments. He could not, however, help expressing his astonishment at the honourable gentleman's declaring, that septennial Parliaments were chosen as the wisest and most consonant to the general well-being of the state, by those respectable and great men, the Whigs, who settled the constitution, when the revolution took place. He reminded the House that the bill for septennial Parliaments was a bill of modern date, and though it might not be practicable, to alter that mode immediately, he said, he still was of opinion that annual or triennial Parliaments would be an improvement, calculated to preserve the privileges of the people from the encroachments of the prerogative of the Crown.

Having this, he begged leave to explain a said matter which he had said on a former evening, and which he understood had been, by some, misapprehended. It had been thought that he gave out that there would be formed an administration of proscription. This he positively denied; on the contrary, it was the desire of those with whom he had the honour to act, to form an administration on the broadest basis; an administration which should take in all that was great and dignified in the empire, to collect all the ability, the talents, the consideration, and the weight of the nation; to draw within its arms every man of influence, every man of popularity, every man of knowledge, every man of experience, without regarding his particular opinion on abstract points, and unite, and employ all this body of strength to the great end, the deliverance of the empire. He had said only, that he could form no connection with the present cabinet; that he should be infamous if he did. He thought, however, that they had no weight nor consideration in the country, as private men. Even among them, there was one, however, for whom he entertained great respect. (He meant the Lord Chancellor.) He was one that always took care to convince the world, that he had no share in their measures. The sense of the nation called for a change of men, as the only probable means of producing a change of measures, and a peace with America, who would not treat with her resentful and avowed foes, the members of the present administration? What was to be expected from an American Secretary, and a minister, who severally maintained their former sentiments respecting

respecting America, and who considered the vote of Wednesday se'nnight as a fetter on their inclinations ! The times required it, and he hoped to God, the country would soon have an administration settled on a broad bottom, in which they could place confidence, and from whose measures they might rationally hope for success. It was by driving the present weak, wicked, and incapable advisers of the Crown, from about the person of his Majesty, that the country could alone expect to recover from its present disgrace and misfortune. The propositions moved by his noble friend that day, he was convinced in his own mind, would tend to produce that great and desirable effect, which every well-wisher to Great Britain must anxiously long for ; and therefore wishing as he did for the removal of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and such of his colleagues as had been the planners and conductors of the accursed American war, as the best blessing he could wish for his country, he should vote against the order of the day, as the most likely means of obtaining it.

The Lord  
Advocate  
of Scotland.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* now rose to answer the honourable gentleman ; but previous to this, he took notice of some things that had fallen from other members in the course of the debate. It had been said that no placeman or pensioner was fairly intitled to deliver his sentiments upon the question, because they might and ought to be supposed to defend the minister from interest, and not from principle. In answer to this he should say, that he was superior to any such pitiful consideration, and that gentlemen on that side the House were no more liable to an undue influence one way, from being in place, than the gentlemen on the other side were liable to be unduly influenced the other way, by their desire to get into place. He acknowledged that what he had just said was no very good argument, but it was as fair for him to urge it against other gentlemen, as for other gentlemen to urge it against him ; and as often as ever he should hear any such charge from the other side, just so often would he rise and retort it, as he had then. Having said thus much, he observed there was another matter, that it was necessary for him to take notice of, and that was, a pleasantry of an honourable and ingenious friend of his, who seldom spoke without greatly entertaining the House, and who had, that night, been pleased to laugh at the right honourable gentleman who sat next him (Mr. Ellis) and to talk of his having quitted his warm snug bed, in order to make room for a  
Scotch

Scotch warming-pan ; now he saw no reason, why it might not be an Irish warming-pan that was to be put into that bed, instead of a Scotch one ; if the eager expectations of the other side of the House, with regard to their coming into the immediate possession of power, were fulfilled, when he looked at the gentlemen who sat there, he did not think the one was less improbable than the other ; certain he was, that however idle report might have wantoned with his name upon the subject, he knew not that there was the smallest foundation for it. The learned Lord now came to speak of the arguments made use of by the honourable gentleman who spoke last ; and he professed that he knew not how to understand the meaning of a broad-bottomed administration, which was to proscribe, at least, one-half of the ability of the empire ; and he wished that he would describe how far he meant to go, and where to stop in his formation of an administration which was to embrace some men of all sides. He took up the argument of Mr. Adam, and he called upon gentlemen to say whether they were ready to follow the honourable gentleman in the doctrines which they had heard him avow. Suppose, for instance, the honourable gentleman were in conformity to the vote, “ that the influence of the crown was increased,” and the rest of the words of that resolution, to propose some measure in that House, that should appear unwise, from its being likely to endanger the constitution, and he should find himself in a minority ? In that case, would the honourable gentleman, who had repeatedly declared the right of appealing from that House to the people, resort to his other Parliament in Westminster-hall, or elsewhere, and complain of the conduct of the Parliament within those walls ; tell the people they were betrayed, and induce them, like certain associations that had assembled for some years past, to come to specific and pointed resolutions, extravagantly praising some characters for their conduct in that House, and necessarily implying censure on others, so that the effect of the whole was intended to operate as a check and controul of Parliament. The Lord Advocate urged this idea very strongly, and he rescued Mr. Adam from the charge of having asserted that septennial Parliaments were settled at the Revolution, declaring that he had made no such assertion, and observing that those who knew his honourable friend’s course of reading, would not very readily suspect him of making any gross mistake about the Revolution, or any of the circumstances that had attended it.

What



What his honourable friend had said, was, that the King's civil list revenue was settled at the Revolution, when the hereditary and unalienable revenues of the crown were by compact with Parliament exchanged for a fixed and stated annuity. With all the respect, therefore, that he felt for the honourable gentleman, who brought in the bill, generally called, "A bill for the reformation of the royal household," he must pronounce it to be a most unjust and unwarrantable bill; unjust, because it tended violently to take from the crown what Parliament had pledged its faith to give; and unwarrantable, because it assumed a right of interfering with the distribution of an annuity, which the legislature of Great Britain had put into the hands of the Sovereign, for his own distribution and expenditure.

With regard to the motion of the noble Lord, as he had now cleared his way to it, he would meet it directly, and give his sentiments upon it, without the smallest reserve. It was, he said, of a two-fold nature, and consisted of certain abstract propositions on the one part and a declaratory resolution, conveying a direct censure upon Ministers on the other; so that altogether, it amounted in effect, to a motion for the removal of ministers, as directly as if it were drawn in words immediately expressive of that purport. He, therefore, should so consider it, and treat it accordingly. The noble Lord, who had introduced the motion, and all its supporters, had attributed our present unfortunate situation to the want of foresight, and want of ability in Ministers, and had taken up the facts on which they rested that assertion from the year 1775. He was ready, peremptorily, to deny that assertion in the first place, and next to maintain, that all our present misfortunes had their origin in the American war. Indeed, there was scarcely a gentleman on the other side of the House, at all accustomed to speak on political subjects, who had not at one time or other expressly declared as much: and in order to see how the American war commenced, and to whom its origin was ascribeable, he should contend it was necessary to look a great way farther back than the year 1775. The American war, in his opinion, was to be ascribed to the extraordinary, irresolute, weak, and contradictory measures of that government, and of those administrations which first passed the American Stamp-act, then repealed it, and then passed the Declaratory-act. That the American war was in its beginning a popular war, and that it was supported by the voice of the nation, was a truth not to be denied.

denied. It certainly was so, as certainly as it was at that moment very much disliked, on account of the expence of blood and money it had cost the country, the extensive and complicated war in which it had involved us, and the difficulties and calamities it had drawn down upon us. The French, our natural and insidious foes, had watched the opportunity the American war gave them, of quarrelling with Great Britain, in order to resent our having beaten them last war, to recover some of their conquered possessions, to diminish our power, to lessen our force, and to tarnish our glory. Let gentlemen consider the moment the French broke with us — immediately after the surrender of the British army at Saratoga! He mentioned it without meaning the smallest incivility to the honourable gentleman who commanded that army; he mentioned it solely to shew, that it was our ill-success in America that gave them the cue for breaking with us, and neither the want of foresight, nor the want of ability in Ministers. After France had broke with us, it was extremely natural for her to entice the other branch of the House of Bourbon into the quarrel, and as many other powers as possible, in order to strengthen herself, and proportionably weaken us. To this, it was, that the war with Spain, and the war with Holland, were severally attributable, and to no other cause whatever; and therefore, had he no other reason for opposing the noble Lord's concluding resolution, he would vote against it for the reason he had just stated.

Mr. Fox said, in explanation of his description of the Mr. Fox. broad-bottomed administration which his friends desired to form, that they would proscribe no men, of any principles, in the present dreadful moment, but the five or six men who were now, and had been, the confidential advisers of his Majesty, in all the measures that had brought about the present calamities. To demonstrate his meaning by an example. They did not mean to proscribe the learned Lord, although they abhorred his sentiments of the constitution. He then spoke of his idea of consulting the voice of the people without doors. It was clearly his opinion, that they had a right, and that they ought to declare their opinion of men and things; and that to do this, they had a right to meet and consult together, provided they did it in a peaceable, orderly manner, and abstained from any thing illegal in the whole of their conduct. He would add to this, that when that House should become so lost to all sense of duty, and so far gone in corruption



corruption as to abandon the rights of the people altogether, and to become the passive instruments of the Crown, then it might be justifiable for the people to revert to the original principles of the constitution, and to resume the direction of their own affairs, so as to preserve the popular weight in the scale of government. The present administration was the first since the revolution that had dared to deny this right. But, says he, make Parliament the representative of the people, and the voice will be collected within those walls.

Sir F. Norton.

Sir F. Norton said, he had listened with attention, but did not hear any arguments adduced to justify the measures of his Majesty's Ministers, nor any person attempt to controvert the facts stated in the motion; in short, they could not, for they were such self-evident propositions that it was impossible to deny them. Could any man say, that 100,000,000*l.* had not been expended? could any man deny the loss of America, and many of our islands, and that the remaining ones were in imminent danger? could any man deny that we were at war with three powers in Europe without an ally? certainly not; then of course those three first propositions were admitted; and must not the fourth follow of course? Has not the cause of these misfortunes been want of foresight and want of ability? would any man say, his Majesty's Ministers had foresight, if they had, their having foresight, and acting as they had done, still made them the more criminal. The learned Lord's having desired to know what the new system would be, was a manoeuvre meant to divert the attention of the House from the point in question. Let us, says he, first get a change, then it will be time enough to talk of the new system. He then begged to call the attention of the House to what appeared by the report of their commissioners, appointed to enquire into the expenditure of public money, to be particularly deserving of their attention. By that report, a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Rigby) was said to have had for several years past a balance of the public cash in his hands, from five to nine hundred thousand pounds, which he was very credibly informed the honourable gentleman had put out to interest; if it be desired to know to whom that interest belonged, he should suppose, from his knowledge of the law, to the public; but he desired to have the opinion of the crown-lawyers upon the subject. That right honourable gentleman had the fingerings of upwards 50,000,000*l.* of money, and certainly ought to apply the interest gained by such a sum to the service of the public.

not known

public, for these were not times for individuals to keep the public treasure in their hands.

Mr. Rigby rose to answer the right honourable gentleman; Mr. Rigby; he spoke in a style of ridicule for some time, and paid many ironical compliments to the learned gentleman for the public zeal and the disinterested principle with which he took up this business! To be sure he was actuated by no personal pique! He had no incitement of revenge, or of anger; but all was pure patriotism and love of economy! At last he said, that it was scarcely fair, scarcely decent to call upon him in such a manner; to settle so large a sum at once; he expected to have the same indulgence that had been granted to former paymasters, and certainly he was entitled to it; for he was the greatest paymaster this country ever knew, that larger sums of money had passed through his hands than ever did in any man's before. He denied that he was in the least moved to speak as he did on the late questions from the report of the commissioners; but that his chief reason was, he saw the noble Lord was a persecuted man, a man that was falling, and therefore he would lend him his vote and support. If he courted his own safety, certainly he should look up to the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox) for he was to be Minister if the present question was carried — he was to be the man to whom all men must look for promotion. That it would be exceedingly difficult for a man to pay 500,000l. he allowed, and that he believed the honourable gentleman knew as well as most people. He wished, however, that gentleman would recollect, that on his conduct as paymaster, depended his character, his honour, his fortune, and all that was dear to him in the world; therefore, though it was natural that his situation should excite envy, and that some rubs at his office should be made in times like the present, he wished gentlemen to distinguish a little between such rubs as would be fair, and such an attack as that from a great lawyer that evening; and that the other day, when another honourable gentleman had talked of his being tired of paying his own money, but not tired of receiving that of the public. With regard to the motion of that day, and the propositions they were told were to follow them, he thought them extremely improper. It was needless, however, for him to add any thing to what had been said against them. The learned Lord over the way had reasoned in a manner so able, and so much to the purpose, that any thing he could say, would be superfluous. He declared he never heard stronger arguments, nor a closer adhe-

rence to the question ; he was sure the learned Lord's was by far the best speech that day, because he perceived it had given most offence.

Sir Fletcher Norton.

Sir *Fletcher Norton* pledged himself, if the crown-lawyers did not take up the business respecting the interest of the balance in Mr. Rigby's hand he would.

Mr. T. Pitt.

Mr. *T. Pitt* said, he had not heard any arguments advanced in favour of the present ministry, and unless they could disprove the facts in the motions they did nothing. The celebrated speech of the learned Lord, which had been said to give offence, he could see nothing in it, it was foreign to the question, and only went to ridicule a system that was not yet formed. Let a ministry be composed of wise, honest, and independent men, that could be found in this country. When that system was formed, let the learned Lord, or any other person attack them if they did wrong, but the present question did not point out any particular one; it was a fair, plain matter of fact, which could not be denied.

Mr. Byng.

Mr. *Byng*, to shew that the present ministry had neither foresight nor integrity, read extracts from his Majesty's speeches in the years 1775, 6, and 8, wherein his Majesty declared the pacific intentions of other powers at the very moment they were arming and preparing to act in the most hostile manner against him.

Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. *Sheridan* (who had been up several times before, but had sat down again, to give way to other speakers) said, he should not have risen again as he had not met the Speaker's eye before, but that he thought the learned Lord and the right honourable gentleman who had followed him, had led the argument to such an issue, that it was impossible for any one who had a respect for the constituent body of the country, not to wish to give his sentiments on the extraordinary arguments they had used. He meant to speak to the purpose, but he wished not to be judged by the rest laid down by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) for he meant to give no offence in what he should say: though it was true, the rule had been proposed from high authority, for undoubtedly, if the degree of offence which speeches gave, was to be considered as the criterion of eloquence, the right honourable gentleman must be looked up to, as the Demosthenes of that assembly. He had acted, however, in the day's debate perfectly consistent; he had assured the House that he thought the noble Lord ought to resign his office, yet he would give his vote for his remaining in it. The honour-

able gentleman had long declared, that he thought the American war ought to be abandoned, but he had uniformly given his vote for its continuance; he did not mean, however, to insinuate any motives for such a conduct; he believed the right honourable gentleman to have been sincere; he believed, that as a member of Parliament, as a privy councillor, as a private gentleman, he had always detested the American war as much as any man, but that he had never been able to persuade the paymaster that it was a bad war: and, unfortunately, in whatever character he spoke, it was the paymaster who always voted in that House. His attacks on the noble Lord, he said, appeared only an ingenious method of supporting him; it was figurative; but *aye* and *no* were speeches that did not admit of a trope. Mr. Sheridan then attacked the language used by that right honourable gentleman on all occasions, where the constituents of that House were mentioned; his manner of treating the late petitions on the American war was highly indecent, and at that time extremely impolitic. The people began to be sufficiently irritated; gentlemen should be careful to drop no expressions of contempt towards them in that House; they had borne a great deal, perhaps it might be prudent not to treat their patience with insult. The way to prevent the interference of the people, the way to destroy those associations and petitions, which seemed so offensive to the right honourable gentleman, was to endeavour to make Parliament respectable. Let that House shew itself independent, let it shew itself consistent, and the people will never think of interfering; but if Parliament became contemptible in the eyes of the nation, the people would interfere, and neither threats nor influence would prevent them.

He was sorry to have observed that the debates of that day had worn so much the complexion of a contention between two parties, the one eager to keep their places, the other to get them; for this, he thought, the ground of all others on which the people, who were the real sufferers in the contest, had a right to say they would be heard and be attended to. Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the Lord Advocate's attack on the supposed dangerous principles of his honourable friend, (Mr. Fox) supposing he were Minister. He ridiculed the learned Lord's apprehensions, that his honourable friend, were he at the head of affairs in that House, and ever to find himself in a minority, that he would fly from the decision of Parliament and appeal to the people. What! did the learned Lord mean that he would ever appeal to the people

as a Minister? Did he see no distinction between a member of Parliament applying to his constituents, whose agent he was, and a servant of the crown holding an office at the will of his Majesty, attempting to appeal to them in that capacity against Parliament? — No, were his honourable friend in the noble Lord's place, and were he to forfeit, which he could not easily suppose, the confidence of Parliament, he was sure he would neither fly to the people nor to the Throne for support. He would disdain to continue longer in his office, he would not cling with the convulsive grasp of despair to the helm, which he was no longer able to guide; on the contrary, he would no doubt follow the advice, which the learned Lord himself had successfully given to a late Minister; — he would instantly retire — though not to the other House perhaps, but to a situation more honourable in the hearts of the people.

The noble Lord, however, in the blue ribband, Mr. Sheridan said, was certainly not likely to give any apprehensions of this sort to his friend the learned Advocate. He gave him full credit for having no thoughts of flying to the people for refuge against the majority which had appeared against him in Parliament. He dared not look the people in the face, much less ask their protection; he would as soon fly to some town of America, disfigured with the blood and miseries of this inhuman war, which the noble Lord had so obstinately persevered in, and hope to find a sanctuary there. Having pressed this idea very home, he took a view of the arguments used by another gentleman, (Mr. Adam) to prove that opposition had been chiefly instrumental in the calamities of the country, and after reasoning very forcibly on the subject, he put it to the Minister, whether he would ever come forward and answer to the world with such an excuse as this; whether he would ever acknowledge, that he, having had every thing he had desired, having been entrusted with an unbounded treasure and immense army, having had the whole force and the purse of the nation in his hands, he had yet been defeated in all his projects, by the talking and writing of a party in the country, who had yet never prevented his having a man or a guinea that he had demanded? He believed the noble Lord himself, whatever situation he might be brought to, had too much candour and spirit ever to stoop to such a defence.

He concluded with a warm panegyric on the conduct and principles of opposition, which he said he should not presume to make, if it were not in his power to assert, that

that he gave his vote as independently as any man in that House; that no man should ever dictate to him; that he gave it as he did, from a sincere conviction that that party had ability to retrieve the affairs of this country, as far as they could now be retrieved, and that they were men who had an honest meaning to the constitution and liberties of the country, both of which he thought actually assailed under the present system.

Lord North said, he had heard much talk of the glorious majority of nineteen the other evening. In his opinion it was the most impolitic step Parliament could take, but having done it, he was bound to obey it, and this he would now do implicitly. — The present motions, he said, to be sure were rather more moderate than an address to remove Ministers, but they went to the same effect, and if carried, Ministers must go out, but he considered the proposal proved. At the time Lord Stormont gave had been alluded to, he was ambassador, a King, certainly he could give no other answer. With respect to Lord Hillsborough, he corresponded with America, but then he was the voice of the people with him. The Secretary had not been in office long enough to know whether he was short sighted, or wanted foresight, but his proposition, stating that we had no ally, was by no means proved to be the fault of ministers, who might, as far as any person knew, have made every endeavour possible to gain allies, but had been prevented by other nations wanting foresight and ability. He denied having ever deluded the people by his Majesty's speeches, for, at the time he talked of pacific intentions, he was taught to believe that foreign courts were pacific.

Mr. W. Pitt answered every objection of the noble Lord's; Mr. W. Pitt said, the noble Lord, he said, must either be guilty of want of foresight, or guilty of delusion; one or the other he must be guilty of. With respect to not procuring allies, he was undoubtedly to blame; for no excuse could palliate that offence. If allies were not to be procured, the noble Lord should not have plunged us into a war.

He reminded the House of the noble Lord's still avowing that he retained his enmity to the resolution of Wednesday evening, and appealed to their judgment, if a Minister, confessedly hostile to their orders, was to be depended upon any longer in such an exceedingly difficult moment? As an argu-



ment that a change of Ministers must be for the better, he said, it would afford a chance for the salvation of the country, which alone was in his mind a material advantage. With regard to a new Administration, it was not for him to say, nor for that House to pronounce, who were to form it; all he felt himself obliged to declare was, that he himself could not expect to take any share in a new Administration, and were his doing so, more within his reach, he never would accept of a subordinate situation. What he had now offered, was meant merely for the sake of his country; for the simple question was, Will you change your Ministers and keep the empire, or keep your Ministers and lose the kingdom?

**Lord North** Lord *North* spoke to explain about the King's speeches, that he had not deluded the nation by them.

**Lord Howe.** Lord *Howe* rose to declare, that the first three propositions were so evident and clear to every man, that he was certain no person could vote against them; but as Ministers might say, the want of success was owing, in a great measure, to his Majesty's officers, he could not, out of delicacy, vote for the fourth proposition, though that to him was perfectly clear with the rest; for he was determined, in his own mind, that want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's Ministers were the chief causes of all our misfortunes.

**Sir Edward Deering.** Sir *Edward Deering* made a short speech, amidst a great deal of clamour for the question, and at two in the morning, the House divided on the motion, of the order of the day, when the numbers were,

Ayes 226; — Noes, 216 — Majority in favour of Administration, 10.

### March 11.

The House went into a committee to consider farther of ways and means.

**Lord North** Lord *North* rose to open the second part of his budget for the year. He said it was a disagreeable office to propose new taxes; it must always be so; but in the present moment it was particularly severe, when the interest to be raised was so extensive, and the burdens already borne by the people so great. But the duty, however irksome, must be discharged; and he had only to request the indulgence of the committee, while he went through the details, which, from their nature, must be tedious; he would, he said, state the several articles

as shortly as he could, consistent with the necessary precision and clearness.

The sum requisite to pay the interest of the late loan was 793,155l.

## T A X E S.

*First, a tax upon that kind of beer, which, in the excise phrase, is called Tenth Beer.*

From this subject he meant, he said, to draw an additional duty, which would operate both for the purpose of regulation and revenue. By the acts of Parliament, said the noble Lord which lay duties upon beer, small-beer is described to be such as sells for 6s. per barrel, independent of the duty. The duty on this kind of beer is 1s. 4d. per barrel, and therefore it sells at 7s. and 4d. whatever beer is above that price is liable to the strong-beer duty, which is 8s. But in the trade there has been a long practice, admitted by sufferance only, but, however, generally admitted, and grown into use, that in settling the duty of 10 barrels of beer, value 10s. it has been usual to rate nine of them at the small beer duty of 1s. 4d. and one at the strong beer duty of 8s. By this method of settling the duty, the tax on the ten barrels comes in general to 2s. per barrel. This practice had however been the cause of introducing much dispute, and many difficulties. The brewers had claimed to have the same thing done on the beer of 12s. per barrel; and even they had gone so far as to claim the connivance for settling the beer of 14s. by the same rule. The latter had never been suffered; but the 12s. beer had for a considerable time been settled by this rule. It was, however, altogether a matter of connivance, but it was a connivance of long standing, so that if it were ever necessary to break it, it would not be easy. It was, however, necessary, that the line should be drawn, that the medium should be settled, and that it should not depend, as it had done for some time, on connivance, which would always give rise to dispute and cavilling. It was therefore his intention to propose, that beer sold at the price of 14s. per barrel, should in future pay a duty of 3s. per barrel, which, according to the present practice, would be an additional duty of 1s. At the same time it must be observed, that the beer, which now sold for 12s. was taxed, agreeable to the rule which he had mentioned, two shillings per barrel, which reduced it to 10s. but they were allowed drawback of 6d. for the malt, so that they received in



fact 10s. 6d. for their barrel of beer. He proposed, however, to remove this drawback from the new regulation of 14s. beer, so that the new duty of 3s. with the drawback of 6d. would be laid on beer which brought the brewer 10s. and 6d. The noble Lord said, that he would propose therefore that it should be allowed to the brewer to pay the small beer duty of 1s. 4d. on beer value 6s. and for all beer, value 10s. and 6d. or which he would sell at 14s. that he should pay 3s. per barrel, without being allowed the drawback of 6d. for malt. For all beer above that price, he should pay the strong beer duty of 8s. per barrel. That is to say, in future, all beer above 6s. and under 11 shillings per barrel, should bear a duty of 3s. per barrel, without being allowed the drawback. The noble Lord said, that this quality of beer, on which the additional shilling was laid, did not come under the description of that beverage which the common people drank. Beer at 14s. per barrel, was a very rich beer, and not such as would, by the little rise now proposed, affect the poor.

He stated that the quantity of beer of this description consumed in Britain was 563,000 barrels, on

£.	s.	d.
28,000	0	0
To this however, was to be added, the amount of the saving, by taking away the drawback of 6d. per barrel,		
—	—	14,000 0 0

Amount of the duty on small beer,	—	42,000 0 0
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And for so much the noble Lord said he would take this article, of which he had no doubt, as it was a tax already ascertained, and of which the collection was familiar.

### On T E A - L I C E N C E S.

The next tax which he had to propose, was an additional duty upon tea-licences. Two years ago Parliament laid a tax of five shillings on the dealers in tea, by forcing them to take out a licence annually. This tax had a very eligible operation. There were about thirty-five thousand dealers in tea in the kingdom. It was his intention to lay an additional duty of five shillings on their licence. This he knew the trade could bear, without any injury to the public; and indeed it was eligible for other reasons. Parliament had suggested, and adopted many expedients for the prevention of

of smuggling. They had none of them, however, fully put an end to the licentious, pernicious practice, and the dealers in tea were very much belied, if they did not in their shops sell contraband tea, and such as did not come into their hands with a permit. This tax would reach them in the surest and most effectual way. It might however be said, that this tax was improper, because, in the manner laid on two years ago, it did not reach the dealers in a fair and equal degree, proportioned to their dealings, and to the extent of their trade. He wished to propose a remedy for this defect. Parliament had, in their desire, to prevent smuggling, ordered, that every parcel of tea containing six pounds or upwards, removed from one part of the country to another, should be removed by a permit. He would therefore propose, that all wholesale dealers, and such as had occasion to send six pounds of tea or upwards at a time, should be subject to an additional licence of 2l. but perhaps they might endeavour to evade this last tax, by never sending more than 5lb. in one parcel. That this also might be provided against, he would propose that all such dealers as should, in the course of the year, sell above one hundred weight of tea in the year, must pay the higher duty of 2l. for their licence. Taking it therefore in this way, and he could not imagine that a licence of 2l. could be any object to a dealer who sold a hundred weight in a year, he would state, and he did it from the best grounds of information, that out of the 35,000 dealers in tea, there were 20,000 who sold more than a cwt. a year.

		£.	s.	d.
20,000 tea dealers then, at 2l.	— —	40,000	0	0
15,000 ditto at 5s.	—	8,750	0	0
		<hr/>		
Additional duty on tea-licences	—	48,750	0	0

### On S O P E.

The next duty which he had to propose, gave him very great concern, because it touched a necessary of life. It was on sope, an article undoubtedly which the poor wanted, but by no means in great quantities. The committee would remember, that in laying an additional 5 per cent. on the various duties of excise, sope, candles, and leather, were excepted, because it was at all times inconvenient to resort to articles necessary in manufacture, and to the poor. With respect to sope, however, it was not, he said, such a necessary, so much wanted, or which would affect the poor like

candles or leather. He omitted it, because, a slight tax, without bringing much revenue to the country, might be very irksome to the consumer, and because, at a future time of need, the article might be taken with confidence for a large sum. His reasons for thinking that sope was not so material a necessary of life, as either candles or leather, were these: Sope was not consumed in large quantities by the poor. They used many aids, and resorted to various modes of working without the use of much sope. Some made use of sope lees, which they procured at a low price; some of a lye made from wood ashes; this was chiefly done in the country; and he was given to understand, that in this way, that they mixed a little sope with the lye, but in a very small quantity. He believed that a quarter of a pound of sope generally served a small family a whole week. But the chief reason of his proposing an additional duty at the present time was, that the article of sope had fallen greatly in price, and was daily falling. Within the last two years, it had fallen in the wholesale business full ten shillings in the cwt. and in the retail it had had two falls in the same time; the first from seventy-two shillings and six-pence, to sixty-six shillings, and from sixty-six to fifty-two shillings. This was partly owing to temporary, and partly to permanent causes. The temporary cause of the fall, which was not very material, was owing to the fall of tallow; but the permanent and great cause was the fall of barilla. This article had fallen from sixty to thirty-seven shillings per cwt. This was a great permanent cause, for in every cwt. of sope the material of barilla used in proportion to the tallow, was as eight to thirteen. Gentlemen would see, therefore, that this fall was essential to the manufacture. Barilla was a Spanish plant, and, from the demand, great and increasing quantities of it had been raised along the Spanish coasts, so that greater quantities were imported. But this was not all. Of late years, a method had been found out to make barilla go much farther in the use than it did formerly. After having used the quantity of barilla necessary to the manufacture of a certain quantity of sope, by adding one-fifth of new barilla to the old, it will do again to make a fresh and equal quantity of sope, and so on, always adding a fifth of new barilla. This method, he confessed, was not known to all the sope-makers. But the principal manufacturers in London and Bristol knew it; and by the mixture and change of servants, the secret would be soon generally known, and practised.

practised. From these causes, he did not think that the additional duty would be in any measure felt. The tax would not make soap equal to the price which it bore two years ago ; for it would not be equal to the fall which it had sustained. The tax which he meant to propose, was seven shillings per cwt. which would come to about three farthings per pound. He could not imagine that this would make any material alteration in the article, or at least that it would come with any weight on the poor. No duty had been laid upon soap since the year 1713 ; amidst all the variations in the price of every commodity, it had remained unfettered with more duties ; and being, as he had said, but little used by the poor, it would not be a burthen to them ; for taking it on a pretty exact calculation, that a quarter of a pound of soap would serve a small family for a week, the additional duty would only make a difference to them of nine-pence three-farthings in the year.—This tax then of seven shillings per cwt. or three-farthings per pound, would bring in a clear sum of 104,500l.

Having done this, the noble Lord enumerated together the three articles of taxation, which he had named.

	£.	s.	d.
The additional duty on beer — — —	42000	0	0
Additional tea licences — — —	48750	0	0
Additional three farthings on the pound of soap	104500	0	0
	<hr/>		
	195250	0	0

And these three duties, he said, were to be collected by the Commissioners of Excise, without any additional expence, and he thought he could answer precisely for the efficiency, as they were already tried.

#### On T O B A C C O.

The noble Lord said, the next tax he meant to propose, was an import duty on tobacco. This he trusted, would by no means be an oppressive tax, and at the same time time would bring in a very considerable sum. Since the war with America, the best tobacco had sold for three shillings per pound, but the chief cause of the rise was the taking of the island of St. Eustatius, which had a considerable quantity of tobacco upon it, and which stopped for a time the importation. Another great cause of the rise was owing to the blocking up the Chesapeake, which, at that particular time, was the scene of the war, and prevented our receiving any tobacco

tobacco from America, as they could not get out with it either to New-York or elsewhere; by these means we were prevented for a time; but since the re-taking of St. Eustatius, the consumers had looked out for another shop; and we had received, and should receive great quantities from Danish ports; besides these, we had a right to expect a vast quantity from New-York, which was purchased at the capture of York-town, to the amount of 3000 hogheads, and which would consequently, when they arrived, greatly reduce the price, that had indeed for some time lately been upon the fall. The medium price sometime ago was about 2s. 6d. per pound; but now it was not more than 2s. 1d. he would therefore propose to add a fresh duty of 4d. per pound which would make it sell at the rate of 2s. 5d. per pound; and as the consumption of this country was well known to be as stated last year, 8,500,000 pounds weight annually, and he by no means could think the estimation over rated, it would, on a fair calculation, produce. On 8,500,000 pounds, at four-pence per pound, 141,333l. The quantity of tobacco bonded at the Custom-house, at the present time, was exceedingly small, and that which was in private hands, it was impossible exactly to account for. However, from the best information he could get, the whole together would not amount to more than between three and four thousand hogheads; so this new duty would not be an advantage to individuals, and there was no occasion to tax the quantity and stock in hand.

### On B R A N D Y.

The noble Lord said he next meant to propose a duty upon brandy, which was of a trifling nature; it was meant merely as a necessary regulation, which the trade loudly called for; it had long been found extremely inconvenient to rate brandies as they are now rated; for as the law now stands, French brandy pays the highest duty; and in order to evade the payment of that tax, brandies are imported under the head of Flemish and other names, from places that do not produce a single grape vine; he should therefore propose to the committee, in order to put a stop to these evasive practices for the future, to put all foreign brandies on an equal footing, and to make each pay the price of French brandy, which would, on a moderate computation, produce the sum of 5000l.

This duty, as well as the tobacco, he intended should be collected at the Custom-house on importation; and it would require no fresh officers. Therefore the whole duty to be collected at the customs would be,

	£.	s.	d.
On tobacco — — —	141,333	0	0
On brandy — — —	5,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	146,333	0	0

### On S A L T.

Here, the noble Lord said, he found himself going to propose a tax which there could be but little difficulty in ascertaining the amount of, as it was about two years ago in agitation to lay on a duty of fifty per cent. upon that article, which he had refused, and had only laid on an additional duty of twenty-five per cent. or ten-pence per bushel, reserving the other twenty-five per cent. to times when there might be more cause for the tax. He had, therefore, proposed to add an additional duty on salt of twenty-five per cent. which was not a farthing per pound, as a bushel of salt contained fifty-six pounds, and the new duty was only 10d. The retailer, therefore, might lay on an advance of a farthing per pound, and would have a sufficient profit, as he would have fifty-six farthings, or 1s. 2d. for a duty that cost him but forty farthings, or 10d. The consumption of salt, he said, was so well known, that he could, with safety, set this down at 60,000l.

### On MEDICINAL SALTS.

Besides the tax on common salt, the noble Lord informed the committee, that medicinal salts, although they pay no duty, bear an extraordinary high price, he should therefore propose to lay a duty on all salts of that nature, at, and after the rate of 1l. per hundred weight, which would, on a moderate computation, produce about 5000l. and when he came to move the resolutions, he should be sure to enumerate the several species of this salt, and provide for them all; therefore the duty on salt would be,

	£.	s.	d.
Common salt — — —	60,000	0	0
Medicinal ditto — — —	5,000	0	0

Total on salt — — 65,000 0 0

And

And this tax would be collected at the Salt Office without any additional expence.

The noble Lord said he now came to new duties, but he hoped, though they were new, and he could not state them with accuracy, they would yet be productive. He would, in the next place, then propose,

*An annual duty on all sums of money insured on houses and goods from fire.*

This was a duty which he could not argue on from experience; but it bore the aspect of production and efficacy. Gentlemen knew that a duty had been laid on policies of insurance; but they had not produced the sum at which were calculated, and for this reason: It had been imagined, that when persons insured annually, they would have a policy annually; or when they insured septennially, they would on every seven years, have a new policy; but this had not been the case. The offices had continued, and renewed the insurance from period to period, without giving a new policy. By this means, the duty had proved unproductive. But this might be remedied in the present tax; for, by laying an annual duty on the amount of the sums of money insured, would be the means of ascertaining the truth correctly. But the money insured was not paid, and there might be great difficulty, as there always was, in touching personal estates. They generally slipped through the fingers of the public, and were not to be procured.

The land-tax, in its original form, view, and intention, was on all personal estates; but personal estates not being comeatable, not being so palpable as land, it came to be confined to landed property alone. In the present case, however, he thought the personal estate might be found, and in a manner to which the owner could not object, for the tax would be laid on houses and goods, rated by the sum which the owner himself thought them worth. The tax which he meant to propose, was 1s. 6d. on every 100l. insured. This was not an immoderate tax; and he thought it would be a very good, eligible, and productive one. But now it might be asked, where it was to be found, by whom to be collected, and what sum to produce. He thought that the Treasurers of the several insurance offices would be the proper persons to collect the tax, and that they should receive it when the insurance-money was paid. They could pay it into the Stamp-office when they paid their money for the insurance policies; it would be but one trouble, and a compensation for the trouble would be allowed. It was exceedingly dis-



ult to say what to expect from the new duty. There were no certain grounds on which they could build their calculations, and they must, in the present state of the matter, take it from the speculative lights which they had in their power. There were in London six old insurance-offices, besides the sugar-bakers, who had formed a common plan of insurance, for their common safety. The six old offices in London were the Sunfire-office, the Royal-Exchange, the London-Assurance, the Hand-in-Hand, the Union, and the Westminster. It was not possible to come exactly at the amount of their several dealings; but from pretty accurate information, he could state the following as the rate of their several insurance for the year. The Westminster-office insured to the amount of between nine and ten millions a-year. The Sunfire-office was said to insure to ten times the amount of the Westminster, but he would state it at 90 millions a-year. The Royal-Exchange at twenty-five millions; the Hand-in-Hand at fifteen millions; the Union ten million; and the London Assurance at eight millions.

According to the information which he had received, these amounts which he had stated were within the amount of their annual dealings. The Westminster, almost to a certainty, insured to the amount of ten millions a-year; the Westminster and the Hand-in-Hand only insured houses, but not goods; the other offices insured both houses and goods; and it was also pretty certain, that the Sunfire-office insured the amount of one hundred millions a-year. But taking in, the Sugar-bakers company, and all the inferior offices, in town and country, and there were several very great respectable offices in the country, he would calculate the whole at 150 millions of money insured annually.

on 150,000,000l. of annual insurance,	the proposed duty of 1s. 6d. per 100l. would be,	— — —	£.	s.	d.
			112,500	0	0

as there might be deficiencies, and as information might not be correct, he would take the tax only at — — — 100,000 0 0. Perhaps it might be said, in objection to this tax, that it might prevent people from insuring their houses and goods. He could not believe: The sum of 1s. 6d. on 100l. was so trifling, that he could not think it would be the means of preventing any person from insuring his property.



who should be otherways inclined to do it : gentlemen would also perceive an advantage in this duty; that it would not multiply collectors : it would come to the Stamp-office with great regularity, and without much expence.

### On INLANDS BILL of EXCHANGE.

This also was a duty which would be collected at the Stamp office, and he thought without confusion ; the tax was, a small stamp duty on inland bills of exchange, not payable at sight. He meant by this, all promissory notes, bills of exchange, and so forth, with a promise or contract of payment at a certain date. The tax which he meant to propose was exceedingly small, but it would be very productive. He meant to propose, That a stamp duty of 3d. should be laid on all bills under 50l. and of 6d. on all bills above 50l.

He did not see any material, or indeed reasonable objection to this tax. Perhaps it might be said, that it would embarrass communication and the intercourse necessary to trade. This he could not believe ; for even now, bills of exchange and notes were generally given on some particular sort of paper, either thinner than the usual frame, or with some mark, margin, or other peculiarity. Few or any notes were now given on common paper ; so that they might as well supply themselves with the stamps as with other paper for the purpose ; but it might be said, that by purchasing a quantity of the new stamps loaded with the duty, it would be a hardship on the trader, because he must lay out a sum of money for stamps which must lie dead in his hands for a time. To this he must answer no ; for the stamp-office had distributors in every market town throughout the kingdom, and indeed in other towns, so that persons could not be at any loss for a ready supply of stamps as the occasions might arise for their use, without having quantities lying by them. He knew it might be also said in objection to this tax, that the practice of giving notes and bills of exchange was a sign of poverty, and not of wealth ; and that therefore he was laying a tax on pockets already drained. He was ready to acknowledge that it was a sign of necessity ; but at the same time he must observe, that where a bill was given, one of the parties was possessed of value to the amount ; and therefore, in that condition, the tax could not be a hardship to him.

But

But there were a set of people who made a trade of drawing and redrawing bills, by which some few people had made money, but many more had lost. Such persons, by drawing a great many, might be affected by this tax. He wished that they might be. If the revenue should thereby suffer, at least the public would be benefited. With respect to the manner of ascertaining what the duty would produce, to be sure it was, like all other new taxes, difficult, because it depended on conjecture, but there were certain grounds on which they might judge with some accuracy. He knew one banker in a country town who drew annually 13,000 bills of exchange. There were three other bankers in the same town who drew among them inland bills to the amount of 26,000l. a year. This was one town, and these were country bankers. There were altogether nine hundred market towns in England, in each of which, taking them on the average, he might safely say there were annually drawn between four and five thousand bills a year. There were many towns beside those which came under the description of market towns; and there was all the country, the fairs, and other marts, at which traffic in bills was used. Surely then he should take it very much within what it really would produce, when he stated the whole number of bills of exchange drawn in the year to be four millions. — Then on 4,000,000 inland bills of exchange, a duty of 3d. and 6d. as stated above would amount in the gross to 50,000l. and at this sum he would take it.

### On all PLACES of PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT.

The next tax he said, which he meant to propose, and which he thought a very fair and proper one in the present day of general distress, was on the places of public entertainment; and this he meant to rate agreeable to the prices paid for admission, and consequently to be in several classes. The following was exactly the arrangement.

3d to be laid on each admission not amounting to more than 1s. where no wine nor liquor is sold, and 6d. where it is.

A duty of 6d. on each admission from 1s. to 3s.

A duty of 1s. on each admission from 3s. to 5s.

3 I 2

A duty

A duty of 2s. 6d. on each admission, from 5s. to 10s. 6d. and a duty of 5s. on each admission above 10s. 6d.

In order, he said, to collect this tax with as much certainty and as little expence as possible, he intended that every person opening a place of public entertainment, should take out a licence; and that the persons appointed to receive the money at those places should also receive the duty, and deliver a ticket to the person coming in, and so paying, which he should give to an officer of the Stamp appointed to receive them. Thus the door-keeper of the place of entertainment and the stamp officer, would mutually check one another; and the proprietors of the place could pay in the money at intervals to be appointed in the act. This method he conceived, would be eligible; but if gentlemen could contrive a better method, more practicable, and less liable to objection, he would be ready to adopt it. No new stamp officers would be required, at least not in town; for the stamp officers had done their business in the morning; and they would be happy to attend at night, and for a small sum receive the checks. The duties which he had mentioned, were in proportion to the prices of the places of entertainment with which they were best acquainted, and which would be the principal sources of the duty. He was given to understand, that those places were generally well filled with company — they deserved to be so; their entertainments, were rational, and there was every reason to believe, that Drury-lane, Covent-garden, the Hay-market theatre, the Opera house, Sadler's Wells, Ranelagh and Vauxhall, the regular places of entertainment in the town, and which were generally crowded, would produce the revenue. On the most moderate computation, he would state, that

The duty on the places of entertainment		
in town would produce	—————	20,000
And on those in the country	—————	10,000

£. 30,000

And he would therefore take it at the above sum.

### On CARRIAGE of GOODS.

The noble Lord said, he was now going to propose the last tax, which was of a very extensive nature, exceedingly complicated, and what he was afraid would meet with opposition;

position; however, he trusted he should make it out to the satisfaction of the Committee, as a tax far more eligible than it would appear at first sight. The tax he meant to propose, was on the carriage of all kinds of goods, which he at first intended to have made on goods *ad valorem*; but found that totally impracticable. He had therefore determined upon making it agreeable to weight, by which means it would fall upon all, and sit lightly on every one. Carriage of goods he should consider under the three following heads: Land carriage, inland navigation, coasting vessels.

The first he should take notice of, would be that of land carriage, and there he should take in all coaches, waggons, carts, &c. used for the conveyance of goods from one place to another. By an act of Parliament already passed, there was a law limiting what weight each carriage should bear, viz. waggons with 16 inch wheels are allowed to carry eight tons in summer and seven tons in winter. Waggons with three inch wheels, rolling a surface of 16 inches, six tons in summer, and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  tons in winter, &c. &c. but since the letting waggons with these immense broad wheels pass toll free had ceased, there were but few or none of these waggons now in use.

The tax he meant to propose was, that the owner of each carriage should take out a licence, which should contain his name and place of abode, the breadth of his wheels and the probable length of his journeys. If he travelled to London, he should at the end of every month, pass his account at London; but if he did not, he should, at the expiration of that period, pass his account at some capital town where he did travel to. The master of the waggon to collect the tax in the same manner that the masters of stage coaches do now. The rate at which he meant to tax the carriages would be as follows: — On all waggons with wheels exceeding nine-inches broad, 3d. per mile; nine-inch wheels,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. six-inch wheels  $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. narrow wheels  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. carts with nine-inch wheels  $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. carts with six-inch wheels 1d. carts with three-inches or less  $0\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Now it seldom happened, from what he could learn by enquiring at the different inns and toll-gates, that ever waggons or carts carried less than the load allowed by act of parliament; indeed they generally carried more; for as the surcharge at the weighing engine for over-weight was so small for the two first hundreds, most carriers chose

chose to run the risque of overloading, as they paid only after the following rate :

For one hundred over weight 3d. two hundred 6d. three hundred 1s. four hundred 1s. 6d. — And so on in proportion ; therefore the additional duty would not be more than one half-penny and seven-sixteenths of a farthing per ton per mile, which would not enable the carrier to advance upon his customers more than after the rate of three farthings per ton, per mile.

The carriage between London and sixty market towns, according to the rate waggons generally travel at, he understood was about twenty-six miles per day, therefore their freight was about thirteen pence per hundred weight per day ; and as a broad-wheel waggon was allowed to carry four tons five hundred weight, on a journey of twenty-six miles, the freight would produce 4l. 12s. 1d. therefore the new duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton per mile would produce 5s. and 5d. which would be a seventeenth part of the whole of the freight.

But he wished to inform the committee, that he intended to exempt from this duty, hay straw, corn, coals, fuel, manure, &c. as these articles he by no means wished to make dearer than they were.

With respect to the carriage of household furniture and small parcels, he did not suppose they were carried at present at so cheap a rate as 1s. 1d. per hundred ; but there was such a number of carriages in each town in competition with each other, that he was confident they would keep the price down as low as possible. He had endeavoured, he said, to collect, from the best information possible, what the number of carriages were at present, which travelled to and from London : 500 broad wheel waggons ; 100 narrow wheel ditto ; 100 three-inch ditto ; 50 nine-inch ditto carts ; 50 six-inch ditto ditto ; 50 three-inch ditto ditto. Which, upon a moderate computation, as they travelled five days in a week, would produce the sum of

£.	s.	d.
48,235	8	4

And allowing one fourth part of that sum for such country carriages as do not either come or go from London, it would make

12,059	0	0
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Therefore the total would be

60,294	8	4
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The

The next article would be the carriage by way of canals, and there he would propose the same kind of licence, as in carriages; for the owner of every boat, or barge, should register his name, the tonnage of his barge, and the probable journies he would take; he should therefore propose one farthing per ton per mile on all goods by water carriage, which as rivers turn and wind, makes the journey much longer than by land, and would therefore, in a journey of 80 miles, amount to one penny per hundred weight. One of the chief articles that would be affected by this tax was flour, which he would calculate at a voyage from Reading in Berkshire. — The carriage of one ton of flour from that place would amount to twenty pence, and the carriage of a necessary quantity of faggots to bake that flour into bread, would cost five-pence, therefore the whole would amount to two shillings and a penny; and one ton of flour, when made into bread, was sufficient food for 2500 men for one day.

There are in England 2387 navigable miles of water, and an able engineer, who has made it his study to calculate the traffic which is carried on in these rivers, computes the river Thames to produce 90l. per ton per mile per month, lesser rivers 75l. and the smallest canals 60l. per mile per annum. therefore the produce of carriage of canals may be set down at 163,410l.

With respect to the coasting trade, there is supposed to be at present about 1,160,000 tons of shipping used coastways, upon which he proposed to lay a duty of 3d per ton, to be paid at the time of entering outwards; this tax, he did not mean to extend to coals, as they paid a coasting duty already; he would therefore suppose this tax at 12,000l. which would make the whole of the duty on carriage of goods as follows:

				£.	s.	d.
By land	_____	_____	_____	60,294	0	0
By canals	_____	_____	_____	163,410	0	0
By coasting vessels	_____	_____	_____	12,000	0	0
				<hr/>		
Total				235,704	0	0

But he would only suppose it to produce the sum of 210,000l.

The noble Lord having thus gone through the whole of his taxes in detail, came to the following short recapitulation:

**ADDITIONAL**

## ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
An additional duty of 1s. on four-shilling beer — — —	28,000	0	0			
— Saying of the drawback of a 6d. — — —	14,000	0	0			
				42,000	0	0
Additional tea-licence 20,000 at 2l.	40,000	0	0			
Ditto, ditto 35,000 at 5s. — —	8,750	0	0			
				48,750	0	0
Additional duty on sope, 7s. per cwt. or ¼d. per pound. — — —				104,500	0	0
These to be collected by the Excise.				195,250	0	0
Additional duty on tobacco 4d. per pound — — —	141,333	0	0			
— Regulation on brandy to produce — — —	5,000	0	0			
These to be collected by the Custom-house. — — —				146,333	0	0
Additional duty on salt 2s per cent. or 10d. per bushel — — —	60,000	0	0			
Duty on medicinal salts 20 per cent. — — —	5,000	0	0			
These to be raised at the Salt-office.				65,000	0	0

## NEW DUTIES.

An annual duty of 18d. per cent. on all money insured on houses and goods from fire — —	100,000	0	0
A stamp duty on all inland bills of exchange, not payable at sight, 3d. for less than 50l. and 6d. for above 50l. — — —	50,000	0	0
A tax of various classes on places of public entertainment, to produce in town 20,000l. and in the country, 10,000 — — —	30,000	0	0
A tax on the carriage of goods, viz.			
Land carriage to produce — — —	60,294	0	0
Inland navigation — — —	163,410	0	0
Coasting vessels. — — —	12,000	0	0
	235,704	0	0
But of this he would only take for the annuity — — —	210,000	0	0
	390,000	0	0
These to be collected by the Stamp-Office.			

Total

	£	s.	d.
Total of taxes to be raised —	796,583	0	0
Interest of loan wanting —	793,155	0	0
	<hr/>		
Surplus of taxes — — —	3,428	0	0

The noble Lord begged pardon of the committee for having taken up so much of their time. He could only say, in his excuse, that he thought the details were necessary, and he had been as explicit as possible. He must also inform the committee, that he had suggested to several gentlemen the idea of a small stamp duty on receipts and discharges; but it had given such general offence, that he had withdrawn it; although he confessed he could not see the value of the objections. He had had it in contemplation to propose a tax, which would have produced alone the sum of 800,000*l*. It was right, however, for the committee and the world to know, that they had such a resource, to which they could apply with safety and success: Gentlemen would give him credit for having taken some pains in making himself master of those long details: If he had not the praise of genius, he would have at least the merit of industry. They would not say, that he had come to the committee, altogether ignorant of what he was to communicate to them. There was another matter which he must mention: An honourable gentleman had asked him, whether he meant to propose taxes for 800,000*l*. the annuity of the year, or for 1,200,000*l*. by which he might provide for the deficiencies of former years? This question seemed as if the honourable gentleman was afraid that he should go out of office, and leave burdens upon him who was to be his successor: He assured him he had no wish to burden him; but the deficiencies did not amount to 500,000*l*. The noble Lord enumerated the taxes for the last six years, and stated that the deficiencies did not amount to more than 170,000*l*. or at the most to more than 200,000*l*. and for these he was ready to provide. He did not wish to shrink from his duty. He concluded with moving the first resolution.

Mr. Fox rose, he said, to make an observation on what had fallen from the noble Lord. Whatever the noble Lord might think, or whatever the noble Lord might choose to say of his wishes, of his hurry, and of his eagerness to get into the noble Lord's place, he did assure him he had no such



foolish ambition whatever. He wished only that his country might be saved, and that there might be some government, and that government might be more wise, more virtuous, and more vigorous, than that under the administration of the noble Lord. With regard to the deficiencies of the taxes, whether the amount of them was 500,000l. or 200,000l. it made no manner of difference; the arguments he had used the other day were to the full as applicable, to the full as justifiable, and to the full as necessary one way as the other. What he meant to say then, and what he would say at that moment, was, that the noble Lord of late years had adopted a strange custom of proposing the loan one day, and not proposing the taxes for some time afterwards, which every body present knew neither to be a good, a wise, nor an ancient practice; the custom had been, and the custom ought ever to be, to propose the loan and the taxes on one and the same day, that the House might know the minister did not borrow money for the public, of which he did not take care the public should be provided with certain means of paying the interest. What had the noble Lord done? Had he taken care of late years to provide to raise money by taxes adequate to the interest of the loan? No such thing. He had gone on from year to year borrowing immense sums, and neglecting to provide taxes adequate to the payment of the interest. The consequence had been, he had taken the sinking fund, which ought only to stand as a collateral security, for the interest to the money lender, and made it answer the interest itself. Thus this year, knowing as he did, that the nation still owed two hundred thousand pounds, as he had that day avowed, and knowing, that instead of 800,000l. he ought to have taxed for a million, he comes and taxes for the mere sum, towards payment of the interest of this year's loan. This it was, Mr. Fox said, that he reprobated on Wednesday last. This it was that he reprobated then, and this it was, that he would continue to reprobate, till the noble Lord did his duty, and provided for the deficiencies of the former taxes! With regard to those proposed this day, he had not much considered them, but there were two, which struck him as very unwise, and highly impolitic, and those were, the tax on insurance policies from fire, and the tax on carriage of goods inland. The first of these appeared to him to be a very foolish tax, the latter a most improper one. The tax on carriage of goods

struck him as the worst that could possibly have been devised; it was a tax on the convenience, the labour, and the industry of the people! A tax on the means of taxing, and such a tax as he should have thought no man in his senses would have ventured to meddle with. The noble Lord had said with an air of triumph, that he had more eligible taxes, and particularly one to produce 800,000*l.* which he did not prefer, but he had not told the committee what those taxes were; how then were they to know, whether the taxes proposed by the noble Lord, or the taxes not proposed, but which, he said, he had, were most eligible? He knew not, for this reason, that they were more eligible, and he sincerely believed, that this fine productive tax of 800,000*l.* was not only a secret to the House, but to the noble Lord himself; but with regard to the two he had objected to, the tax on insurance policies, and the tax on carriage of goods by land and water, he would venture to say, not any taxes could be more ineligible. He meant not, however, to take the sense of the committee upon them, or to oppose them; and that, for this very good reason, he knew that the noble Lord would, as usual, exclaim, If you object to one tax, you ought to find another. The noble Lord had talked of the late resolution of the House in a taunting manner, and he had, on Friday night, jeeringly called the majority of Wednesday se'nnight a glorious majority. However he might be inclined in general to be diverted with the noble Lord's pleasantry, Mr. Fox said, he could not approve pleasantry at an improper time. God knew, that was no hour for merriment, and he begged the noble Lord to remember, that his jests had cost the country dear enough. He had no ambitious views to his place he did assure him, but it was high time there should be some government. At present there was none at all. He advised him, therefore, to let something be decided, and not to suffer the country to remain in such a lamentable state. He had thought the noble Lord would have gone out, and he had depended upon, what he was ready to agree, was the most foolish reason in the world for any man to depend on — on the noble Lord's own promise! He did beg him, however, not to flatter himself with the division on Friday last. The trifling majority of ten was nothing, and the noble Lord must know in his own mind, that virtually a majority had decided against his continuing in office that night. Possibly the noble Lord

meant, according to his old custom, to abandon his former doctrines, and set up the prerogative of the crown against the voice of the people, speaking through that House, of which the noble Lord had shewn himself for some time ready to profess a much higher opinion than he was ready to entertain. The noble Lord might possibly intend to justify the right of the crown to appoint its own servants, and to stand on that footing against the sense of Parliament. Be it so, but let the noble Lord avow it in the face of the House boldly and manfully, and some way or other patch up the matter soon. There must be a scuffle on the occasion, and the sooner that scuffle was over the better. He did assure the noble Lord, that in what he had said then, and in what he had said formerly, he meant not to press upon him in an unhandsome way, he meant not to goad him, or run him down, or say any thing that should hurt his mind, or make him uneasy. Upon his honour, he had no such intention, and though he asked not pardon of the Chairman, nor of the committee, for what he had said, he asked pardon of the noble Lord, if he had offended him, for he meant it not; but he must continue to urge him to retire, and the sooner he did so, the doing it would have the more dignity, and would be accompanied with the less disgrace!

Before he sat down, he informed the committee, that on Friday next, a motion of the utmost importance would come before the House; and as it was slightly mentioned on Friday evening, that it was intended for Wednesday next, he hoped gentlemen would take notice, and not mistake the day.

The Earl of  
Surrey.

The Earl of *Surrey* said, he by no means thought the taxes, as proposed by the noble Lord, so good as might be found out; and with respect to the tax on tobacco, it was, in his opinion highly impolitic, especially now as we were in hopes of a peace with America, and that was the chief commodity we should trade in from thence. The noble Lord had therefore estimated it at a very large sum, when he laid it at 141,333l. Another of the taxes mentioned by the noble Lord, that of carriage upon goods, had been so ably pointed out by his honourable friend that he should say little upon it; but he could not help remarking for a hint to the noble Lord, that iron was a very considerable article in the manufactures of this kingdom; in short, the hardware business

ness was one of the great staple commodities of Great Britain, and would, he was confident, be materially injured, if the same exception did not take place for that as was to be observed for manure and other things necessary for agriculture. The towns of Birmingham, Sheffield, and Wolverhampton, consumed amazing large quantities of iron, and the trade would, in a great measure, be stopped, if the additional duty proposed on carriage took place.

The duty upon salt, he was of opinion, the noble Lord had stated by far too high, for he had grounded it upon the present consumption, making no allowance for the deficiency that generally happens on the price of any article rising.

With respect to taxes on public places of amusement, he was not against it, yet he had always considered our two public theatres as places not only of rational amusement, but of great instruction and improvement. In many capital cities and market towns there are theatres which are not licensed, and which are only on sufferance; but by this means his Lordship would licence every stroller, which he could not think was a wise or politic act.

Mr. *Hussey* said, the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in *Mr. Hussey.* stating the deficiencies of former years, had not stated them fairly; by which means he made them appear considerably less than they really were. He then, with all that accuracy which generally marks him when he enters into arithmetical questions, shewed the noble Lord his error. The tax upon insurance of houses was particularly oppressive, he said, and would affect the poor and middling class of life considerably more than the rich, for the rich could afford to bear a loss much better, and therefore did not so generally insure; but the middling class would be materially injured, as the insurance offices now did not, for what they called single hazardous insurances, take more than two shillings per cent. on the sum insured, and this new duty would make it 3s. 6d. which would prevent numbers from insuring.

Mr. Rolle, Baron Dimdale, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Siborpe, Mr. Baker, and several other gentlemen, asked questions of the noble Lord, to which he gave answers; and without any further debate, the committee agreed to the resolutions as proposed by the noble Lord, and which were as follow:

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there shall be raised, levied, and paid, throughout England and Wales, for every barrel of beer or ale above six shillings

lings the barrel, exclusive of the duties of excise, and not exceeding eleven shillings the barrel, exclusive of such duties, to be brewed by the common brewer, the sum of three shillings, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser quantity, to be paid by the common brewer, in lieu of all other duties; and that no allowance shall be made to any common brewer, out of the monies to arise by the duties on malt, granted by an act made in the twentieth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for any such beer so brewed by any common brewer as aforesaid.

That the duty on licences to be taken out by persons trading in, vending, or selling coffee, tea, or chocolate, do cease, determine, and be no longer paid or payable.

That every person selling of, or dealing in, coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, who shall retail, or consume any of the said commodities in small quantities under the weight of six pounds in any one parcel, shall yield, and pay annually unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of ten shillings for a licence for that purpose.

That every person selling of, or dealing in, coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, who shall vend or sell any of the said commodities by wholesale, or any quantity above the weight of six pounds in any one parcel, shall yield, and pay annually unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of fifty shillings for a licence for that purpose.

That every person selling of, or dealing in, coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, who shall sell, or consume in any one year, the gross quantity of one hundred pounds weight of coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, shall be deemed, and taken to be, a seller of, and dealer in, the said respective commodities by wholesale, and shall yield and pay annually to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the said sum of fifty shillings for a licence for that purpose.

That there shall be raised, levied, and paid, for and upon all sope, of what kind soever, which at any time or times, shall be made within the kingdom of Great Britain, by any person or persons whomsoever, an additional duty of three farthings for every pound weight avoirdupois, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity; the same to be paid by the maker or makers thereof respectively.

That an additional duty of four-pence per pound weight be laid upon all tobacco imported into Great Britain.

That the said additional duty upon tobacco shall be subject and liable to the payment of the duty or charge of five pounds

pounds per cent. laid upon the produce and amount of the several duties under the management of the respective commissioners of the customs and excise, by an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty.

That the duties now payable on the importation of French, Spanish, Portugal, and Italian brandies, according to the rates at which brandies are respectively rated, or valued, do cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

That there be raised, levied, and paid, for every ton of brandy, or spirits, containing two hundred and fifty-two gallons, imported into this kingdom, the sum of eight pounds eight shillings, and after that rate for any greater or lesser quantity.

That there be raised, levied, collected, and paid, for every ton of arrack, containing two hundred and fifty-two gallons, imported into this kingdom, the sum of eight pounds eight shillings, and after that rate for any greater or lesser quantity.

That the said several duties upon brandy and arrack, shall be subject and liable to the payment of the duty or charge of five pounds per centum, laid upon the produce and amount of the several duties under the management of the respective commissioners of the customs and excise, by an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty.

That an additional duty of two pence half-penny per gallon, be laid upon all foreign salt imported into Great Britain, to be paid by the importer and importers thereof, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That an additional duty of one penny farthing per gallon, be laid upon all salt and rock salt, which shall be made at the salt works, or be taken out of any pit, or pits, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That an additional duty of seven pence per bushel, be laid upon all salt which shall be made at any salt works, or be taken out of any pit, or pits, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That an additional duty of seven-pence per bushel be laid upon all salt imported from Scotland into England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That

That a duty of twenty shillings per hundred weight, be laid upon all salts known or called by the name of Glauber and Epsom salts, and every other medicinal salt made or produced at salt-work within the kingdom of Great Britain, and after that rate for argreater or lesser quantity.

That the sum of one shilling and six-pence be charged yearly for every sum of one hundred pounds, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser sum, that is, or shall be, insured by any person, in or by any policy of assurance for insing houses, furniture, goods, wares, merchandise, or other property, from loss by fire, in Great Britain.

That a stamp-duty of three-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any inland bill of exchange, promissory-note, or other note, payable otherwise than upon demand, shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, where the sum expressed therein, or made payable thereby, shall not amount to the sum of fifty pounds.

That a stamp duty of six-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any inland bill of exchange, promissory note, or other note payable otherwise than upon demand, shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, where the sum expressed therein, or made payable thereby, shall amount to the sum of fifty pounds or upwards.

That every person or persons who shall keep any theatre, house, room, garden, or other place for public dancing, music, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of admission for each person shall amount to the sum of one shilling or upwards, shall yield and pay annually to his Majesty the sum of five shillings for a licence for that purpose.

That a duty of three-pence be charged upon every person at and for his or her admission into any theatre, house, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, music or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of such admission shall amount to the sum of one shilling, and where no wine or exciseable liquors are sold by retail, or permitted to be consumed, for the benefit of the proprietor of such public place.

That a duty of six-pence be charged upon every person at and for his or her admission into any theatre, house, room, garden,



garden, or other place kept for public dancing, music, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of such admission shall amount to the sum of one shilling, and where wine or exciseable liquors are sold by retail, or permitted to be consumed, for the benefit of the proprietor of such public place.

That a duty of six-pence be charged upon every person at and for his or her admission into any theatre, house, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, music, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of such admission shall exceed one shilling, and shall not amount to more than three shillings.

That a duty of one shilling be charged upon every person at and for his or her admission into any theatre, house, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, music, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of such admission shall exceed the sum of three shillings, and shall not amount to more than five shillings.

That a duty of two shillings and six-pence be charged upon every person at and for his or her admission into any theatre, house, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, music, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of such admission shall amount to more than five shillings, and shall not exceed ten shillings and six pence.

That a duty of five shillings be charged upon every person at and for his or her admission into any house, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, or music, or other public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of such admission shall exceed the sum of ten shillings and six pence.

That there be charged the sum of three pence for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four-wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on rollers or wheels above the breadth of nine-inches.

That there be charged the sum of two pence halfpenny for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and



merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels above six-inches, and not exceeding nine-inches in breadth.

That there be charged the sum of one penny three farthings for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four-wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels above three inches, and not exceeding six inches in breadth.

That there be charged the sum of one penny halfpenny for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four-wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels of three inches or less in breadth.

That there be charged the sum of one penny farthing for every mile any cart, or other two wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels above six-inches in breadth.

That there be charged the sum of one penny for every mile any cart, or other two-wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels of above three-inches, and not exceeding six-inches in breadth.

That there be charged the sum of one halfpenny for every mile any cart, or other two-wheeled carriage shall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels of three inches or less in breadth.

That every person who shall keep any waggon, wain, cart, or other carriage, for carrying goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, shall yield, and pay annually unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, the sum of two shillings and sixpence for a licence for that purpose.

That every owner of any barge, lighter, trow, keel, or other craft, for carrying goods, wares, merchandize, or passengers above twelve in number, shall yield, and pay annually, unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, the sum of two shillings and sixpence for a licence to navigate or pass such barge, lighter, trow, keel, or other craft, upon any river, or canal navigation, within the kingdom of Great-Britain.

That there be charged a duty of one farthing per ton on the tonnage of every barge, lighter, trow, keel, and other craft carrying goods, wares, merchandize, or passengers above twelve in number, for every mile such barge, lighter, trow,

trow, keel, or other craft, shall navigate or pass on any river, or canal navigation, within the kingdom of Great Britain.

That there be charged a duty of three pence per ton on the tonnage of every ship, or vessel, employed in the coasting trade, from one part of the kingdom of Great Britain to another, where such ship or vessel shall pass by open sea, except ships laden wholly with coals, lime, limestones, chalk, marl, or dung.

That the said several duties shall be under the direction of the commissioners for managing his Majesty's duties on stamped vellum, parchment and paper.

That any person who shall keep any office, or place, for buying, selling, registering, disposing, or otherwise dealing, in any tickets, or parts thereof, in any lottery whatsoever, or shall, by writing, or printing, publish the setting up or using such office, or place, shall first take out a licence for that purpose.

That there shall be raised, levied, and paid unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, the sum of fifty pounds for every such licence.

That the monies to arise by the said duties shall be applied towards defraying the expences attending the commission to be made for the managing, directing, and drawing such lottery.

*March 12.*

Mr. Ord brought up the Report from the committee of Mr. Ord. Ways and Means; and when the Clerk had read all the resolutions once;

Lord Mahon rose to make a few observations, and to ask some questions relative to the new taxes: to many of them he had several objections; but as he did not intend to make a formal opposition to them, would confine himself to a few considerations relative to soap. The tax upon this article he thought not only prejudicial, but impolitic; and in his mind, the duty on salt was connected with it, as far at least as was necessary to support him in the observation he was going to make. It was the business of a politician or statesman in this country to encourage our own manufactures, and to lessen importation as far as possible; the noble Lord in the blue ribband had stated, that the price of soap had fallen, because barilla had greatly fallen in its value, from the great quantities of it imported: if the cause of the decrease in the price of soap arose as was stated, from the fall of barilla, there

was no great reason to rejoice at the event, as it arose from a circumstance which was greatly against this country in point of balance of trade ; for he understood that the imported barilla had amounted this year to the very great sum of 300,000l. now if it was the interest of a country to lessen its imports, without cutting off the materials necessary for its manufactures, it was likewise bound to encourage every attempt to effect so desirable an end ; a discovery had been made some time ago by one of the greatest chemists in this kingdom or in Europe, (his Lordship alluded to Dr. Higgins) by which soap might be made without barilla, which was supplied by a composition from our own earth ; so that by this discovery, not only the price of soap would still continue to be reduced, but we should be able to keep at home the 300,000l. which we sent every year to Spain for barilla, unless the effects of the discovery should be destroyed by the noble Lord's tax upon salt. The discovery went to make a mineral alkali by means of rock salt ; but if the salt was to be taxed, the infant manufacture for which the discoverer had procured a patent, could never support the accumulated burden of taxes upon the sulphur, nitre already taxed, and the salt which the noble Lord now proposed to tax also : the new tax would also hurt the manufacture of glass, which the discovery would render much less expensive. He therefore hoped that the noble Lord would in policy exempt rock salt from the new tax.

Sir Grey  
Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* was glad to find that when his noble friend had stated that there were permanent causes of the reduced price of soap, he had held a doctrine which was supported by fact. As to the rock salt, he could inform the noble Lord that in many cases there was a drawback allowed upon salt, as when the salt was to be used in fisheries.

Lord Ma-  
hon,

Lord *Mahon* observed again, that from the duty on land-carriage the noble Lord had excepted manure ; but he did not know how far the noble Lord might extend the meaning of that word ; it was well known that in the West of England, sea sand was used in general as manure ; did the noble Lord mean to admit that as manure ?

Lord North

Lord *North* replied, that in the resolutions proposed to the committee, he had used general expressions ; but in the bills which he meant to found upon them, he would be more explicit : he knew that in many of the turnpike acts, sea sand was considered and mentioned as manure ; and he had not the  
least

least objection to have it so stated in the bill which he should introduce on that head.

Mr. *Hussey* got up to declare that he had looked over the Mr. *Hussey* papers on the table, and that the deficiencies of former years, although stated by the noble Lord on Monday night to be no more than 200,000*l.* at most, were absolutely 598,462*l.* consequently a great part of the present taxes must be applied to the payment of these deficiencies. He accused the noble Lord of being a bad financier, and asserted, that he was continually borrowing money at compound instead of single interest.

Lord *North* rose to answer the honourable gentleman about Lord *North* the difference of the sums. The noble Lord did not deny the accusation of the sum being 598,462*l.* but said the accounts stated two ways would appear quite different, therefore either he or the honourable gentleman might be right. The whole of the deficiency last year was, as he had said, but that was temporary; the permanent deficiencies would be but 170,000*l.* He informed the House, that on account of the vast extent, and the opposition that was likely to take place on the tax for a duty on the carriage of goods, that tax would be made into a separate bill from the other taxes.

Lord *John Cavendish* said, the information of the noble Lord had made it unnecessary for him then to say what he Lord *John Cavendish.* intended, he would therefore oppose that tax when the bill came before the House, chiefly because it had not exempted coals and lime from the duty when transported by inland water carriage.

Sir *George Yonge* spoke in favour of the theatres, and contended that the middling order of people ought to have some Sir *George Yonge.* place of innocent mirth after the toil of the day, but the tax proposed was a very indecent one, for a man could not go to a theatre for amusement, but the first object that would appear to him, would be a tax gatherer to damp his joys, and put him in mind of the misfortunes of his country; however, he said, on nights when a large number of people assembled, he made no doubt, but the sudden gust into the theatres would overturn the tax gatherer, and make it a difficult thing for him to regain his station again for some time.

Sir *Edward Astley* thought, that putting a stop to the fatal Sir *Edward Astley.* effects of gambling in lotteries was a matter well worth the attention of that House.

Mr. *Byng* said, that there was one thing in the carriage Mr. *Byng.* bill to which he objected more than any thing else—the principle

ciple of the tax. In all taxes it had constantly been the caution of the House not to touch the staff of life, which was bread. The noble Lord had done this—the tax was not large, but the precedent was dangerous. He feared, that if they once broke through the principle, they might be seduced to go dangerous lengths. He said, that the tax on insurance would injure, if not ruin the offices.

Sir Grey  
Cooper.

: Sir Grey Cooper said, if gentlemen chose to point out any particular species of goods, whether it was gold or iron, he would endeavour to state clearly to the House what it would come to in proportion to the value, on account of the additional duty. Gentlemen had yesterday talked of iron as one of those commodities which it would particularly operate upon. He therefore thought it his duty to state that the tax for twenty six miles, being only five shillings and five pence on a ton, and there being two thousand, two hundred and forty pounds, in a ton, it did not amount to more than a farthing upon ten pounds of iron; and how very immaterial a charge that must appear to any person, who looked at all at the tax, was easily discernible. He said it was the intention to prevent, as much as possible, every thing that might be accounted fraudulent or improper in the mode of conducting the lottery.

Mr. W.  
Stanhope.

Mr. W. Stanhope denied the arguments of the honourable Baronet on the Treasury Bench to be founded in truth. The tax which was to be laid on iron for carriage was not to be as he had stated, only one farthing upon ten pounds: the tax, as he understood it, was about six per cent.

Sir George  
Yonge.

Sir George Yonge said, that hearing such an opposition made to these parts of the duties, which respected the carriage of goods, and the insurance, he thought it necessary to declare, that if no other person would take up the cause of the lower orders of society, with regard to the tax on places of public entertainment, he would. As to taxing the higher and more exalted ranks of life in their amusements, he was not at all dissatisfied, but he would, by every means in his power, endeavour to prevent the short moment of pleasure, which laborious industry might require, from being interrupted or soured by the appearance of a tax gatherer.

Mr. Sheri-  
dan.

Mr. Sheridan said, he had determined to avoid saying a single word on the subject, as it was an awkward and embarrassing circumstance for any member to speak in opposition to a tax, when he happened to be materially concerned in the object of it. If he alone were interested, perhaps he should

should have taken no measure whatever on the subject; but as a very extensive property of others, as well as the welfare of numbers employed in that property, were concerned, it would be unjust to them, and an abuse of their personal confidence in him, were he to be inactive in the matter. It was not, however, his intention to trouble the House with opposing it then; he meant to pursue a very fair method in laying before the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, his objections in writing, with a real and candid state of the question. The product of the tax was but a trifle to the public, in comparison of the injury it would do to private property, and the oppression with which it must be collected.

Mr. *Gilbert* declared that he was sure, the tax on the inland navigation carriage went much beyond the noble Lord's estimate, and might be rated certainly at an excess beyond; he believed, the whole of the tax of all the carriages; it would fall, too, more peculiarly heavy on the poor, especially in the article of coals, which would be burthensome on every rank of life. He said, that he should endeavour, before the bill for the regulating the carriage tax was brought into that House, to possess himself with sufficient arguments to oppose it. Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. *Turner* said, that he should have spoken sooner, had he met the eye of the speaker. He declared against the tax on the carriage of goods, and said that another mode ought to be taken, which was that proposed by his honourable friend, whom he did not now see in his place, but whom he supposed to be gone to his dinner, and who well deserved to have a good dinner, for he took great pains for the good of his country; he meant the plan of oeconomy proposed by the worthy member for Salisbury. When this country is reduced in her powers, new means must be contrived. Mr. *Turner* said, when his own estate was reduced in value by the American war, he had recourse to a proportionate reduction in his expences; and he wished to recommend it to his Majesty to reduce the Civil List from eight to six hundred thousand pounds, and here would be one quarter of the taxes paid. Mr. Turner.

The Resolutions were then read a second time, and agreed to, and the House adjourned.

*March 13.*

On the order of the day being read for the House to go into a committee on the bill to prevent bribery and corruption

tion at future elections for the borough of Cricklade, in the county of Wilts,

The Speaker put the question, " That I do now leave the chair ;" upon which

Mr. Adam.

Mr. *W. Adam* opposed his quitting the chair, and contended, that it was unjust and cruel to punish the whole borough of Cricklade for the faults of a few bad men. He put a case : supposing some electors of the city of London had been found guilty of corruption, would it be right to disfranchise the city for the acts of a few ? Certainly not, he said ; and it would be dangerous was the constitution of this country to be changed on such trifling grounds. The present bill was, he believed, the first instance of such an attempt, and he hoped it would not pass into a law ; he should therefore vote against the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Percival

Mr. *Percival* spoke likewise in favour of the Cricklade voters, and was extremely fearful the constitution would be endangered, if those men were precluded from doing as they formerly had done, and contended, that the present bill would be extremely hard on the honest part of the borough of Cricklade.

Sir G. Yonge

Sir *G. Yonge* said, he was surprised to find any gentleman rise to defend the voters of Cricklade ; to complain, that the bill would hurt the honest part of the borough, was a mere farce, for he did not think there was an honest man in all Cricklade.

If gentlemen would give themselves the trouble to read the minutes of that election, they would find the voters declared that man most honourable, who bribed them highest ; and when they had almost drained their candidate's pocket, they declared his honour was considerably decreased. Surely such a set of men ought not to be suffered to elect representatives ; if they did, it was not to be wondered that the present House of Commons was so corrupt. The bill in question did not go to take away the right of voters in the old inhabitants, it only was meant to add a sufficient part of the freeholders of adjacent hundreds, so as to make the bribery which usually attend small boroughs impracticable, from the number of electors ; and he protested that he could wish the same custom was observed throughout the kingdom, then we might stand a chance of a fair and equal representation, which, according to the present method, seemed impossible.

Collected



Colonel *North* defended the voters, and said it was extremely hard upon them, as the corrupt part had been prosecuted at law, and punished for their corruption; but the present bill would materially injure those men who had been prosecuted, and, after a trial of their country, were found honest, as it would let in a vast number of other persons to have a share in elections for their borough. Colonel North.

Sir *G. Yonge* rose and explained the bill to the honourable Sir *G. Yonge* gentleman.

Lord *Beauchamp* was against the bill, and contended, that being indicted for corruption, the penalty of which was 500*l.* was a sufficient punishment; and that chastisement had been followed up on the Cricklade voters, more than on any other body of men in the kingdom, he was certain, from the sums that had already been recovered; besides, as the assizes were now sitting, and a prodigious number of causes were to be tried at Salisbury, on account of the late election, he thought the present bill would send the persons to be tried under a degree of censure, which was not fair nor just: He was of the same opinion with Mr. Adam, that it was not right to alter the constitution for such frivolous affairs. He mentioned the case of Shoreham, and said, what had been done there, was necessary; but in the present case it was not. Before he sat down, he hinted, that if the bill was carried in that House it would be thrown out in the House of Lords. Lord Beauchamp.

Mr. *Montagu* said, he had the chief management of the Shoreham bill, and he recollected perfectly, that on shewing it to that great lawyer (Lord Camden) he perfectly approved of it, and the late Earl of Chatham made use of this remarkable expression, "I am glad to find the borough of Shoreham is likely to be moved from Bengal, and restored to its ancient situation in the county of Sussex." Whether the borough of Cricklade was to be removed from Wiltshire to the East-Indies, he knew not; but certain he was, that unless some necessary prevention took place, that borough would always be corrupt. The Shoreham bill, he said, inflicted pains and penalties, and disfranchised particular persons; the present bill was by no means so severe, it was founded on a principle that would, if observed throughout the kingdom, be of infinite service. Mr. Montagu.

Mr. *G. Onslow* was much in favour of the bill, and declared himself an enemy to such corrupt practices, and astonishment at any person defending them. If the bill was thrown Mr. G. Onslow.



out in the Lords, or an unnecessary delay was made use of there in not passing it, he should move an enquiry into such cause, for he by no means considered it decent for them to interfere in matters respecting that House. However, if they threw it out, he would move an address to his Majesty for the purpose to which the present bill was intended; and he hoped some gentleman would move that the issuing of a writ for Cricklade be further delayed.

The question was now put, when there appeared for the bill being committed. — Ayes, 96; — noes, 25.

The Speaker then left the chair and committee, of which Lord Middleton was chairman, went through the bill.

*March 14.*

On the order of the day being called for, which was that the House be called over,

Sir Joseph  
Mawbey.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* was of opinion, that the order should be deferred until another day, as business of the utmost importance was expected to come on in a few days, which ought to engage the attention of every gentleman.

Mr. Rolle.

Mr. *Rolle*, as usual, opposed the call of the House being deferred, unless it was put off entirely, and therefore moved, “That the call of the House be this day six months.”

Sir P. J.  
Clerke.

Sir *P. J. Clerke* moved an amendment, by leaving out the words six months, and inserting the words “Tuesday se’nnight;” upon which the House divided on the question, whether the words “six months” stand a part of the question; when there appeared; — Ayes, 52; — noes, 72.

The amendment for the call on Tuesday se’nnight was then put, and carried without a division.

The House then went into a committee on the bill to prevent the owners of privateers from ransoming ships they might take belonging to the enemy, Sir Joseph Mawbey in the chair.

Mr. Edward  
Aftley.

Sir *Edward Aftley* mentioned, that he had been applied to by his constituents, to know the reason why no cartel was fixed for the exchange of Dutch prisoners.

Mr. Ald.  
Newham.

Mr. *Alderman Newham* rose, and explained to the honourable Baronet the nature of the bill, and mentioned, that the Dutch ports were so near, that the risk of losing any prize was not great, therefore the Dutch made it a rule never to ransom. He spoke with much judgment on the bill, and declared

red, that it was agreeable to the wishes of all merchants he had conversed with on the subject.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* said, the proprietors of colliers were against the bill, and at a meeting of merchants in Sunderland, there was a majority of seventeen against it, as it would be of infinite hurt to the coal trade. Sir M. W. Ridley.

Earl *Nugent* spoke with respect to the selling our merchant ships to the enemy, and expressed a wish that the practice might be discontinued. Earl Nugent.

Mr. *Hussey* said, that if his advice had been attended to, he would not have suffered a single merchant ship to have been built until his Majesty's fleet had been put in proper condition; he would had all the shipwrights, and every man that could use an adze, employed in that service, then we should not have cut that despicable figure at sea that we have lately done. Mr. Hussey

Lord *Mulgrave* said, that the bill was exceedingly proper, for if the ransoming of vessels was put a stop to, it would be a great means of discouraging a nest of smuggling pirates, that had French, Spanish, and American commissions; and after they had landed their smuggling cargoes, they generally picked up the first vessel they could for the sake of ransoming her. Lord Mulgrave.

Several gentlemen asked questions respecting particular clauses in the bill, which were answered by Mr. Alderman Newnham, and the committee filled up the blanks; after which the Speaker resumed the chair.

### *March 15.*

*Motion by Sir John Rous, for withdrawing the confidence of Parliament from his Majesty's Ministers.*

Sir *John Rous* said, that it might be deemed presumption in him to take upon himself to renew the discussion of a question which had been so ably opened by a noble Lord, and no less ably seconded by an honourable friend of his, on Friday last: still he thought it so much his duty to his constituents, to his country, and to himself, to bring that question again before the House, that he had rather be deemed presumptuous than refuse to do that which he felt to be his duty as a man and an Englishman. No one, he said, could suppose that he was actuated, in any degree, by a spirit of party; it was well known, and he was not ashamed Sir John Rous.

ed to confess it, that he was descended from a Tory family, and had been bred up in Tory principles: this circumstance alone, he hoped, would screen him from any imputation of being devoted to a party adverse in general to administration. From the first dawn of the American war, he had felt the injustice and impolicy of it; and he came into that House its declared enemy on principle: but at the same time that he was an enemy to the war, he had come into Parliament highly prepossessed in favour of the noble Lord in the blue ribband; and he had felt such a respect for his character, that he would have gone great lengths to support him; but when he found that the noble Lord persevered blindly to pursue measures, which had already reduced the country from a state of glory and prosperity to calamity and disgrace, he should deem himself an enemy to his country, if he did not exert every faculty to remove him; because, in his continuance in office, he could see nothing but ruin to the country; by his removal, that ruin, perhaps, might be prevented.—A right honourable Secretary of State, (Mr. Ellis) had, on Friday last, in some measure, thrown down the gauntlet, and in a tone of defiance, had asked where could be found better ministers than those who were already in office? The question, in his opinion, conveyed an insult to the understanding of the House: every one knew the consequences that had already attended their administration; the loss of greatness, glory, and dominion, had marked that administration, and yet the House was to be insulted with questions that seemed to imply that the present ministers were so famed for ability, that greater or more able men could not be found to succeed them. The weight of public calamity was felt every where: and he wished to know if there was a single independent member in that House, who could lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he did not believe the noble Lord in the blue ribband to be the author of this calamity; the author of the American war, and of the long train of evils that had already attended it?—After various other observations of a general nature, he concluded by moving a resolution to the following purport: That this House, (taking into consideration the great sums voted, and debts incurred, for the service of the army, navy, and ordnance, in this unfortunate war, to the amount of upwards of one hundred millions; and finding that the nation has, notwithstanding these extraordinary exertions, lost thirteen ancient colonies belonging to the crown of Great Britain, the new-acquired province of West Florida, and the

the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and Minorca, besides several valuable commercial fleets, of the utmost importance to the wealth of this country; and that we are still involved in war with three powerful nations in Europe, without one single ally) can have no further confidence in the ministers who have the direction of public affairs.

Lord *George Henry Cavendish* seconded the motion; and he did it from no other motive whatever, than that of doing his duty to his country; without ambition to urge him, or resentment to gratify, his only object was to contribute every thing in his power to save a sinking state: he had no intercourse with ministers; he was very little acquainted with them, and therefore the step he then took, could not be for the purpose of distressing men, who had never injured him; the situation of the country was such, that he feared its affairs could scarcely be retrieved by any set of men in the kingdom; but if they could, it must be by taking them out of the hands of those ministers, who, in his opinion, were the authors of all our present calamities. Lord G. H. Cavendish.

Mr. *Harrison* rose as soon as the question had been read from the chair, and said that after the very full and repeated discussions which the subject before them has undergone in the debate of this and the preceding days, he feared it might seem presumption in him to think any thing he might be able to say on the subject worthy, even for a moment, of the attention of this House; but he confessed it was a matter that went so near his heart, and in which he considered the interest, nay, even the existence of this country so essentially concerned, that he could scarce reconcile it to his mind, only to give a silent approbation of the motion that was before the House. He said, notwithstanding every sense of shame had been held out to ministers, painted in the strongest colours, for the repeated disgraces they had brought upon this country, by captured armies and flying fleets, notwithstanding every feeling of humanity had been so strongly touched by the melancholy spectacle of this country, bleeding at every vein, from the pernicious councils that have been pursued. Yet they saw ministers sitting unmoved and unconcerned, totally regardless of every national calamity, intent only on what is to them their great object, the increase of that influence, which may be the means of their continuing to enjoy the emoluments of their places, and which has enabled them so long to be the scourge of this Mr. Harrison.

this unhappy country. He said, the House could not but admire the sagacity of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in pointing out to his friends that he has another tax in embryo, fully sufficient for another year's loan and expences, even if they are greater than the present. A noble lure to his wavering friends! Glad tidings to the chosen band! Tidings of such joy must be sure to be sufficient to bind them steady in the noble Lord's support. For though he said he would give the noble Lord perfect credit, that neither he nor his two coadjutors in the Treasury, gave any list of persons, who they might wish to have any share or participation in the loan with these four gentlemen, who engaged for the whole, yet he had too good an opinion of the gratitude of the honourable gentlemen, to think that they could be so unmindful of the preference that had been shewn them, as not even to anticipate the wishes of the noble Lord, in giving such part, at least, to members of that House, who might desire it, as would be sufficient to make them steady in that list, which by way of pre-eminence, he said was distinguished as the honourable appellation of the King's friends, in contradistinction to these factious and dangerous spirits, who had so constantly and uniformly resisted those wise and salutary measures of his Majesty's ministers, that had brought this country to its present much to be envied situation. He then said, it was in the recollection of this House, when, in the last sessions, the people called loudly for a reformation and retrenchment in the public expenditure, that ministers declared it was by no means to be inferred, though they did not think proper to adopt the plans then produced; that no other expedient of the same tendency might hereafter be brought forward; that the people were to look to the commission of accounts as a measure so extensive in its operations, as, perhaps, to make any other expedient for that purpose unnecessary. Upon such vain and delusive shadows, they had granted above twenty millions of public money, and from that time to this, they had never heard one word about economy, or one step taken for a revision and reformation in the public expenditure; not one single unnecessary office, or unmerited pension, either abolished or diminished, but the same, nay, even greater profusion and prodigality, continued through every department in the state: And even but the other day, ministers were hardy enough, instead of conciliating the dissensions in Ireland, to add ten thousand pounds to the pension list; at a  
time

time when that country is on the eve of shaking off every degree of subordination to the government of this kingdom. He then said, sure, Sir, if there was no other cause, that total neglect and disregard that ministers have uniformly shewn to the interest of this country, and every request of the people; and that determined resolution they have shewn to frustrate every measure tending to any reformation or the retrenchment in the public expenditure, a measure which, notwithstanding the noble Lord's boasted resources, is the only prospect of salvation to this country, must be sufficient to justify every exertion for the removal of persons, who have the interest of this kingdom so little at heart. But, Sir, strong as these reasons may appear, when we turn our eyes to the active line, that ought to follow such extraordinary exertions of the resources of this kingdom, they become light as air, when they are set in competition with the ruinous consequences that must necessarily follow from divided and irresolute councils, in this time of general difficulty and danger, shackled as ministers have declared themselves to be from having lost the confidence of this House, compelled to carry on the war only in a manner they declare they disapprove, and the only road to peace being the path they have declared themselves so unwilling to tread; what are we to expect from the continuance of the councils of men under such circumstances? What but the sacrifice of the interest and very existence of this country for the sake of emolument to those who have been the authors of all our calamities? Can any one be so blind, as not to see the consequences that must follow; can any one be so unfeeling, and seeing those consequences, as not to use all his endeavours to prevent them. He then concluded with saying, he begged pardon of the House for trespassing thus much upon their time, but he could not help wishing publicly to declare his sentiments; and whatever calamities might fall upon this country, from the obstinacy of men persisting in holding the helm which they could not guide, he declared he washed his hands of them; let those tremble who have been the occasion of them.

Sir *Richard Symons* was the first who spoke in favour of administration: he did not speak the language of a lukewarm friend, ready to desert, or feebly to support a minister, to whose measures he had formerly given his avowed and open support; on the contrary, he said, he spoke out manfully, and in the style of one, who having acted from principle, still upheld the administration of the man, of whose measures he had always from principle approved. He replied particularly

Sir *Richard Symons.*



particularly to that question put by Sir John Rous, if any independent member could lay his hand upon his heart, and say that he believed the noble Lord in the blue ribband was not the author of the American war, and of the present public calamities?

He said he looked upon, and felt himself as independent a man as any in that House; and that, laying his hand upon his heart, he was able to say in truth, and upon his honour, that he believed this war and the public calamities were not to be ascribed or imputed to the noble Lord; but to the extraordinary and unjustifiable opposition that had been given to the measures of government. He professed, that he had the highest respect for the abilities and integrity of the noble Lord in the blue ribband; and as he could not impute to him, what he verily believed to be the effect of that opposition, to which he had already alluded, he declared he would give his hearty negative to the motion.

Mr. George Onslow.

Mr. George Onslow said, there was one part of the doctrine frequently maintained by the other side of the House, to which he was most ready to subscribe; and that was, that the American war was the source, origin, and cause of all our present misfortunes. Having granted this, there remained to enquire, before gentlemen could vote on either side, who was the cause of that war? This was exactly the point in issue: the gentlemen on the other side of the House had asserted, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband was the cause of it; he would undertake to prove the contrary. To find out the source of that unfortunate war, it was necessary to go back a little, and to consider of some facts antecedent to the administration of the noble Lord. In his enquiry, the first thing that occurred to him was the Stamp-act. He thanked God he never gave a vote for that act; for he believed, in his conscience, and upon his honour, that it was the source of all our public calamities. The Americans rose up against it as one man, and would have plunged into a war, if it had not been repealed: but what followed the repeal? A Declaratory-act, which gave as much offence to the Americans as the Stamp-act; for it maintained and asserted the right of sovereignty which the Stamp-act was calculated to enforce. Of this Declaratory-act the Congress in their manifesto had spoken in the most severe terms, and complained of as the greatest grievance.

The nation at large upheld the idea of sovereignty over America; all that was great in England had sanctified the

idea

idea with their suffrage and authority; nay even the great Lord Chatham himself had declared in full Parliament, that if America should manufacture a stocking, or so much as forge a hobnail, he would make her feel the whole weight of the power of this country. The principle of the war therefore had been held by Mr. Grenville in his Stamp Act; by the Marquis of Rockingham in his repeal of it; and by the great Earl of Chatham himself, in his speech upon the Declaratory Act.

The principle of the war having, therefore, been in fact supported by every description of men, both in and out of office, it remained only to enquire into the causes of our failure of success. In his opinion, one great cause was, the countenance that had been given in that House to the American rebellion: General Washington's army had been called our army, the cause of the rebels had been called the cause of liberty; and every species of encouragement had been given to induce them to hold out under a confidence that they had a strong party in the House of Commons in their favour. The highest praises and encomiums had been bestowed on Dr. Franklin and Mr. Laurens; some members would wish to live with them in prisons sooner than with those who were loyally supporting the cause of England over rebellion: it was customary in that House for the avowed friends of American rebels, to point out the weakest parts of our government; but he believed they did not confine themselves to the species of information that might be given to them from within those walls; it was reported, and he believed it in his conscience to be true, that information had been sent to the Court of Versailles (here was a cry of—by whom? name, name) Mr. Onslow in reply, said, he could not tell; or if he could, he would not; all he would say, was, that he had not been in Paris since the war had commenced. Recapitulating his arguments, he said, that as the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act had been the real cause of the war; as the greatest men in the nation, of all denominations, had supported those acts, and that from them of course, more than the present ministers, the American war had sprung; it was impossible for him to agree to a resolution, which unjustly went to fix the whole blame of it on the noble Lord, and therefore he must of course give it a direct negative: and the more so, as he believed in his conscience, that the want of success in that war, in which the whole nation had concurred, was to be ascribed to those who



from the beginning had declared that they would be sorry it should prove successful.

Mr. Adam. Mr. *Adam* observed, that though the proposition, then before the House, was calculated to produce the same effect, that would have flowed from that which was rejected on Friday last, still it struck him that there was an essential difference between them. The former propositions, four in number, were to be followed by some other with which the House was unacquainted; but this came fairly before them, and they knew its extent. The proposition of Friday last, plainly charged ministers with want of foresight and ability; the resolution now before the House contained no such charge; but seemed to imply, that because they had been unsuccessful, they ought to be removed. Here a question very naturally occurred, why have they been unsuccessful? The arguments to be brought in support of the different causes that might be assigned for that want of success, would be decisive of the question in debate. That they had been unsuccessful was a fact, which could not be controverted; but that the failure of success, and the loss of our various possessions, enumerated in the motion, should be ascribed solely to ministers, was an assertion that plain, open, fair reasoning, must condemn. It had been urged very ably on Friday last, by a learned Lord under him, that ministers had fitted out a fleet adequate to the destruction of the French fleet under Mons. d'Orvilliers; the success that was, and ought to have been expected from that great fleet, did not follow: but were ministers to blame for that? Did not the cause lie somewhere else? The honourable Admiral, who was first in command in that fleet, had laid the blame on one of his flag officers; that flag officer retorted it upon the commander in chief: it was not now the question to enquire which was really the guilty person: but this much might be inferred from the recrimination, that neither laid the blame upon administration; neither said that the force under their command was inadequate to the end for which ministers had sent it out. If, then, it was equal to the object of destroying the French fleet, and that the present calamities of the public might have been prevented by the successful exertions of the fleet under these two honourable Admirals; then the obvious consequence must be, that ministers ought not to be charged with the losses which followed a miscarriage that ought not to have been expected, and against which minis-

ters

ters had sufficiently guarded, by sending out a superior force to meet the enemy.

The resolution before the House stated, that we had not a single ally : it was a melancholy truth ; but would gentlemen think it just or fair, or equitable, to impute this to ministers as a crime, before they should have heard what steps had been taken by ministers to make alliances. It had been stated by a right honourable member; (the Secretary at War) on Friday last, that the state of this country, at the conclusion of the last war, was such as had excited the envy and jealousy of all Europe : this circumstance, which was undoubtedly true, was to all those, who like himself, had no information on the subject, *primæ facie* evidence, that if we had no allies, it was to the envy and jealousy of the neighbouring nations, and not to the neglect of ministers, that our want of allies was to be ascribed. It was well known, that from the nature of our government, we could not make either exertions for war, or negotiations for peace, with that celerity and secrecy which were to be found in an absolute monarchy. In France, where, from the nature of the government, all exertions and negotiations might be carried on with every species of secrecy and dispatch, the ministers of Lewis XIV. were not able to get a single ally in the succession war : the abilities of that monarch's ministers were known, and famous through the world ; and yet with all the advantages of their government, (which by the bye were purchased at an extravagant rate, when at the expence of liberty) and with all the abilities of some of the ablest ministers that Europe had ever seen, France in the war of the succession, stood singly and unsupported against almost all Europe. The House of Austria, in the zenith of its power, had stood in the same predicament, and the very same cause that left the Houses of Austria and Bourbon to struggle, unsupported, had left us in our turn, without an ally : that cause was the apprehension of all Europe at the enormous power of Britain. That the sum of one hundred millions had been expended in the war with America he would not deny ; but did that criminate ministry ? Had not as great sums been expended in former ministries in as little time ? and with respect to the deficiencies, and the state of darkness which the noble Lord was said to keep that House in about the true situation of his affairs, he believed the accusations were unjust, for greater deficiencies had been accumulated by ministers, which the public had so much praised, at the time

the late Lord Chatham took the administration of this country. With respect to the other part of the question, that we had lost thirteen colonies and many valuable islands, he allowed the motion stated it so, yet it was not his opinion, that the fact was so; and until it was proved, he would not allow it.

The splendour and success of the exertions of this country in the last war ought not to be brought as proofs of the want of ability in the present administration. The cause of that splendour and success he could trace beyond the administration of Lord Chatham. At the very outset of the war, and before the French expected hostilities, the then ministers had seized the French merchantmen, and deprived the navy of France of such a number of seamen by that stroke, that during the whole war it was not able to recover it. This was the great source of all that success which afterwards attended the exertions of this country. If the present ministers had provoked the French war by a similar act, very likely similar success would have rendered their administration as renowned as that of any of their predecessors. It was urged in a former debate, that Parliament could not, and ought not, to take the assurances of ministers, as a security for the promises they had made to pursue such measures as might put an end to the war in America: the House therefore had passed a resolution, that must put it out of the power of ministers any longer to pursue a continental war in America; but still, not satisfied with this, they now urged that as ministers did not approve of this resolution, so they would not take care to act up to it with steadiness and fidelity. But he saw no grounds for supposing that ministers would not strictly adhere to that resolution; because in the first place, they were not enemies to the spirit and principle of the resolution; but had opposed it merely on the ground of expediency, lest by a too great eagerness to make peace, we might delay, instead of accelerating that great object of every man's wish: in the next place, they had all along declared since the resolution had passed, that they would make it the rule of their conduct, and that they respected both Parliament and themselves too much, to depart from it in the smallest degree. But if the present ministers were to retire, what system would be introduced? Could any one tell? Were those who from their situation and abilities were the most likely to succeed them, so thoroughly united among themselves, as to have formed any system of government? One gentleman was for sep-

temial

ennial Parliaments; another very respectable member was for triennial; while a third was for annual Parliaments. One noble Lord, in the other House, was for diminishing influence, but without infringing upon the dignity, splendour, and prerogative of the Crown; and another, of equal character, was for taking away influence even at the expence of prerogative. It was upon the ground of this difference of opinion, that a right honourable Secretary had, on a former day, asked if there were better ministers ready to succeed, if the present should retire? and he thought that this was a very good ground for reflecting seriously, before any resolution of such moment, as that which was before the House, should pass. Seeing the question therefore in every point of view, he could not concur with the honourable gentleman who had moved the resolution, but must give it a flat negative. His opinion was, that in the present most critical situation of public affairs there ought to be a coalition of parties, for every thing that was great and splendid in the empire should now be united for our deliverance.

Mr. *Marshall* replied. He differed in many respects from the honourable Member who had spoken last. The honour of the country had been tarnished in the hands of the present administration, and its naval empire had been lost; this was sufficient reason for him to wish to have the present ministers removed; for from the measures of those by whom so much had been lost, he could not hope that any thing could be recovered. He had no objection to them as men: measures were his object; and if those who were out should pursue the measures of those who were in, he would be as great an enemy to them as he was now to the present ministers. But those who were out stood pledged to diminish the influence of the Crown, to banish prodigality from the Treasury, and to introduce a system of oeconomy in its room: and if, when they should come into office, they should swerve from those measures to which they had so solemnly and so repeatedly pledged themselves, he would look upon them as the worst of traitors to their country.

When the honourable member mentioned the different opinions respecting the duration of Parliament, and concluded from thence that the men in opposition had no bond of opinion or system; he certainly must have been in jest; his argument was so farcical, that he could not treat it seriously. He had said also, that to the seizing of the French ships in the

the beginning of the war was to be attributed the glorious success that had crowned it. But was this the fact? Had we not been unsuccessful in the beginning of the war at Minorca? And at what period of it did the action between Hawke and Conflans take place? Was it not after that period to which the honourable member had alluded? It had been asked in a former debate why no notice had been taken of the success of Sir Samuel Hood in the West Indies? He was ready to pay every tribute to that able officer, who greatly deserved the thanks of his country, for the spirit and abilities which he had displayed on a late occasion; but what merit could ministers claim to themselves from his conduct? It was the superiority of his gallantry and skill, not the superiority of his fleet that triumphed; they had left him with an inferior force: if with that force he performed wonders, ministers were not, on that account, entitled to any praise. He then made a few observations respecting the nature of the government of France and England, which called up Mr. Adam to explain.

Mr. T.  
Town-  
shend.

Mr. *T. Townshend* rose to animadvert on Mr. Adam's mode of reasoning; he had not at all a doubt, he said, with a sarcastic tone of voice, but the honourable member spoke from conviction; and yet if a new administration was to take place, he should not despair of having the assistance and support of that honourable member. He alluded to the arguments urged in favour of ministers, to exculpate them from the charge of having left us without allies to fight against the world; if the greatness of our power had raised up enemies against us, that greatness, thanks to ministers! was now no more; but still we were without allies.

Mr. Fil-  
mer Honey-  
wood.

Mr. *Filmer Honeywood* spoke next. He said, that he would always be glad to support administration; that there were among the present ministers, men for whom he had the greatest respect; men for whom he would willingly make some sacrifices; men for whom he would sacrifice resentment against others of them; men, in a word, for whom he would sacrifice any thing but his honour, his conscience, and his country. The moment was now come, and he must either give up those men, or sacrifice these dearest objects, of an honest man: between the two alternatives he could not hesitate a moment; and therefore he must give his sincere support to the motion before the House.

Mr. Char-  
teris.

Mr. *Charteris* spoke against the motion; he found fault with the language which was often held in that House relative

certain situations of the country, which in prudence ought not to be mentioned; and of this kind was the language which an honourable member had used respecting Ireland; for, in his opinion, it would be better to be totally silent on so delicate a subject. The same species of language had often been held respecting America; and the consequences of it had not been advantageous to this country: in fact he believed, that to the great latitude of speech in which gentlemen indulged on the injustice of the American war, were to be ascribed, in a great measure, many of those calamities which were now said to be the fruits of the present administration.

Sir *T. Clarges* expressed himself much in favour of the motion, and owned his surprize that any gentleman could vote against it, for it contained nothing but a series of facts which were known to all the world. Sir T. Clarges.

Mr. *Martin* spoke likewise in favour of the motion, and did not wonder at the noble Lord being supported, as he had thrown out a hint last Monday to his troops, that he had another tax in petto of 800,000*l.* which would occasion another loan for them to share. Mr. Martin.

Mr. *Alderman Sawbridge* defended the motion, and contended, that the ruinous state of our affairs at home, the decay of our manufactures, and trade, called loudly for a change of men; for whilst the present ministers remained in office, there was but little prospect of any good accruing to the nation, as they had not the confidence of the people. He thought, that having opposed the American war from its beginning, he must act very inconsistently, if he did not vote for a resolution which went to remove those men who had brought on the war, and the long train of evils that had followed it. Mr. Alderman Sawbridge.

Sir *James Marriott*, before he would speak to the inference which concluded the resolution before the House, thought it proper to examine if the premises from which it was deduced, were founded in fact. The resolution stated, that we had lost thirteen colonies;—was that a fact? He would answer in the negative; we had not lost them; but we might lose them by our eagerness and precipitation. If peace was our object, nothing could tend more to delay that blessing, and remove it farther back, than such forwardness to embrace it. What was wisdom in private life, was likewise wisdom on a larger scale. If a man in private life wished to make a good bargain, could he do any thing more effectual Sir James Marriott.



tual to frustrate his own wishes, than to shew an eagerness in the business? If he was to make a purchase, the person of whom he wanted to purchase, would certainly rise in his own demands, in proportion as he saw the other eager and anxious to buy. In public life the like cause would produce a like effect; if therefore gentlemen did not wish for such an effect, as he alluded to, then they should not give into a resolution which would most certainly give rise to the idea of our impatience and dejection. He observed, that if any man was unlucky at cards, it would be rather childish to change packs, as if there was more good fortune in the second than in the first pack. If among the present ministers there were some good, some bad, why should they not make a discrimination, and not come with a sweeping clause to carry them all away, like Van Tromp, with his broom at his top-mast head, to sweep the channel?—Why did they not, like a good sportsman who singles out his bird, or his deer from the flock, single out the man whom they thought guilty, and give him a trial? It was very singular, that when gentlemen in opposition had thought proper to institute an enquiry into the conduct of one single minister, there was a greater majority by nine in his favour than there had been in favour of the whole administration on Friday last; and yet that minister was one who had been, in the coarsest language, charged with perfidy and treachery; and of that minister he would say, that a better he believed could not be found in the country.

He had heard the late Earl of Bristol say, two days before his death, that if there was a man in the kingdom, who was not a professional man, that was fit to preside at the Admiralty Board, it was the Earl of Sandwich. Yet that great minister, and he wished all his colleagues were as great as he was, had been blamed for not making ships and docks in every part of the kingdom. (Here he was called out to, that he might speak to the question.) He said he was speaking to it; for it was a resolution against all the ministers; now, as *omne majus continent minus*, so of course he was speaking to the question when he was defending one member of that administration. He was blamed for not building ships of the line in ninety-five hours [a loud laugh] in ninety-five days. Ships did not spring up in an instant: it was not here, as it was in Holland, where houses were constructed, ready built, [a still louder laugh]. He explained this by saying, that the frames of houses were often all finished in Holland;

Holland; and as one might be purchased of any size, so there was nothing wanting after the purchase, but merely to put the house together. He then entered upon a very new and singular proof of the justice of the American war; he said that if taxation and representation were to go hand in hand, then this country had an undoubted right to tax America, because she was represented in the British Parliament: she was represented by the members for the county of Kent, of which the thirteen provinces were a part or parcel; for in their charters they were to hold of the manor of Greenwich in Kent, of which manor they were by charter to be parcel.—This opinion raised a very loud laugh; but Sir James did not swerve from it; he continued to support it; and concluded by declaring that he would give the motion a hearty negative.

General *Smith* disclaimed any party spirit or resentment to Gen. *Smith* any man on the present occasion; he had in that House always opposed the measures of government; but in another situation (at the India-house) it was well known he never had endeavoured to clog the wheels of government. The measures of the present ministers were in general, he said, weak and impolitic?—this had appeared conspicuously in the expedition that they had fitted out against the Cape of Good Hope; and he was free to say he rejoiced in the failure of that expedition; he rejoiced that Mons. de Suffrein had arrived time enough at the Cape to frustrate the design against that settlement, for he verily believed that if we had made ourselves masters of it, we should have lost some of our most valuable settlements in the East Indies. The troops that were destined to attack the Cape were now gone, he thanked God, to India, where they would give a turn to our affairs, that would secure our settlements in that part of the world.

As to the late affair at St. Kitt's, it certainly redounded infinitely to the honour of Sir Samuel Hood, who had done much more than could have been expected from him; but those must be very little acquainted with the nice sense of honour in a French general-officer's breast, (and of such an officer as Mons. de Grasse, who had already acquired so much honour in the Chesapeake) who could bring themselves to think that, with a superior fleet, the French Admiral would retreat, and leave 8000 of his Sovereign's troops behind him at our mercy. The General concluded by expressing his hearty desire that the motion might be supported by a majority of the House.



Mr. Hill.

Mr. Hill observed, that the learned gentleman (Sir James Marriott) had verified the poet's opinion.

*Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.*

The learned gentleman had mixed the utile and dulci very well: he did not know whether he was expert at playing cards, at shuffling and cutting, but this much he was sure of, that he had made something by honours. He spoke next of some members of the present administration, for whom he had the greatest respect, and of whose honour, integrity, and abilities, he had the highest opinion; but if the time was come, when the safety of the state required new men, that consideration must, with him, absorb every other; He then quoted a passage from Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decay of the Roman Empire, in which the Roman Emperor was obliged to withdraw his troops from Britain; the legions were recalled before any charge of tyranny could be brought against the Prince, and protection and allegiance were forgotten, while on the other hand, the two nations remained in some measure united by a reciprocity of good offices.— Upon this quotation he made a remarkable good parody, which was very applicable to Great Britain and America.— He said he would recommend, only he was afraid of being thought to favour too much of the enthusiasm of the last century, to the nation, if it wished to be saved, to turn to Jehovah, and appease his wrath; for whenever a people turned their back upon God, the sacred history said, he never failed to give them up to their enemies. For his part, *pro Christo et Patria* should ever be his motto. He said that he certainly would vote for the motion; though at the same time he should rejoice if a coalition could take place among those who were out, and such of those who were in, as he thought amiable, worthy, and deserving characters.

Sir William Dolben.

Sir William Dolben said, that for the vote he had given on Friday last, he had been made the subject of censure and abuse, and by one of his best friends in that House he had been treated rather harshly; but still he was more inclined to think that it was rather from the ebullition of public zeal than an intent to offend him.—He had been abused also in the public prints:—In one of them there was a paragraph, which stated that Sir William Dolben had risen to speak; but having just said *hem*, he was unable to say more. This certainly was not the case; but if it had, there was more

wit

wit in the paragraph, than might be imagined; for it was a very fortunate circumstance for a man, who might be going to say something hasty and improper, to be able to choak it with a hem, and sit down. He then took notice of the praises which had always been bestowed on the noble Lord in the blue ribband; of his honour, worth, private character, integrity, from which not one man had attempted to detract, but to which so many had born testimony; and expressed his wishes that a coalition might take place between him and the principal characters on the other side of the House: the noble Lord was an able minister, though he believed that conducting a war was not his forte: but in the negotiations for peace, he was convinced he would be found to have great abilities. Sir William took an opportunity to give the opposition a rub, under the appearance of a compliment to Lord North: he said that if the noble Lord should go out of office, either in consequence of a vote of that House, or of his own accord, he would exhibit a phenomenon to the nation; that of an ex-minister giving support to government, and not endeavouring to thwart, puzzle, and perplex their measures. As to the motion, he was resolved to give it his negative.

Mr. *Powys*, who was the friend by whom Sir William Dolben said he had been harshly treated on Friday last, rose up to apologize to his friend: he then took occasion to observe, that he would say nothing to the question before the House, until he should see some gentleman as independent as the honourable member who had made the motion, rise up to oppose it. Here he was called to order by Mr. Powys

Mr. *Adam*, who with very great warmth, said he never Mr. Adam would sit silent while such discriminating insinuations were thrown out. He held a place under government it was true; but he nevertheless would have the honourable gentleman to believe, that there was not in that House a more independent member than he was. He felt that he was supporting measures which he approved; he felt that he was opposing measures that he disapproved. Mr. Adam was going on very warmly, when *Mr. Adam* in his turn, was called to order by

Sir *Fletcher Norton*, who observed, that when any gentleman called another to order, he ought to be particularly careful not to become disorderly himself: this, however, was the case with the last Speaker, or he would not have risen to interrupt him. Sir Fletcher Norton.

The  
Speaker.

The *Speaker* stated the point of order to be, that as by the rules of that House, all the members were equal, whether they represented counties or boroughs, so no distinction whatever ought to be made on account of fortune, situation, or any thing else, which might have a tendency to make a distinction, which the rules of the House did not allow.

Mr. Adam.

Mr. *Adam* expressed his satisfaction, that though his warmth might perhaps have hurried him too far, yet he was so fortunate as to be supported by the chair in the opinion that the honourable gentleman whom he had called to order, was at that time disorderly.

Mr. Powys.

Mr. *Powys* said, that if the order of the House was such as was laid down by the chair, and that all members were alike, he could not understand the meaning of bringing in place bills and contractors bills. But he could not suppose that he had rightly understood the right honourable gentleman, for such a doctrine was highly detrimental, as there would be an end to all freedom of debate. The voice of gentlemen who represented large trading counties would always, in his mind, he said, outweigh those who spoke from any motives of private interest.

The Lord  
Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* here called Mr. *Powys* to order: he said, that if the honourable Member doubted the authority of the chair, his way was not to argue upon it, but to take the sense of the House by a question.

Mr. Powys.

Mr. *Powys* rose again, and after concluding the dispute about order, made some general observations relative to the motion before the House, and wished it every success, as the only instrument by which we could be freed from the ruin that under the present administration, threatened this country.

Mr. Coke.

Mr. *Coke* said, he was surprized to see the noble Lord attempt to keep his seat, after he had found that the confidence of the House was withdrawn from him; besides, he wondered how the noble Lord could reconcile his duplicity to that House, which he had so much deceived on several occasions. He had come down and spoke of the pacific measures of our enemies at the very moment they were declaring war against us, and he had made the Sovereign from his throne utter such things as had been proved to be utterly false and groundless.

Mr. C.  
Turner.

Mr. *C. Turner* said, he would always stand up for distinction between men of real worth and character, men who were interested in the fate of their country, in preference to men

men who were only interested in the holding of their places. The members for Scotland, he said, in his opinion, ought not to sit there, for they had no qualification agreeable to the law of England; a man in Scotland needs only a pair of spurs for a qualification to become a county member. The voice of the people, he said, was against the present ministry, and therefore, they ought to be turned out. If the representatives of the people did not obey their constituents, their constituents ought to come and turn them out; and if ever Parliament was determined to act contrary to the voice of the people, the people, he hoped, would break in, and pull them off their seats.

Mr. *Holdsworth* gave a very minute description of the abuses that were carried on, to his knowledge, in our several dock-yards, and spoke highly in favour of the motion. Mr. Holdsworth.

Mr. *Gilbert* said, he was quite undetermined how he should vote; he did not believe all his Majesty's ministers were bad, but some of them undoubtedly were; he thought if there was a coalition of parties, a good Administration might be formed, that would be a means of saving this country, if it was not too far gone. He informed the House of the places he held, and what their salaries were; he had a balance in his hands, he said, but that balance he put out to interest, and brought the interest to the public account; which he thought was due, and ought always to be complied with. He sat down without declaring on which side he should vote, as he should determine by the latter part of the debate. Mr. Gilbert

Mr *John Townshend* said, that gentlemen, by assenting to the present motion, would do an essential benefit, not only to their country, but their King. The consequence would be, he said, the removal of those ministers who have reduced this country, from the highest pinnacle of glory to the meanest and most contemptible situation that can be well imagined. At a time when we should expect ministers addressing this House with penitence and contrition, for the disgrace and misery they have, through ignorance and incapacity, brought on this country, we find them still persevering in that obstinacy, and those principles which have been already so destructive to the nation, and which have almost annihilated us as a people. Can any gentleman, from his conscience, believe, that the present administration can be any longer confided in, who have so constantly and uniformly deceived this House? They had not adopted any one measure that this House believed was necessary or expedient in our circumstances Mr. John Townshend

circumstances at this time, without giving it every opposition in their power, and then when they saw their opposition was defeated, meanly submitted to the line of conduct pointed out by Parliament, which was directly contrary to the sentiments they maintained. Let ministers now pretend to what fairness or uprightness they may, we need only look into his Majesty's answer to the address of this House, dictated by his Ministers, and we there see the same evasion and duplicity which have characterised the conduct of administration in this House. There is nothing explicit or expressive of the sense of the nation conveyed in the answer to our address to the throne, we are left as much in the dark with respect to the real intentions of the Crown, as if we never had received any such answer. He said, he hoped gentlemen would to-night shew how sensibly they felt the many calamities and misfortunes which had befallen this devoted country; and that they would rescue it, if possible, from the brink of ruin, to which it was now verging with hasty strides, by removing the cause from whence all our evils had sprung.

46th Lord North spoke with considerable emotion, and under great embarrassment. The imputations which had been so lavishly thrown upon him, he conceived to be unjust, and he felt them to be personal. They accused him of jesting in that House, and of being fond of turning things into ridicule. To this he could only say, that he was not inclined to jest with serious things; but he could not consider many of the arguments that were used against him in that light. They were such as could only with propriety be answered by a jest. The honourable gentleman who spoke last had known him but for a very short space of the war; if he had known him more, perhaps, he would not have been so violent in his language. Older members of Parliament, and those who knew him better, would, he doubted not, do him the justice to say, presumption and violence were no part of his character. With regard to the heavy charges brought against him, so far was he from feeling that contrition or repentance which the honourable gentleman had been pleased to say would have become him, he did assure the House he felt the most perfect calmness of mind, because he had the best reason in the world for not being either actuated by fear of what was to follow, or filled with contrition for what was past, viz. the consciousness of having done no wrong. Had he in any speech made by him in that House, in any speech made

made by him out of doors, or in any part of his conduct, held out hopes to the Americans, that they had friends in this country, who professed themselves their advocates, and took every occasion to further their interests, in preference to the interests of Great Britain, he should then have thought he had acted in a manner that called for deep contrition and sincere repentance; for self-abasement, for humiliation, and for shame! but it had been charged to him, and he must say a few words in answer to it, that he had deluded that House, and the people, with accounts of the pacific intentions of our neighbouring enemies, at the very time when those enemies were preparing their forces against us. To this he must answer, that he and the rest of his Majesty's ministers had delivered to Parliament the assurances which they had received; and if they had been deceived, it was an error of judgment only, and not of the heart. They meant no wilful imposition upon Parliament. He had been taxed as the author of the American war, and as the conductor of it upon principles inimical to the interests and the constitution of the country. With respect to the principle and the continuance of the war, he would say now what he had alway said, that it was a truly English principle, and that, as an Englishman, he had a right, and it was his duty to maintain it, for the purpose of supremacy, if not revenue,

Having said this, and enlarged very much on his conduct through the whole of the American war, he came to the consideration of the motion before the House. — He owned, he liked it better than the motion to the same purpose which had been made the week before. On that occasion, the gentlemen on the other side of the House had acted, as they did on most occasions, they brought on a string of motions, three of which were palpable truisms, which the House could not deny, and when those were agreed to, they drew from them a conclusion which the House, after agreeing to the truisms, could not deny. The present motion did not do this. It was laid without anger, in moderate terms, and in the true way that motions of censure should always be put, without having any thing to come behind it. In order to speak to it properly, it would be necessary to answer the several parts of it separately. With regard to the first allegation, viz. that the army, navy, and ordnance, had cost an immense sum, the fact could not be denied; but at  
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the same time it was no proof of ministers having deserved that the confidence of that House should be withdrawn from them. He had, however, so often delivered his sentiments on that part of the motion, when it came under consideration in another form, and on other occasions, that he would not then take up the time of the House a moment longer upon it. With regard to the next, viz. that the American provinces had been lost, that our West-India islands had been lost, and that all our present misfortunes were owing to the fault of ministers, that he must take the liberty of denying in direct terms: nor would he agree that the American war was ascribeable to the conduct of the present administration. The American Stamp-act was repealed, and the Declaratory act passed before he was minister; he voted for them both as a private member of Parliament, but he was not answerable for them as a minister. When he came into office, the times were almost as violent as they were at present; he came in, when others had deserted the helm, and he had done his best to serve his country while in office. That the American war was just, that it was a necessary war, and a war carried on for the purpose of supporting and maintaining the rights of the British legislature, he ever would contend. "Oh, but it was then said, the noble Lord has deluded us, he has deceived us, he has led us into the war, and persuaded us to continue it by misrepresentations and false colouring of facts." What had been his misrepresentations? With regard to the declaring that we had numerous friends in America, that declaration had come from another minister, and not from him. It did not fall within the scope of his department to receive official information of that nature. Not but he believed it; he was convinced that the Minister, who had said we had numerous friends in America, had spoken upon good authority. He knew we had not only had numerous friends in America, but that we had still; at the same time, he never had thought, that those friends were sufficient in point of number, or in any point of view whatever, to warrant either our going to war, or our continuing a war, solely on their account. Another charge brought against him was, that we had no foreign alliances. Had we any more alliances at the time of his coming into office than we had at present? Undoubtedly we had not, and he should not go at all too far, if he asserted, that more pains had been taken, and more attempts made, to procure alliances, since he had been  
in

in his situation, than he found going forward when he first came into office. After going circumstantially through all the arguments that had been urged against him that day, on the score of his conduct while in office, his Lordship came at length to what had been said respecting his going out, and said, his having declared that his reason of staying in just then, was owing to no inclination of his own, but merely to a point of honour, had been exceedingly misunderstood, and very unfairly commented upon. He declared he not only wished for peace, but he wished for such a ministry to be formed as should at once give satisfaction to the country, and be likely to act with unanimity and with effect for the good of the kingdom. He would be no obstacle to a coalition of parties, for the formation and adjustment of a new administration, in which he should himself have no share. Nor was this declaration merely expressive of any new feeling; there were those who well knew, that he had for some years been ready and willing to make way for such an administration, and that it was owing to no wish of his, that he had kept his situation so long. But it had been said, "Such is the noble Lord's love of power, such is his attachment to the emoluments of his office, that he will not quit his situation." He declared to God, that no love of office, no attachment to emolument should keep him a moment in office, could he leave his situation with honour, and were not certain circumstances in the way of his going out just at that moment, which he could not farther explain. A time, however, he flattered himself would soon be at hand, when he could give an ample explanation of his conduct, and when he doubted not he should be able to satisfy every gentleman of every party, that he had done his duty, and preferred the true interests of his country to his own ease and his own quiet, in doing what he had done. In obedience to that sense of duty, neither the persuasions of those whose advice weighed much with him, nor the animadversions of others which weighed less, nor the menaces of those others which weighed least of all, should have a momentary influence on his mind. With regard to the present motion, he left it entirely to the judgment of the House to determine whether it was proper or not for them to pronounce, that ministers had merited the severe censure implied in a solemn declaration of that House, that they had withdrawn their confidence from them. — Gentlemen would, he well knew, say, ministers were the authors



time for some Ministry to be established, for a bad government was better than none; and whilst we were in the dreadful situation mentioned, he desired gentlemen would recollect the bill that was depending in that House, (navy mutiny bill) which contained such dangerous clauses, that he was fearful to speak out; but the House perfectly understood him, and he sincerely wished the bill might not be attended with the evil he foresaw it would.

He entered very fully into every argument that had been used against the motion, and made one of the best speeches we had heard for some time.

The Lord  
Advocate of  
Scotland.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* rose to speak in answer to Mr. Fox. — He took up the argument in the same manner as before, — that the House should not be so eager in turning out the present ministry, without knowing in what manner the government of this country was to be administered. A coalition of parties seemed to be the general desire of the House, and he was very ready to confess that he was of the same opinion; but was the present motion the proper way to accomplish the desire? surely not; for it went to the immediate discharge of the present ministry, and put the government into the hands of the opposition alone. Was this a coalition, or was this what the House were desirous to bring about? A coalition could only be formed by the substantial union and connection of all parties, and not by driving out one half of those who ought to compose it. He wished also to ask gentlemen if they were prepared to throw the whole of the government of this country into the hands of the opposition? Were they prepared to do this? If they were, they would vote for the present question; for to so much the present question went. But if, on the contrary, they wished for an administration made up of all the ability, all the weight, and all the interest of the empire, for such an administration as they described by the term coalition, they would then resist the present question, as tending to retard, if not totally to prevent, that desirable end. The manner in which it could be best accomplished, was by preserving the present Ministry in their places until the coalition could be formed. The noble Lord in the blue ribband had declared his readiness and desire to see such a coalition take place, and that he should not himself stand in the way of it; this then was the way which the House ought to pursue in order to accomplish their wishes. Suffer the present Ministry to remain, and frame the coalition. Turn them out, and there

there is no coalition, but the gentlemen on the other side succeed in their room. He put the case of a ship tossed in a violent storm, and asked, if the House thought the best way to secure the safety of the vessel, and bring her into port, was to throw all the crew overboard? — The present motion was exactly such a proposition; it went immediately to the removal of all the ministers without distinction, and without discrimination of any sort; therefore, as he had before said, it was directly throwing the whole of the government into the hands of the other side of the House.

Lord *John Cavendish* said, in answer to the Lord Advocate, that by agreeing to the present motion, the House by no means placed the opposition in power, and thereby prevented the coalition so ardently desired. They did no more than take the executive government from the present hands, and leave it to his Majesty to frame the new administration as his Majesty should think most proper. This was not a new practice, for, from the records of that House he could prove, that it had been often done very much to the advantage of the nation, as some of the best and greatest administrations had been formed in this manner. The noble Lord stated several instances of this sort, in which, after the nation had for years laboured under the calamity of weak and bad government, they had by a fortunate change brought about in this manner, restored themselves to credit, honour, and success. The noble Lord contended strongly for the question, as a measure which the House ought to adopt without further delay. They must do it sooner or later. It was impossible that the nation could go on in its present state. With distracted councils, and a ministry unpopular, without the confidence either of the Parliament or the people, we could not go on; something must immediately be done to restore vigour and stability to the cabinet, and confidential security, if not a peace, to the nation.

Mr. *William Pitt* made a most spirited speech. He took up in particular the argument of the Lord Advocate, and exposed, in the most forcible and pointed manner, the reasoning which he had assumed. The learned Lord had very conscientiously owned that the present Ministry had not the confidence of the people. The necessity of a coalition he had strongly enforced on the Ministry having lost the confidence of the people; and he gravely argued, that they ought to be continued in power, for the purpose of forming this new administration:

Mr W.  
Pitt.

ministration: so that the Ministry, who were generally acknowledged to be unfit for the purpose of government, were yet to be entrusted with this most important trust of forming a new administration, which was to conduct this nation from its present dreadful embarrassments to a more prosperous state.

He said, if he knew the meaning of the word coalition, it was the collecting and combining all the abilities, integrity, and judgment that were to be found, and turning the united exertions of such a coalition to the service and salvation of the country. Was that a work fit to be entrusted to the noble Lord, and to be settled by him in his closet? Surely the House would agree with him, that a proposition of that kind was a gross insult to Parliament, and ought not to be listened to for a moment. The administration of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, Mr. Pitt said, had been an administration of influence and of intrigue; he thanked God, an end was likely to be put to that administration, but he trusted the House would not contaminate their own purpose, by suffering the present ministers to manage the appointment of their successors. As little was it proper for that House to be enquiring what was the system of measures likely to be pursued by a new administration? It neither became them to settle the men that were to come in, nor to adjust or investigate the measures they were to pursue. The Crown had the undoubted right to appoint its own Ministers; it was the province of that House to watch and examine into the conduct of Ministers.

Such was the reasoning of this learned gentleman, who was willing to seize on any argument that would pass just for the day, without seeming to mind or care about its consistency or its reasonableness. The honourable gentleman spoke with considerable warmth, and begged the House to forgive the heat; he was agitated more than he had ever been before, as he could not avoid feeling for his country in the mortifying distress of being governed by men who had neither sensibility nor shame; who were as void of feeling as they were of every other valuable quality which constitutes the great statesman and the powerful minister.

Mr. Secretary  
Ellis.

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* said, that he gave the preference to this motion over those of that day se'nnight, because, on that occasion, it seemed the inclination of the other side of the House to make them adopt three needless truths, in order to trap them into a conclusion. The present was a fairer method; the motion spoke out boldly; there was no deception in it.

it: It spoke a fair, specific language; and gentlemen were called fairly to decide, whether they would, or would not wish that the present ministry should go out of place. It was a fair motion to put, but he thought it was a bad motion to be accepted. The arguments of the learned Lord had not been answered, though they had been so ably spoken to by the noble Lord and honourable gentleman. He was sincerely of opinion, that the House ought not to send his Majesty's ministers from their seats, until this much-desired coalition was formed; for by their going out before this was done, they would leave the affairs of the public in confusion.

General *Ross* delivered his sentiments at large, and con- Gen. Ross.  
tended strongly for the motion proposed, as the only means by which they could restore that harmony and union to the administration, which was so necessary to the successful conduct of our measures against the enemy.

Sir *Watkin Lewes* spoke also in favour of the motion. Sir Watkin  
Lewes.

Sir *Edward Deering* concluded the debate in a short speech, Sir Edward  
Deering.  
in which he spoke of his own independence, and of his regard for his Majesty's ministers.

The House now divided on the question; Ayes, 227; —  
noes, 236; — Majority 9.

When the minority were in the Lobby.

Mr. *Fox* said, that upon consulting with the gentlemen Mr. Fox.  
near him, it was thought right that a motion to the same effect on Wednesday next should be proposed.

*An authentic List of both Minority and Majority on the above Motion.*

*For the Motion,*

*Against the Motion.*

*Bedfordshire.*

Earl of Upper Ossory	—	County
Hon. Sr. And. St. John	—	Ditto
Sir William Wake	— —	Bedford
S. Whitbread		Ditto

*Berks.*

John Elwes	— — —	County
W. H. Hartley	— —	Ditto
Francis Annesley	— —	Reading

*For*

*For the Motion.**Against the Motion.*

Hon. J. Montagu — —	Abingdon — —	J. Mayor
John Aubrey — —	Windsor — —	Pen. Porlock Powney
Chaloner Arcedeckne —	Wallingford	
	Ditto	

*Bucks.*

Earl Verney — — —	County	
Thomas Grenville — —	Ditto	
James Grenville — —	Buckingham	
William Grenville — —	Ditto	
Viscount Mahon — —	Wycomb — —	Robert Waller
	Aylesbury — —	Anthony Bacon
	Ditto — — —	Thomas Ord
	Marlow — —	W. Clayton.
Richard Smith — —	Wendover	
J. M. Smith — —	Ditto	
Wm. Drake, sen. — —	Agmondesham	

*Cambridgeshire.*

Hon. John Townshend —	Univerfity — —	James Mansfield
Benjamin Keene — —	Cambridge	
J. W. Adeane — —	Ditto	

*Cheshire.*

J. Crewe — — —	County	
Sir R. Cotton — — —	Ditto	

*Cornwall.*

Sir William Lemon, Bart.	County	
Ed. Eliot — — —	Ditto	
	Launceston — — —	Hon. C. G. Percival
	Ditto — — —	T. Boulby
Samuel Salt — — —	Liskeard	
Hon. W. Tollemache	Ditto	
	Leftwithiel — — —	Lord Viscount Mal
	Ditto — — —	Geo. Johnstone.
	Truro — — —	Bamber Gascoyne
	Ditto — — —	Henry Rosewarne
George Hunt — — —	Bodmyn — — —	William Masterman
	Helston — — —	Lord Hyde
	Ditto	Richard Barwell
	Saltaſh	Sir Grey Cooper
	Ditto — — —	Right Hon. C. Jenkinson
	Eastloo — — —	J. Buller
	Ditto — — —	W. Graves
	Westloo — — —	Sir William James
Sir John Ramsden — — —	Grampound	

*For the Motion**Against the Motion*

Thomas Lucas ———	Ditto	J. Pardoe
	Camelford ———	James M'Pherson
	Ditto ———	Sir Francis Basset
	Penryn ———	J. Rogers
	Ditto ———	J. Stephenson
	Tregony ———	Hon. C. Stuart
	Bofiney ———	William Praed
	St. Ives ———	Abel Smith
	Ditto ———	Philip Rathleigh
	Fowey ———	Lord Shuldham
	Ditto ———	
Edward J. Eliot ———	St. Germain's	
Dudley Long ———	Ditto	
	St. Michael ———	Hon. Wm. Hanger
	Ditto ———	Francis Hale
	Newport ———	Sir J. Coghill
	St. Mawes ———	Hugh Boscawen
	Callington ———	George Stratton
	Ditto ———	J. Morhead

*Cumberland.*

Henry Fletcher —	County
Earl of Surrey —	Carlisle
William Lowther ———	Ditto
John Lowther ———	Cockermouth
J. B. Garforth ———	Ditto

*Derbyshire.*

Lord George Cavendish	County	Hon. Nat. Curzon
Lord G. H. Cavendish	Derby	
Edward Coke ———	Ditto	

*Devonshire.*

John Parker	County	
John Rolle ———	Ditto	
Robert Palke ———	Ashburton ———	Charles Boone
	Tiverton ———	Sir J. Duntze
Lord Viscount Howe —	Dartmouth	
Art. Holdsworth ———	Ditto	
Humph. Minchin ———	Oakhampton	
Sir George Yonge, Bart.	Honiton	
J. Wilkinson ———	Ditto.	
	Plymouth ———	Sir F. L. Rogers
	Ditto ———	George Darby
	Beerallston ———	Lord Fielding
	Ditto	Lawrence Coxe

*For the Motion**Against the Motion*

	Plympton ———	Sir R. Payne
	Ditto	Hon. J. Stuart
	Totness ———	Lan. Browne
	Barnstaple ———	Francis Basset
Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Tavistock ———	Rt. Hon. Richard Rigby
Sir Charles W. Bamfylde	Exeter	
J. Baring — — —	Ditto	

*Dorsetshire.*

Hump. Sturt ——— ———	County ———	Hon. G. Pitt
	Dorchester ———	William Ewer
	Lyme Regis ———	Hon. Henry Fane
	Ditto ———	D. R. Mitchell
	Weymouth, &c. ———	Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis
	Ditto ———	Gabriel Steward
	Ditto ———	Wm. Rd. Rumbold
Thomas Scott ——— ———	Bridport	
Richard Beckford ———	Ditto	
H. W. Mortimer ———	Shaftesbury	Sir Francis Sykes
Thomas Farrer ———	Wareham ———	J. Boyd.
Henry Bankes ——— ———	Corfe Castle ———	J. Bond
W. Morton Pitt ———	Poole — — —	Joseph Gulston

*Durham.*

	County ——— ———	Sir Thomas Clavering
John Tempest ——— ———	Durham	
J. Lambton ——— ———	Ditto	

*Eber.*

Sir G. Savile ——— ———	County	
Henry Duncombe ———	Ditto	
Sir Samuel Fludyer ———	Aldborough ———	Charles Mellish
Sir James Pennyman ———	Beverley	
Evelyn Anderson ———	Ditto	
	Heydon ——— ———	Christopher Atkinson
Lord Viscount Duncannon	Knareborough	
James Hare ——— ———	Ditto	
William Weddell ———	Malton	
Edmund Burke ——— ———	Ditto	
Henry Peirse — — —	Northallerton ———	Edw. Lascelles
William Nedham — — —	Pontefract — — —	Lord Viscount Galway
Hon. G. Fitzwilliam ———	Richmond — — —	Marquis of Graham
William Lawrence — — —	Rippen ———	Hon. Frederick Robinson
Earl Tyrconnell ——— ———	Scarborough	Hon. C. Phipps
Sir T. Gascoigne ——— ———	Thirsk	
Lord John Cavendish ———	York	

*For*

*For the Motion.**Against the Motion.*

Sir Charles Turner ——— York  
 William Wilberforce ——— Hull

*Essex.*

J. Luther — — —	County — — —	T. B. Bramston
Sir Robert Smyth ———	Colchester	
	Malden — — —	J. Strutt
	Ditto	Eliab Harvey
	Harwich — — —	Hon. G. A. North

*Gloucestershire.*

Sir William Guise — — —	County	James Dutton
Sir William Codrington	Tewkesbury	
James Martin — — —	Ditto	
	Cirencester ———	Samuel Blackwell
	Ditto — — —	James Whithead
Charles Barrow — — —	Gloucester	
J. Webb ——— ———	Ditto	

*Herefordshire.*

Sir G. Cornwall — — —	County ——— —	Right Hon. T. Harley
J. Scudamore — — —	Hereford — — —	Sir Richard Symonds
Richard Payne Knight —	Leominster — — —	Lord Viscount Bateman
	Weobly — — —	J. St. Leger Douglas
	Ditto	Andw. Bayntun

*Hertfordshire.*

William Plumer — — —	County
T. Hailey	Ditto
William Baker — — —	Hertford
Baron Dimsdale — — —	Ditto
J. Radcliffe — — —	St. Albans
W. C. Sloper, — — —	Ditto

*Huntingdonshire.*

Earl Ludlow — — —	County — — —	Lord Vis. Hitchingbrook
	Huntingdon — — —	Lord Mulgrave
	Ditto — — —	Sir H. Palliser

*Kent.*

Hon. Charles Marham	County	
Filmer Honeywood — —	Ditto	
Robert Gregory — — —	Rocheſter — — —	
	Queenborough — —	
	Ditto — — —	
Sir Horace Mann — — —	Maidſtone	
Element Taylor ———	Ditto	
		G. F. Hatton
		Sir Walter Rawlinſon
		Sir Charles Frederick



*For the Motion.**Against the Motion.*

Charles Robinson — — Canterbury  
George Gipps — — Ditto

*Lancashire.*

Thomas Stanley ———	County — —	Sir T. Egerton
Wilson Braddyll ———	Lancaster — —	
Abraham Rawlinson	Ditto	
J. Burgoyne ———	Preston ———	Sir H. Houghton
	Liverpool ———	Bamber Gascoyne, jun.
Hon. H. Walpole ———	Wigan	
T. Lister ———	Clithero	
J. Parker ———	Ditto	

*Leicestershire.*

J. P. Hungerford County ———  
William Rochin Ditto

*Lincolnshire.*

Charles Anderson Pelham	County	
Sir J. Thorold — —	Ditto	
	Stamford — —	Sir George Howard
	Ditto ———	H. Cecil
George Sutton — —	Grantham — —	F. Cockayne Esq
	Boston — —	Humphrey Sibthorpe
J. Harrison ———	Grimby — —	Francis Eyre
Sir T. Clarges — —	Lincoln — —	Robert Vyner

*Middlesex.*

J. Wilkes ——— County  
Hon. Charles J. Fox Westminster  
Frederick Bull — — London  
J. Sawbridge — — Ditto  
Nathaniel Newnham — Ditto  
Sir Watkin Lewes — — Ditto

*Monmouthshire.*

J. Hanbury ——— County J. Morgan  
Monmouth — — Sir T. Stepney

*Norfolk.*

Sir Edward Afley — —	County	
T. W. Coke — —	Ditto	
Crisp. Molineux — —	Lynn	
Hon. Richard Walpole —	Yarmouth — —	Rt. Hon. Ch. Townshend
Richard Hopkins — —	Thetford	
	Castle-rising	Robert Mackreth
	Ditto — —	J. Chet. Talbot
Sir Harbord Harbord —	Norwich	

*For the Motion.**Against the Motion.**Northamptonshire.*

Lucy Knightley	—	—	County
Thomas Powys	—	—	Ditto
Richard Benyon	—	—	Peterborough
James Phipps	—	—	Ditto
			Brackley
Lord Viscount Althorpe			Northampton
Frederick Montagu	—	—	Higham Ferrers

Timothy Caswell.  
George Rodney

*Northumberland.*

Sir William Middleton			County
			Morpeth
			Ditto
Sir M. W. Ridley	—		Newcastle
			Berwick
			Ditto

Peter Delme  
Anthony Storer  
A. R. Bowes  
Sir John Hussey Delaval  
Hon. J. Vaughan

*Nottinghamshire.*

Lord Edward Bentinck			County
Charles Meadows	—	—	Ditto
			Retford
Lord George Sutton	—		Newark
Robert Smith	—	—	Nottingham

Wharton Amcotts

*Oxon.*

			County
			University
			Ditto
Lord Robert Spencer	—		Oxford
Hon. Per. Bertie			Ditto
			Woodstock
			Banbury

Lord Charles Spencer  
Sir William Dolben  
Francis Page

Lord Parker  
Lord North

*Rutlandshire.*

County	—	—
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G. B. Brudenell

*Shropshire.*

Richard Hill	—	—	County
William Pulteney			Shrewsbury
Mr Charlton Leighton			Ditto
			Ludlow
			Ditto
Thomas Whitmore	—		Bridgenorth
Hugh Pigot	—	—	Ditto
			Bishops Castle
			Ditto

Lord Clive  
Frederick Cornwall

Henry Strachey  
William Clive

*For*

*For the Motion.**Against the Motion.**Somersetshire.*

Sir J. Trevelyan	County	J. Haliday
	Taunton	Per. Cust
	Ilchester	Samuel Smith
	Ditto	J. Townson
J. Pennington	Milborn Port	
Clement Tudway	Wells	
Robert Child	Ditto	
	Bridgewater	Hon. Anne Poulett
Hon. J. Jeff. Pratt	Bath	Abel Moysey
	Minehead	F. Fownes Luttrell
	Bristol	Mat. Brickdale
	Ditto	G. Daubeney

*Southampton County.*

Robert Thistlethwayte	County	
Jer. Clarke Jervoise	Ditto	
	Winchester	H. Penton
	Ditto	Lovel Stanhope
	Newport	Sir Richard Worsley
	Ditto	Hon. J. St. John
Edward Morant	Yarmouth	Sir Thomas Rumbold
J. Barrington	Newtown	Edward M. Worsley
	Limington	Edward Gibbon
	Christchurch	J. Frederick
Sir J. Griffin Griffin	Andover	Benjamin Lethuillier
Lord Viscount Middleton	Whitchurch	
Right Hon. T. Townshend	Ditto	
	Petersfield	William Jolliffe
	Ditto	T. S. Jolliffe
	Southampton	John Fuller
	Ditto	Hans Sloane

*Staffordshire.*

Sir J. Wrottesley	County	Lord Viscount Lewisham
Hon. E. Monckton	Stafford	
R. B. Sheridan	Ditto	
	Tamworth	J. Courtenay
	Ditto	J. Calvert
	Newcastle	Arch. M'Donald
George Anson	Litchfield	T. Gilbert

*Suffolk.*

Sir T. G. Bunbury	County
Sir J. Rous	Ditto

*For*

*For the Motion**Against the Motion*

T. Staunton — —  
Sir G. W. Vanneck — —

Ipswich  
Dunwich  
Orford — —  
Ditto — —  
Aldeburgh — —  
Ditto — —  
Sudbury — —  
Eye — —  
Ditto — —  
Bury — —  
Ditto — —

Barne Barne  
Lord Vis. Beauchamp  
Hon. R. S. Conway  
Martin Fonnereau  
Ph. Cham. Crespigny  
Sir James Marriot  
Rd. Phillipson  
A. J. Skelton

Sir C. Davers — —  
Rt. Hon. H. S. Conway

*Surrey.*

Hon. Augustus Keppel — —  
Sir Joseph Mawbey — —

County  
Ditto  
Gatton — —  
Ditto — —  
Haslemere  
Ditto  
Bletchingly — —  
Rygate — —  
Guildford — —  
Southwark  
Ditto

Lord Newhaven  
R. Mayne

Edward Norton — —  
W. Spencer Stanhope  
Sir Robert Clayton — —

J. Kendrick  
Hon. J. Yorke  
George Onslow

Rt. Hon. Sir F. Norton  
Sir Richard Hotham — —  
Jathaniel Polhill

*Suffex.*

Lord George Lenox — —  
Hon. H. F. Stanhope — —

County  
Horsham — —  
Ditto — —  
Bramber  
Shoreham — —  
Ditto — —  
Midhurst — —  
Ditto — —  
East Grinstead — —  
Ditto — —

Hon. T. Pelham  
James Wallace  
Sir G. Osborne

T. G. Skipwith — —  
Thomas Kemp — —  
Hon. Percy Wyndham — —  
Thomas Steele — —

Steyning  
Arundel — —  
Lewes — —  
Chichester  
Ditto

Sir C. Bishop  
J. Peachey  
Sir Samson Gideon  
Henry Drummond  
Sir. J. Irwin  
H. A. Herbert

Thomas Fitzherbert  
Hon Hen. Pelham

*Warwickshire.*

Robert Lawley — —  
G. Shuckburgh — —

County  
Ditto

*Per*

*For the Motion*

Robert Ladbroke ———

Warwick — —

Coventry — —

Ditto ———

*Against the Motion*

Hon. C. Greville

Lord Sheffield

Edward Roe Yeo

*Westmorland.*

Sir Mic. Le Fleming — County —

James Lowther ——— Ditto —

Phil. Honeywood ——— Appleby —

Hon. W. Pitt — — Ditto

*Wills.*

C. Penruddock ——— County

Ambrose Goddard — — Ditto

William Hufley — — Salisbury

Hon. W. H. Bouverie — Ditto

Devizes ———

Ditto ———

Marlborough ———

Sir J. T. Long

Henry Jones

Earl of Courtown

Giles Hudson

Henry Dawkins — — Chippenham

John Dunning ——— Calne

Right Hon. J. Barré — Ditto

Malmesbury ———

Ditto ———

Hindon ———

Lord Viscount Fairford

J. Calvert, jun.

Nat. W. Wrexall

T. Pitt ——— Old Sarum

P. Wilkinfon — — Ditto

W. P. A'Court — — Heytesbury ———

Samuel Estwick ——— Westbury

J. Whalley Gardiner — Ditto

Wootton Bassett — —

Ditto ———

Luggershall ———

Hon. H. St. John

William Strahan

G. Aug. Selwyn

Lord Herbert ——— Wilton

Downton ———

Ditto — —

Bedwin — —

Hon. H. S. Conway

Robert Shaftoe

Paul Cob. Methuen

*Worcestershire.*

Hon. Edward Foley — County

Sir J. Rushout ——— Evesham

C. W. Boughton Rouse — Ditto

Hon. A. Foley ——— Droitwich

Edward Winnington — Ditto

T. Bates Rous ——— Worcester ———

Bewdly ———

Hon. Wm. Ward

Lord Westcote

C. 1782

*For the Motion**Against the Motion**Cinque Ports.*

John Trevannion	—	Hastings	—	Lord Vis. Palmerston
		Ditto	—	J. Ord
		Sandwich	—	Philip Stephens
		Ditto	—	Sir R. Sutton
		Dover	—	Sir J. Henniker
		Romney	—	Sir Edward Deering
		Hythe	—	Sir Charles Farnaby
J. Nesbit	—	Rye	—	W. Dickenson
		Ditto	—	Hon. T. Onslow
		Winchelsea	—	
		Seaford	—	J. Durand

*Wales.*

Lord Viscount Bulkeley	—	Anglesea		
Sir George Warren	—	Beaumarris		
		Breconshire	—	Charles Morgan
		Brecon	—	Sir C. Gould
		Cardiganshire	—	Lord Lisburn
J. Vaughan	—	Cardigan	—	J. Campbell
		Caermarthenshire		
		Carmarthen	—	George Phillips
J. Parry	—	Carnarvonshire		
		Carnarvon	—	Glynn Wynne
Sir W. W. Wynne	—	Denbighshire		
Sir Roger Mostyn	—	Flintshire		
Vatkin Williams	—	Flint		
L. Vaughan	—	Merionethshire		
V. Mostyn Owen	—	Montgomeryshire		
		Montgomery	—	Whitshed Keene
		Pembroke	—	Hugh Owen
		Haverfordwest	—	Lord Kensington
		Radnor	—	Edward Lewis

*Scotland.*

Alexander Garden	—	Aberdeenshire		
		Kintore, &c.	—	Staates Long Morris
		Ayrshire	—	Sir Adam Ferguson
		Irvine, &c.		Sir A. Edmonstone
		Argyleshire	—	Lord F. Campbell
Cl of Fife	—	Banffshire		
		Berwickshire	—	Hugh Scott
		Lauder, &c.	—	Francis Charteris
Charles Ross		Wick, &c.		

	Glasgow, &c. —	J. Crawford
	Dumfriesshire —	Sir R. Laurie
	Dumfries, &c. —	Sir R. Herries
	Edinburghshire —	Right Hon. H. Dundas
	Edinburgh	James Hunter Blair
	Fifehire —	Robert Skene
	Kircaldie, &c. —	Sir J. Henderson
	Anstruther, &c. —	Sir J. Anstruther
	Aberbrothick, &c.	Adam Drummond
	Haddingtonshire —	Hugh Dalrymple
	Kincardineshire —	Lord A. Gordon
	Kircudbrightshire —	P. Johnstone
	Kinrosshire —	Geo. Graham
	Lanerkshire —	Andrew Stuart
	Linlithgowshire —	Sir W. A. Cunninghame
	Cromartyshire —	George Ross
	Peebleshire —	Alexander Murray
	Culross, &c. —	James Campell
	Perthshire —	Hon. J. Murray
J. Shaw Stewart —	Renfrewshire	
Sir G. Elliott —	Roxburghshire	
	Selkirkshire —	J. Pringle
	Selkirk, &c. —	Sir J. Cockburn
Sir T. Dundas —	Sirilingshire	
	Sutherlandshire —	Hon. J. Wemyss
227	Wigtownshire —	Hon. K. Stewart 236

## TELLERS.

Lord Viscount Maitland	Newport, Cornwall	
G. Byng — —	Middlesex	
	Harwich —	J. Robinson
	Stranrawre, &c.	W. Adam

*The following Noblemen and Gentlemen paired off:*

Richard W. Bootle	Chester,	with T. Grosvenor, Chester,
Sir Ph. I. Clerke	Totness,	with Earl Nugent, St. Mawes.
Beilby Thompson	Thirke,	with T. Johns, Radnorshire.
Rt. Hon. W. G. Hamilton	Wilton,	with J. W. Egerton, Brackley.
William Lygon	Worcestershire,	with William Chaytor, Heydon,
Pet. William Baker	Arundel,	with J. Purling Weymouth.
C. Dundas	Orkneys,	with Sir J. Eden, Durham county.

*Mar.*



March 18.

A bill was brought in, and read once, for imposing a tax on all goods carried by coasting vessels.

Sir *Edward Afley* gave it as his opinion, that this tax must be the ruin of the farmers; for the price of corn was already so low, that, whatever should throw difficulties in its progress to market, must necessarily operate against the farmers, who were already so greatly distressed. He said that frizeurs, and not the poor industrious farmers ought to have been the objects of the noble Lord's taxes. Sir Edward Afley.

Lord *North* replied, that he had no objection to have the propriety or expediency of the tax fully discussed; and therefore he would not hurry either the present bill, or any of the tax-bills through the House. As to a tax on frizeurs, he could have no personal objection to it, as he never employed one. He thought, that perhaps to make people of that description take out a licence, might produce something considerable: he had them in view, when he laid a tax last year on powder; but if the honourable member would give himself the trouble to reflect for a moment, he would find, that whether the powder or the friseur was taxed, the weight would ultimately fall on the frizee. Lord North.

The mutiny-bill was then reported, and Lord *Beauchamp* observed, that as Ireland had for very wise reasons thought proper to have her army regulated by an act of her own legislature, it would be unnecessary to have the word Ireland stand part of the present bill; and therefore he moved to have it left out. With respect to the marines, though the Irish mutiny-act made no mention of them, still by the law of Ireland, they would be liable to punishment there, if they should desert; for by an act of Henry VI. which by Poyning's act, was made law in Ireland, deserters were to be deemed felons, and punished accordingly. Lord Beauchamp.

Sir *George Yonge* said, he did not rise to oppose the noble Lord's motion, because he knew every opposition to it would prove ineffectual; he rose, therefore, only to say, that this was the only thing wanting to complete the disgrace of this country; as it was clearly the forerunner of a total renunciation of all jurisdiction of this country over Ireland. Sir George Yonge.

The motion passed without any opposition.

Mr. *Fox* requested the gentlemen would not forget, that on Wednesday a motion would be made of the same nature with that which had been agitated on Friday last. Mr. Fox.

March 19.

Mr. Burke's bill for the better exchanging of prisoners of war, was read a third time, and passed.

General  
Burgoyne.

General *Burgoyne* took an opportunity, on the third reading, to remark to the House, that in consequence of the treatment he had experienced from Ministers, while he was a prisoner of war, he had moved for the correspondence between his Majesty's Ministers, and the commander in chief in America, relative to the exchange of Lieutenant-General *Burgoyne*. That correspondence was now before the House: but though it had been his original intention to ground upon it a resolution, which he would have followed with a bill; he had dropped that intention, since the present bill had been introduced; because it would answer all the ends he had in view. The present bill would put it out of the power of Ministers to shew preference or partiality in favour of any officer, or prejudice against him in the exchange of prisoners. He might now deliver himself freely on this subject, without being thought interested in it; for he was no longer a prisoner, as he had been officially informed by a certificate, that he was exchanged; but still he rejoiced at the passing of a bill which would in future screen other officers from such treatment as he had met with; and that he had experienced ill-treatment, he appealed to the correspondence on the table, the perusal of which would convince any man of the truth of this assertion.

A bill for extending to the half-hundred of East Brixton, in the county of Surrey, the jurisdiction of the steward's court of the borough of Southwark, for the recovery of small debts, was read a second time. It was opposed by Sir Joseph Mawbey, who called the bill the child of the learned judge of that court, meaning Mr. Bamber Gascoyne, who is steward of the borough of Southwark. Mr. Gascoyne retorted very sharply upon the honourable Baronet whom he did not affect to treat with the most profound respect in the world: he declared upon his honour, that he was not the father, framer, promoter, or supporter of the bill; he had merely promised not to oppose it. Mr. Polhill, Sir Richard Hotham, and Admiral Keppel, spoke also; as did Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, who wished that the bill might not be prevented from going to a committee. Accordingly when the question was put, that it be committed, it was carried without a division.

Mr.

Mr. Fox (on the second reading of the contractors bill) Mr. Fox observed to the House, that he was rejoiced at seeing that a new spirit of government seemed to be rising in the country; when corruption would be banished from the senate, and when those who should have the management of public affairs might safely trust to the merits of their measures, for support, without having recourse to the detestable system of corruption to obtain it. In this confidence, he had two propositions to make: the bill stated, that no contractor should sit in that House, who should not have made his contract in consequence of a public advertisement. Now, as he knew, that, though a contract should have been advertised, it might, nevertheless, be given to a favourite person; he would therefore move, that the exception in the bill should cease, and that no contractor whatsoever should have a seat in Parliament. The next proposition was, that all those who actually had contracts, should not sit in the House; for as the bill then stood, it had no retrospect; it only went to exclude those who should take contracts in future: but as many of the contracts now subsisting, were not for any specified period, the bill might pass, without affording any hope that one of the present contractors would be excluded from Parliament — He intended to move in the committee a clause for giving the bill a retro-operation; but with respect to the distinction made by the bill between public contracts and private contracts, he could not move a clause to that effect in the committee, because as the very title of the bill made the exception, the committee could not receive a clause that would militate against that title, without having been first authorized by the House so to do: he therefore moved, that it be given in instruction to the committee to receive such a clause. This motion passed without opposition; and the House having then resolved itself into a committee on the bill, Mr. Fox moved his two clauses, which were admitted without opposition. The committee then went through the bill; after which

Mr. Whitbread rose, and said, he was a hearty friend to the bill, and had been so to former bills for the same purpose; but as it was only intended to prevent contractors sitting in Parliament, it went to but one of the evils which flowed from a most corrupt fountain. Before the business came on, he had hinted to an honourable member (Mr. Fox) that he could suggest an expedient, which, from his experience in trade,

trade, he thought might easily be put in force, and which, he imagined, would stop the atrocious crimes and robberies committed in the expenditure of the public money. He observed, that this was a time for opposition to shew their sincerity; it was beyond a doubt that there would be a change of men, and those coming in, he hoped, would adhere to their opposition principles, and not govern by influence and corruption; they had by their many professions of integrity, raised the expectations of the public, and if they should deceive them, they must be held infamous; they now would, he said, be put to the test, whether they would act like honest men or not.

He reminded the committee that the people had most earnestly petitioned Parliament amongst other things for œconomy in the public expenditure; he was sure, he said, that the nation had lost millions by exorbitant contracts and wasteful bargains, and instead of persons in office doing their duty, it was almost become general to neglect it, and make the most for themselves. Many contracts were, he declared, so lucrative, that several thousands might be given for them and a great profit remain. He did not charge the noble Lord who presided at the Treasury, with ever receiving one penny of such money; he believed he never did; but who disposed of such business in the Treasury, was very well known, and it was also well known who was favoured with the contracts. That the whole plan of the Treasury, Admiralty, Navy, Victualling, and Ordnance, was conducted alike on the same corrupt system, was a fact not to be disputed; but the mere exclusion of contractors from that House, he was persuaded, would not prevent the corruption. Did opposition wish for the confidence of the people to serve their King faithfully, and to save the nation, which was on the brink of ruin they would, he said, by some effectual means prevent the suspicions falling on them of their partaking of those enormous sums.

He said, that he had lately had an opportunity of viewing the conduct of the Victualling-Office for two or three years past, and had a few days since moved for a committee on that office, which was now sitting, and he hoped might render some use to the public: but as all those Boards were so fortified by the tricks of office and the investment of great authority, he was clear that nothing but the power of Parliament, could strike at the root of the evil; he therefore humbly submitted an idea of his own, that as the public raised the money, and were grievously taxed for the interest, he  
thought

thought they ought to have the disposal of the money, and that their representatives in Parliament, should, if possible, effect such an alteration. He was inclined to believe, they might easily do so, by bringing in a bill to appoint three or more commissioners for the public expenditure in time of war, to purchase all that was wanted, and take that business entirely from the several Boards that now conducted it. He was aware it might be objected, that if these commissioners were chosen by Parliament, the ministry might be said to choose them. The answer to which was, the opposition might become the ministry, and the objection was removed: he farther observed, that such commissioners business might be made public—they might be easily criminated, if liable—be rendered very accessible, and not protected by the formidable power of office. He added, that we had already experience of the commissioners of accounts, who had done their business in a most exemplary manner, worthy of all commendation, and shewed most clearly what steps ought to be taken by Parliament toward saving the public money; but as yet, he remarked, nothing had been seriously attempted.

*March 20.*

*Intimation of the Change of Ministry.*

Since the beginning of the session, or perhaps during the present reign, there never were so many members in the House, as appeared there this day; and the crowds of spectators were in proportion greater than usual. At a quarter after four o'clock, when the House was ready to enter upon the great business of the day, and the Speaker had called to gentlemen to take their places, Lord Surrey, the member who was to have made the motion, stood up: and just at the same moment Lord North got upon his legs: and each noble Lord seemed determined not to give way to the other: this created a great deal of confusion, one side of the House crying out loudly for Lord Surrey to speak first; the other side as loudly crying out Lord North. At last.

Mr. *Baker* rose to speak to order. He thought it indecent in the noble Lord in the blue ribband to rise at a time, when he knew the noble Earl had a motion of the greatest importance to submit to the House. Mr. Baker.

Lord *North* said that it was not through disrespect for the noble Lord that he had risen; but merely to save him the trouble

trouble of making, and the House that of discussing a question, which at present he might say was become totally unnecessary.

**Mr. Baker.** Mr. *Baker* called the noble Lord again to order: he said that he had no right to know of what nature or complexion the motion was, or would be, which his noble friend had not yet made; and that therefore it was highly unparliamentary in the noble Lord to say that it was become totally unnecessary.

**Lord North** Lord *North* insisted, that it was not disorderly in him to suppose he knew, or to say he knew, what was the substance of the motion, which the noble Lord was then going to make; for it had been publicly announced to the House some days ago by an honourable member (Mr. Fox) that a motion would be made on this day, similar to that which had been rejected on Friday last: and therefore, having all the information which he could derive from such a notice, it was perfectly competent for him to rise, if he pleased, to move to adjourn, in order to prevent the discussion of a question, which he no longer thought necessary. His reason for thinking it was no longer necessary was, that as the object of the motion was to remove his Majesty's ministers, he could take upon him to say, *that his Majesty's ministers were no more*; and therefore the object being already attained, the means by which gentlemen had intended to obtain it, could no longer be necessary.

**Mr. Hopkins.** The other side of the House called out for Lord Surrey! Lord Surrey! accompanied with the words "no adjournment! no adjournment." Mr. *Hopkins* obtained a hearing, and said, though he was ready to admit the noble Lord in the blue ribband had not been out of order before, he had been most thoroughly out of order in what he had then said. The noble Lord had no right to presume what was the tendency of any motion intended to be made, before it was made; every syllable, therefore, that he had said relative to the motion to be expected from the noble Lord near him, was clearly out of order.

A clamour prevailed here, in consequence of an infinite number of members of both sides the House rising to speak at once, but Mr. Pitt obtained the preference after Lord North had said, I did not put a question of adjournment, I merely informed the House, what I meant to have done, had I been heard when I first rose; to which Sir Fletcher Norton assented.

Mr.



Mr. *W. Pitt* then said, he was sorry to see, that the noble Mr. W. Pitt. Lord in the blue-ribbon had attempted to excite the attention of the House, before a matter of such universal expectation as the motion, which it was known for some days past could be made by the noble Lord near him, was heard, and more so that this had given rise to so much heat, eagerness, and disorder. He should have conceived the regular mode for the noble Lord in the blue ribbon to have proceeded, would have been to have waited till the other noble Lord had made his motion, and then, if he had thought it right or proper, to have moved his question of adjournment upon that, to state, in his speech, his reasons for urging such adjournment. By so doing, the House would have seen their way clearly and distinctly, and would have been able to have formed a judgment suited to the occasion, without shewing any of that heat and eagerness, which was in no case proper, but least of all in a moment like the present.

Mr. *Fox* finding that the House was in very great confusion Mr. Fox. on, thought that the best way to produce order was by moving, that Lord Surrey be heard to make his motion; and thought this the more necessary, as the House could not place any confidence in the word of the minister; and therefore, ought not to believe upon that word, that the King's ministers were no more; the House ought to take care, and had it in its power effectually to take care, that the ministers should be no more; a vote of that House would suffice; and while they had it in their power to pass such a vote, they ought not to omit it. He therefore concluded with moving, "That the Earl of Surrey do now speak." This motion he read from the chair,

Lord *North* rose, and said, that he had now a right to speak Lord North the question. The noble Lord began with declaring, that he had been extremely surprised to hear from an honourable gentleman who spoke last but one, that what he had risen to, should have occasioned so much heat and disorder. Nor was he less surprised at being told, that he knew not the purport of the noble Lord's intended motion, and that it was impossible for him to have known it, till it had been regularly made. Did gentlemen recollect that the House had been expressly informed, when notice was given of that motion, that it was a motion somewhat differing in point of form, but essentially the same in substance, as the motion of Friday last, the motion of Friday se'nnight? Would any gentleman assert, that the tendency of the motion was a secret? Would

any gentleman go so far as to say, that it was not a motion, the object of which was a vote of the House, expressing it to be the desire of Parliament; that his Majesty's ministers should be removed? Did he stand liable to contradiction, when he declared, that he conceived such to be the object of the intended motion, that he did not imagine he stood alone in the knowledge, that such was its object? Such then being the case, where was the impropriety, where was the irregularity, where was the error in his rising to say, that the object of the motion was already accomplished; and that no debate was necessary? Nor could he imagine, that what he was about to have said, (had it been agreeable to the House to have suffered him to go on) would, by any means, have occasioned either heat, or eagerness, or disorder as the honourable gentleman had been pleased to say it would have done. It would be very extraordinary, indeed, to hold, as an argument, that a declaration of the business being already done, which it was the object of the motion of the day to effect, would give rise to heat, to eagerness, or to disorder? The House would remember, that in the debates which had taken place repeatedly within those walls, in the course of the past three weeks, it had been again and again declared, that the country was in a state of distraction and confusion, that there was no administration, that every thing was at a stand, and that he was the obstacle to good government and good order being restored. He had come down that day, therefore, to assure the House, that he was no longer the obstacle he had been described to be. His Lordship said, he would not mention names, but he could with authority assure the House, that he was no longer the obstacle he had been described to be. His Lordship said, he would not mention names, but he could with authority assure the House, that his Majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers. This intelligence he had conceived, would have been sufficient to have induced the House to be of opinion, that it would be altogether unnecessary to debate a question, which had for its object a removal already effected; and with that view it was, that he had offered himself so early to the notice of the chair. He could pledge himself to that House that his Majesty's ministry was at an end. Before, however, he took leave of his situation entirely, he felt himself bound to return his most grateful thanks to the House for the very kind, the repeated, and the essential support, he had for so many years received from the Commons of England, during his holding a situa-  
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tion, to which he must confess he had at all times been unequal. And it was, he said, the more incumbent on him to return his thanks in that place, because it was that House which made him what he had been. His conduct within those walls had first made him known, and it had been in consequence of the part he had taken in that House, that he became recommended to his Sovereign. He thanked the House therefore for their partiality to him, on all, and—he would use the phrase—for their forbearance on many occasions. Certainly he could not be pleased at their not thinking him any longer worthy of the confidence of Parliament, nor for their wishing to vote his removal, but their general support of him, through a service of many years continuance, claimed his fullest acknowledgments and his warmest gratitude; and he ever should hold it in his memory as the chief honour of his life, to have been so supported. A successor of greater abilities, of better judgment, and more qualified for his situation was easy to be found; a successor more zealous for the interests of his country, more anxious to promote those interests, more loyal to his Sovereign, and more desirous of preserving the constitution whole and entire, he might be allowed to say, could not so easily be found. The Crown had resolved to choose new ministers, and he hoped to God, whoever those ministers were, they would take such measures as should tend effectually to extricate the country from its present difficulties, and to render us happy and prosperous at home, successful and secure abroad. Having said so much, his Lordship declared, that unless the motion of the noble Lord was not what he supposed it to be, that it did not go to any new point, nor aim at more than the bare removal of ministers, he saw no reason for putting it then. At any rate, let the motion extend ever so far, there could be no necessity for being in such a hurry about it, as to insist on putting it that day. Having for so many years held a public situation, and been entrusted with the management of public affairs, he was perfectly conscious he was responsible for his conduct, and whenever his country should call upon him to answer, it was his indispensable duty to answer for every part of that conduct. For which reason, he pledged himself to the House that he would not run away; and neither the noble Lord who intended to make the motion, nor any other honourable gentleman who meant to have supported it, need be at all apprehensive, that if it were not made that day, it would not be made while he was to be come at. He did assure the

House he should remain to be found, as much as ever, and would on no account avoid any enquiry that might be thought necessary with regard to him. Upon these grounds, his Lordship moved the question of adjournment, on the question moved by the honourable gentleman opposite to him. He confessed that at present the adjournment could not be of any other consequence than to put off the question till to-morrow ; and his wish was to adjourn for a longer time, in order to give his Majesty time to make the necessary arrangements for a new administration : however, as there was another motion before the House, the adjournment could take place only for one day : and, to-morrow, he should propose a further adjournment for a few days. There was, indeed, another mode of proceeding, and that was by delivering a message from his Majesty to both Houses, desiring that they would adjourn for a few days, until he should have time to form a new administration ; but the reason why he had not adopted that mode was, that there were several bills before the House of Lords, which it would be necessary to have passed before the recess ; and therefore it was necessary that the Upper House should remain sitting : the same reason, however, did not subsist for the Lower House continuing to sit. He concluded, therefore, by moving the question of adjournment.

Mr. William Pitt.

Mr. *William Pitt* rose to explain what the noble Lord had so very much misunderstood ; he had not charged the noble Lord with pretending to know more of the motion intended to be made, than any other member of that House must be supposed to know from the notice that had been given of it : he had merely alluded to the heat and disorder, evident in the House, and had said, that he had conceived, as he still did, that it would have been more regular for the noble Lord to have waited, till the motion, that was expected, had been made, and then to have risen and moved an adjournment, for the reasons the noble Lord had stated. A great deal that had fallen from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, Mr. Pitt said, certainly was material, and would doubtless have its due weight with the House ; if, however, gentlemen were inclined to rely on the noble Lord's declaration, and the other noble Lord should on that account consent to postpone his motion, it at least was necessary to have that declaration accurately, clearly and correctly defined, so that the House might fully comprehend to what extent the noble Lord pledged himself, and that his declaration of that day

was not merely a plea for getting rid of the motion, in order that they might be put out of possession of their majority.

Lord *John Cavendish* begged to be heard a few words. The noble Lord's declaration had great weight in his mind, at the same time, he thought the noble Lord in the blue ribband, had not said enough. He had not told the House for what they were to adjourn, nor to what day. As to going into a full detail at large, of the circumstances alluded to by the noble Lord, he was perfectly aware, that it would be highly improper, and indeed, that it was from motives of delicacy not to be desired. All he wished for was, that the noble Lord and the House, might perfectly understand each other's meaning before it was agreed to withdraw, or rather to postpone the motion; intended to have been made that day. Lord John Cavendish.

Lord *North* rose again, and said, had he been permitted to have spoken when he first rose, and before any question was put, he should have made the declaration, which the House had heard, and followed it up with a motion for an adjournment of a few days. A question having however been moved before he could do so, and the chair being in possession of that question, the noble Lord and the House must be aware, that he could do no otherwise than barely move to adjourn, which of course meant no more than an adjournment till morning. With regard to a fuller and more explicit detail of the particulars to which he had alluded, when he was up before, the noble Lord who spoke last, had confessed he was aware that it was a matter neither proper in itself, nor to be expected by the House. Thus much, however, he would venture to say, that those persons who had for some time conducted the public affairs, were no longer his Majesty's Ministers. They were no longer to be considered as men holding the reins of Government and transacting measures of state, but merely remaining to do their official duty, till other ministers were appointed to take their places. The sooner those new ministers were appointed (his Lordship declared) the better it would be, in his opinion for the public, and the better for the country in general. Lord North

Mr. *Fox* said, that it did not seem to be a matter of any great importance, whether the motion of his noble friend the Earl of Surrey should be put, or they should trust to the former declaration made by the noble Lord. He could have wished, perhaps, that the motion were put and carried, because Mr. Fox.

cause it would then manifestly appear to the nation at large, that the Ministers of the crown did not retire either from the caprice of this or that Minister, or from their wishing to go out, or from their being tired of their situations, or for any of the common reasons which ordinarily occasion the resignation of Ministers, but because it was the sense of Parliament, that they should retire, because that House had expressly called upon the Crown for their dismissal, and because the good of the country made it absolutely necessary! These were the reasons which impelled him to wish the motion put and carried. On the other hand, they had the less weight with him, because it was, he trusted, already sufficiently known, that the sense of Parliament, was against them, and although the motions of Friday last and the Friday before, had not actually been carried, yet he considered that motions debated in such full houses, and where the Minister had so small a majority, as a majority of nine or ten, were in effect carried, and in all reasonable construction, as much carried, as if there had not been such a majority against them. The great end, therefore, of carrying the motion of his noble friend, was already, in his mind, and he believed, in the consideration of all Europe, effectually answered. For which reason, he begged, that let who would be the persons who should be called on by their Sovereign to form the new administration, they might ever hold it in their minds, that his Majesty's late Ministers were dismissed, because Parliament disapproved of the system of their government, and that it was evident from Parliament's having gone so far to effect a removal of Ministers, that it would be expected that their successors should act upon different principles, and in a manner totally opposite. He declared, it had given him great pleasure, the preceding evening, to hear an honourable Member say in a thin House, that he hoped, if his Majesty's Ministers were removed, those who should be appointed in their room, would no longer govern by influence and corruption, and that if persons who had been in opposition came in, they would religiously adhere to their opposition principles, and not let it be a mere change of hands, without a change of measures. He enlarged a good deal on this idea, which he had in some recent debates frequently touched upon, and in a warm manner declared, that he should ever hold those men infamous, be they who they might, who altered their principles on obtaining power; and that as the House had solemnly determined by their late conduct, that  
they

they rejected and abhorred a government of influence; the new Ministers must always remember that fact, and remember also, that they owed their situations to that House. Mr. Fox concluded with advising his noble friend, not to make his intended motion that day, but to reserve it for Monday, in case the noble Lord's declaration of Monday should fall short of its expected completion. He also agreed to withdraw his own motion.

The Earl of *Surrey* said, that he was not fully convinced, The Earl of Surrey. that his motion ought to be put. On the contrary, the whole weighed in his mind as an additional argument for its being made. He was not, however at all desirous of pressing his motion upon the House, should it be the general opinion, that it would be better not to put it. What had fallen from his honourable friend, who had just sat down, certainly weighed a good deal on his mind; he should therefore listen to what might fall from gentlemen of all parties, and reserve to himself a right to put his motion, if he felt his own opinion supported by that of the House.

Mr. *Rigby* paid the noble Lord behind him many compliments on the handsome manner in which he had consented to postpone his motion, should it prove most agreeable to the general sense of the House, reserving to himself without the power of still moving it, should the case turn out to be otherwise. Mr. *Rigby* declared, for his part, he could not see the least occasion for such a motion as that which had been expected, after what had fallen from the noble Lord in the blue ribband. He had no idea that the noble Lord's declaration was not sincere, and that every word that had dropped from him, was not to be depended upon. Indeed, should any Minister venture to come down to that House, and make such a declaration, as that which the House had heard from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, merely for the purpose of deluding Parliament, he knew not words of sufficient import to describe the infamy of that sort of conduct. He was persuaded the noble Lord had no fallacious intention whatever; and if it should hereafter turn out, that the smallest deceit was at the bottom of what had passed that day, he pledged himself to the noble Lord behind him; not only to support his motion next Monday, or whenever he should be pleased to make it, but farther, to join with him in a motion of censure, as strong as Parliamentary precedent would allow. With regard to the noble Lord, who had declared that he was no longer a minister, he ever had entertained,

tained, and he still entertained, the highest respect for him; the noble Lord, in his mind, was perfectly justified in retiring; after such a division as that of Friday last, he had advised him to retire. A majority of nine was nothing; and it appeared to him, that there was no standing against so respectable a minority as 227 men of great abilities and high character. That minority growing out of the feelings of the country, in consequence of the distresses of the war, must outweigh any minister, let him possess abilities even greater than those of the noble Lord in the blue ribband. Indeed, such a minority, on a motion for withdrawing confidence from ministers, was a hint too broad to be misconceived or trifled with. As to the new ministers, be they who they would, he hoped they would form an administration on a bold, sound, solid basis, and would prove equal to the task of extricating the country from its present difficulties. It had been said, that some men could make peace better than others, and that the Americans would sooner treat with gentlemen who sat on one side of the House than with gentlemen who sat on the opposite benches; he should be happy to find the prediction verified. He wished success to an administration that came in upon such laudable views, and they were welcome to his vote, which was all he had to give them. They should have his support at least, and he should rejoice most heartily to find their endeavours to save their country prosperous.

Mr. Baker.

Mr. *Baker* argued the propriety of putting the motion to the vote, that had been originally intended to be made by the noble Lord near him. The noble Lord in the blue ribband had promised a good deal, and he was inclined to give his promises credit; but if he was to compare what he had said that day, with what he had said formerly, and to call to mind the noble Lord's usual faithlessness to Parliament, there was but little reason for putting confidence in him on the present occasion. There was a sentence, Mr. Baker remarked, in the noble Lord's speech, which struck him very forcibly. The noble Lord had told the House that his Majesty's Ministry, constituted as it then was, would be removed; What did the noble Lord mean by the words, constituted as it then was? Was the noble Lord only, or one more minister to go out? if so, the meaning of that House was frustrated, for it was not merely a shifting of a part, but a removal of the whole administration, in order that new measures might be adopted, which Parliament and the people panted for.

Mr.



Mr. *Powys* said, he understood the question to stand thus; Mr. *Powys*. a motion had been made, "that Lord Surrey do now speak," the question of adjournment had been put on that, and the mover of both had severally agreed to withdraw them, with the leave of the House, provided his noble friend would not press his intended motion that day. Having heard the declaration of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, which he was inclined to believe, he should advise his noble friend to give up the idea of making the motion which he intended for the present; but if on Monday next, it did not appear that every atom of the present administration, those that were ministers behind the curtain, as well as the ostensible ministers, the invisible as well as the visible agents, that had governed the country so long, and precipitated it to the verge of ruin, were removed, then he should wish his honourable friend to bring forward his motion, and take the sense of the House upon it.

Mr. *Burke* said, that that was not a moment of levity or Mr. *Burke*. exultation; he regarded it with a calmness of content, a placid joy, a serene satisfaction; he looked forward with fear and trembling; but the present was a moment of great awfulness, and every gentleman who expected either to form a part of the new administration, or intended to support it, ought to question themselves, examine their own hearts and see, whether they had been acting upon principles that were strictly right, and upon which they could continue to act in power, as firmly as they had continued to act upon them, while out of power. If, upon such an examination, any gentleman found he could not, that man, be he whom he would, ought not to accept of power. The present, he farther said, was that peculiar period of men's lives, when their ambitious views, that had lain secretly in a corner of their hearts, almost undiscovered to themselves, were unlocked, when their prejudices operated most forcibly, when all their desires, their self-opinions, their vanity, their avarice, and their lust of power, and all the worst passions of the human mind were set at large, and began to shew themselves. At such a time, let men take care what they did, how far they went, and what limits they prescribed to themselves; and let those also who did not wish for power or place, examine what their duty was, and how far they ought to act in the future, so as to preserve a perfect consistency of conduct. A great deal of most astonishing eloquence had been heard within those walls, and men of the first and rarest talents had

had exerted themselves extremely to bring about, what the noble Lord in the blue ribband had that day declared was near at hand. But neither the abilities of the one, nor the eloquence of the other description of persons, had tended so much towards the accomplishment of that which was near at hand, as the spirit of the people, and the conduct of the independent members, who best spoke that spirit. They had seen for a length of years the system of corruption going on, and they had seen it with melancholy minds ; for, from the immense power of that corruption, from the towers with which it was surrounded and fortified, they saw no hopes of ever being able to overthrow it. For a long time therefore, they were inactive by dejection ; they were rendered submissive by despair ; and this fatal torpor gave new and additional strength to the enemy, it gave them the most delusive advantage of all others, the appearance of stability, by which the weak were seduced to join them, and the wicked were confirmed. When you were thus erroneously and criminally negligent, they were safe, but when at length, urged by the accumulated distresses of your country, when you saw that there was no benefit to be expected from patience, and that there was even no prospect from hope, you aroused from your lethargy, and testified the force of independence. When you joined together with one voice, one mind, and one action, you found that that which lived only by your submission, sunk instantly beneath your attack. He begged them, therefore, to recollect what their conduct had been hitherto, what their conduct had principally accomplished, and what ought to be their conduct in future. The removal of ministers was one great point gained ; but the end that every lover of his country must look up to and ardently desire, was not by any means atchieved in the mere removal of ministers. Much and the most essential part of the work remained to be performed, and nothing could ensure the completion of the business, but the steadiness of that House, and above all, the firmness of the independent members, the new administration was the work of their hands ; it was their duty to give it that support, without which it would be impossible for it to subsist. There was a certain fatality attending human nature, which very often defeated the best purposes ; for the greatest virtues were generally accompanied with very great defects ; independence and public spirit were attended with indolence and supineness ; and those gentlemen who had effected the great change of ministers might lose all the



the benefits, which might have been expected, by indolence and inactivity : their support should be zealous and unremitting : no administration could exist long without support ; and when abandoned by the independent interest, ministers had hitherto resorted to the detestable means of corruption ; but in that they were not so much to blame as the independent gentlemen who suffered them to do it. Government could only exist in two ways, by its purity, wisdom, and success, which secured to it the love and support of the virtuous and independent ; or it must exist by the means of corruption, which brought to its aid the needy and the profligate ; and as government must be supported—the independent men ought to take to themselves blame if they forced a virtuous administration to resort to corruption ; he repeated it therefore, that their support ought to be steady, uniform, and active ; and the more so, as the ministers who were retiring, were not going out in consequence of an address of that day ; they were not tired of their places ; and their Sovereign was not tired of them ; and therefore the work of the independent gentlemen would be incomplete, if they did not resolve to support their own ministers with zeal and perseverance. The necessity of this advice made him earnest in giving it, and he hoped in God now to see an administration formed not only of independence, but of solid, substantial, and permanent power. He hoped in God that we should now have an opportunity of perceiving how much more beneficial to a country, as well as honourable, a government of virtue was to a government of corruption. How much more likely it was to give us union, action, and zeal at home, to give us eminence and respect abroad. He was convinced that with such a government, we might yet entertain well-founded hopes of raising up this country again upon its legs ; we might at least procure time to breathe, to collect our strength, to combine our resources into one great and profitable fund, by which we might be able to direct our effects with success against our enemies. He concluded with warning gentlemen again not to indulge the joy which was but too natural on such a deliverance ; not to feast their minds with the idea that all was finished because it was begun. It was a moment for the most serious temper, because there was necessity for the most serious action.

General Conway agreed perfectly in every thing said by the honourable gentleman excepting one, and that was, what he had said relative to the necessity ministers were under of re-

Gen. Conway.

forting to corruption for support, when they could no longer get it from the independent members of that House : he hoped he misunderstood the honourable member ; for he should be unhappy, indeed, if any thing bordering upon an excuse for corruption, should fall from a gentleman for whom he had an esteem, — perhaps superior to any he felt for any man ; — and he should be still more unhappy at hearing it fall from the lips of a man, who most likely would be one of those ministers to whom the country looked up for its salvation. For his own part, he did not think that resorting to corruption, in any one case, even for the good of the state, could be justifiable ; for he held, that if ministers could not carry their measures through by honest means, it was their duty to resign. All our hopes, all our expectations, all our wishes, he was persuaded, depended on a system of incorruptibility, and not on a system of corruptibility. If not

Actum est de republica pulcherrima !

With regard to a government founded on corruption, therefore, the sooner such an idea was refuted the better. He protested before Heaven, that with all the detestation which he had for the infamous system which was now abolished ; and with all the resentment which he entertained against these wretched ministers which were now discharged ; he would rather see that system renewed with these ministers at its head, than that a more insidious, because a more plausible government should be set up under the sanction of names more elevated, upon the same principle. Against such a government there would be no safeguard, the good would be deluded, the base would be employed, and the nation would be ruined. No, if we must have a government of corruption, let us have governors who are suspected, that the nation may be on its guard, not that he imagined the honourable gentleman had any intention to resort to corruption ; he was aware, he had merely thrown out the idea, to shew the independent members that it rested on the virtue of that House to keep an administration virtuous.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* lamented that any thing which had fallen from him should have given his honourable friend an idea that it was possible for him to countenance corruption even for a moment ; he flattered himself, that the whole course of his conduct was a continued proof that he reprobated corruption in every point of view ; and that, therefore, he could not mean to become an advocate for it in that House : he had meant

meant no more than this in what he had said, that ministers not finding sufficient support from the independent interest, resorted for it to corruption; and that in such case ministers were less to blame than those members who suffered them to do it: if he appeared in this to take any blame from ministers; it was only to heap the more on those who, through indolence or inactivity, should withhold their support from measures which they approved. All that he had in view from what he had said was to warn men against the danger of inattention; and to shew them the possibility that in some future moment, it might be imputed to them by ministers that their neglect had forced them to what they otherwise would have rejected—to corruption—and that perhaps a minister might charge them with at least a part of the guilt.

“ *Flectere si nequeo superos, acheronta movebo.*

That their indolence he might give as his excuse, for either by independance or corruption his government must be supported. But he never meant to insinuate his approbation of such conduct. He was clearly of another mind; and thought with the right honourable gentleman that a minister ought to resign his seat rather than resort to base and unworthy means. He had never supported but one administration in that House, and no member he believed would accuse that administration of governing by corruption. He said the honourable gentleman had talked, as if he had been likely to become a minister. God knew, Mr. Burke said, he had no such views, nor had he a right to have any such. The thing was not within probability; the honourable gentleman was himself infinitely more likely to become a minister than he was. He was neither a man who had pretensions to it from rank in the country, or from fortune, nor who aspired to it from ambition. He was not a man so foolishly vain, or so blindly ignorant of his own state and condition, as to indulge for a moment the idea of his becoming a Minister: The right honourable gentleman, whose rank and pretensions naturally pointed to that elevation, had undoubtedly a right to look forward to it; and no man deserved it more: It must give pleasure and joy then to the House, to hear the language which he had just delivered; and the abhorrence which he had expressed of that wicked and ruinous system, which, after a struggle of so many years, they had at last abolished, would be a pledge to the House, that when that right honourable person should become a minister, the House and the

the nation would have no reason to apprehend that that system would be renewed.

Gen. Conway.

General *Conway* declared, he was extremely glad he had taken notice of the circumstance, since it had given the honourable gentleman an opportunity of clearing up, what, unexplained, might have gone forth to the world misunderstood and misrepresented, whence a variety of false and invidious constructions might have been put upon it. He appealed to the House, whether he had not gone before the honourable gentleman in almost every thing he had said, being thoroughly persuaded, that a man of his known integrity could never intend to act upon motives of corruption; indeed he thought too well of every gentleman on that side the House to entertain such a suspicion; on the contrary, he was convinced, that if they found they could not go on with a government built upon pure and uncorrupt principles, they would think it much more noble to retire, and leave it to others to take their trial at the helm, rather than go back to the abominable system of corruption. With respect to himself he could assure the House, that in whatever situation he might be, whether that of a minister, or a private member of that House, he should always be the direct, avowed, and most determined foe to corruption; nor should he ever consent to its introduction as a support to that system to which he should ever lend his name.

Mr. F. Montagu.

Mr. *F. Montagu* called the attention of the House to the question before them, which was that of adjournment. He wished particularly to call them to this; for at present entering into discussions of this sort answered no good purpose. It being clearly the general sense of the House to accede to the proposition of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and postpone the intermediate motion of the day till Monday, to be then made if it should then appear to be necessary. He saw no reason whatever, why the House should continue to debate a matter that did not, in his opinion, call for a word to be said on the subject.

Sir John Hufsey Delaval.

Sir *John Hufsey Delaval* took occasion to regret the loss of the abilities of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in whose praise, as a man of talents and integrity, almost every side of the House had been loud, at one period or another. Sir John said a variety of handsome things of Lord North, which would have, he said, a stronger effect from the obvious disinterestedness of a panegyric pronounced on a minister in the moment of his retiring from power,

Mr.

Mr. Courtenay said, he could not claim the attention of the House under the very respectable character of a country gentleman, which, if his definition was right, implied a person possessed of considerable landed property ; yet he hoped, what he himself deemed a misfortune, would not be imputed to him as a fault. Fortunately it had been observed by an honourable gentleman, distinguished by his wit and talents, that independence consisted more in the mind than in the gifts of fortune ; to this proposition, Mr. Courtenay added, both his interest and conviction induced him to subscribe ; and he farther begged leave to deduce one corollary from it, which was this, that those were most likely to possess that noble internal quality (independence) in its utmost purity and perfection, who had little external to debase or adulterate it ; therefore, as he waved all claim to the first denomination, he hoped, he would not be reckoned presumptuous if he put in his claim to the latter. Mr. Courtenay observed, that notwithstanding, the acrimonious remarks and insinuations of some gentlemen, there appeared a candour and ingenuoufness, among men of the first character and abilities on the other side of the House, especially in the noble Lord who was to move the question of the day, to agree to the motion of adjournment till Monday ; and that the invidious and illiberal doubts, (so candidly suggested) of the sincerity of the noble Lord in the blue ribband's declarations, were not received so warmly, and with so much applause, as might have been expected. He observed, that if the opinion he was going to deliver, had not truth for its foundation, it had certainly no other circumstance to recommend it. He acknowledged he had always given his support, since he had a seat in that House, to the noble Lord in the blue ribband. That he had done so, from a persuasion of the rectitude of the noble Lord's intentions, of the purity of which, he remained as firmly convinced as ever ; that however, from a variety of untoward circumstances, there were parts of his administration, which had not been as successful as might have been expected ; there appeared through the whole of it, a sincere anxiety for the prosperity of his country. His amiable and engaging disposition had procured him many friends ; his unrivalled wit had created him many admirers ; his unassuming manners (though twelve years at the head of the Tréasury) had prevented his having any enemies ; his mild and forbearing temper (of which he had exhibited so many striking instances) was seldom provoked, and when he

was

was, his generous manly warmth did honour to his feelings. Mr. Courtenay said, if he took this opportunity of expatiating on the noble Lord's praises, for the purposes of adulation, it was extremely ill-timed ; but as an evidence of the unfeigned respect he should ever bear for him, what he presumed to say, could not now be out of time :

“ When int'rest calls off all her sneaking train,

“ When all the obliged desert—and yet complain.

He could not form a more sanguine wish for the happiness of his country, than, that in this day of difficulty, in this hour of calamity and distress, an administration might be formed, as able and as disinterested, as upright in their intentions, but more fortunate in the event, than that of the noble Lord's. The noise, clamour, and cry to adjourn were so strong, that Mr. Courtenay, though he spoke in a strong, and elevated tone of voice, could scarcely be heard, upon which he called out very audibly, “ that neither his temper, disposition, nor country, inclined him to be intimidated, embarrassed, or easily put out of countenance, he would therefore finish what he had to say before he sat down,” which was, that though he had not the honour of being one of those sagacious country gentlemen, who had so long vociferated for the American war, (a war which he should ever think impolitic, unjust, and inexpedient) who had so long run on the red herring-scent of American taxation, before they found out there was no game on foot ; they, who like (their prototype) Don Quixote, had mistaken the barber's bason for a golden helmet, he now congratulated them on having, at last, recovered their senses, and found out their error ; yet he had as strong an affection for his country, and felt as much for the honour and prosperity of Britain, as any man in that House ; he ardently wished to see an arrangement of ministers who would throw themselves on their country, and rest their support on the confidence of the people, founded on the public spirited measures they meant to pursue. He wished to see a constitutional administration, founded on the basis of public virtue and public œconomy ; “ when this corruption had put on incorruption, and this mortality had put on immortality ;” such an administration, feeble and insignificant as his support was, should always have it. Mr. Courtenay concluded by declaring, that he felt himself perfectly composed, and in perfect good humour, though the other side of the House had not listened



to him with their usual indulgence and attention. Their exultation, triumph, and interruption, be freely pardoned on this occasion.

When in their hands all power they found,  
It well might make their brains turn round,  
It well might turn their head,—  
He fancy'd (tho' they hate a joke)  
They felt as Nell did when she woke  
In Lady Loverule's bed—

He concluded by expressing his thorough persuasion, that if they heard what he persisted to speak, it would make a full impression on them, especially as he was just, perhaps, on the eve of becoming perfectly an independent gentleman himself; a title, which had been so long and so honourably possessed by so many respectable characters on the other side of the House, a title which they enjoyed without envy, and of which he was convinced, from the liberal sentiments entertained on this side, not a single person ever wished to deprive them.

Lord *Surrey* said, that his private opinion was, that his motion ought still to be put for all that had been said by the noble Lord was no argument against it; but the House being of another opinion, he was ready to submit; but he must now say that as a right honourable gentleman had pledged himself to support him on Monday, in case any deception should be practised, he gave notice, that should that appear to be the case, and any part of the present administration remain, he would, on Monday, come forward with a motion, not the same as that he intended to have moved, which was in substance to complain of administration, and to resolve on an address for a change, but a very, very different motion indeed!

Lord *Surrey*

This declaration was supported by a hear him! Hear him! from every side of the House.

Sir *Robert Smith* said, that he had intended to have seconded the motion which was to have come before that House that day; and feeling a similar resentment if he should be deceived, he would certainly second any motion which spoke the anger of that House.

Sir *Robert Smith*.

Mr. *Charles Turner* rose to deliver his sentiments, but the clamour was so great, and his voice being weak, he could not be heard.

Mr. *Charles Turner*.



Lord North

Lord *North* and Mr. Fox now withdrew their respective motions; and Lord North moved the House to adjourn to Monday morning next, which was immediately complied with, and the House rose at six o'clock.

Adjourned to the 25th.

March 25.

*Change of the MINISTRY.*

The House was uncommonly crowded, as the conversation of the day was, that at twelve o'clock that day the negotiation was not concluded; but as soon as the private business was over,

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* rose, and said that it was with peculiar satisfaction he found himself enabled, through some communication he had had that day with a most respectable member of the upper House, to inform gentlemen that arrangements were now making for forming a new administration, which he trusted would meet the wishes of that House, and of the nation at large.—In order, therefore, to give time for the final adjustment of those arguments, he would move that the House should adjourn to Wednesday. This, he said, was a short interval; but he hoped it would be long enough to effect those arrangements so much and so ardently wished for by the whole nation. He then moved for adjourning.

Lord Surrey.

Lord *Surrey* expressed his satisfaction at hearing that such arrangements were likely to take place, as would render it unnecessary for him to trouble the House with his intended motion. He cautioned gentlemen, however, to beware of thinking that their work was complete; a new administration was not their sole object; it was desirable only in as much as it would contribute to save the state; but the ship was not yet in port; and he was afraid that the united efforts of the greatest abilities of our statesmen, and the greatest exertion of our officers, would be barely able to save her.

The Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* took the opportunity of saying before the question was put, that if no proceedings had taken place in consequence of the reports from the Secret Committee, it was not his fault; the state of affairs for the last three weeks had been such, that it was impossible to bring that business before the House; however, as it was of the greatest importance that something should be done on the occasion, he gave notice, that if some person of greater weight and abilities would not take up the business, he would hold himself bound

bound to bring it forward the very first opportunity after the recess.

General *Smith* rose, not to oppose, but to enforce the arguments of the learned Lord: our affairs in India were such, he said, that our settlements in that part of the world would be in the greatest danger, if notice should not be sent out in the course of a month, that some measures were likely to be soon taken by Parliament, for the better government of our possessions in that part of the world. The month of March was already nearly at end, and nothing had yet been done on the reports of the two committees. If something was not determined on, respecting the subject of both reports before that day month, he verily believed, consequences of a very serious sort, and extremely prejudicial to the interests of this country would ensue; he, therefore, hoped, the earliest opportunity of entering upon the business, that should offer after the recess, would be taken by the learned Lord, and that the House would pay the subject the attention it merited.

The question was then put, and the House was adjourned to Wednesday the 27th.

*March 27.*

Colonel *Luttrell* addressed the House in a very serious manner. He said, that, from the regard he bore to all that now remained of the British empire, he felt it to be proper to call their attention to the present state of Ireland, from which kingdom he had just arrived. He wished to convey information to the ministers of this country, whoever they might be, relative to the situation of the country. Ireland, he said, was at present in so perturbed a situation, that if some measures were not timely adopted to restore it to tranquillity, the most serious consequences might be apprehended: tumults might arise, and confusion swallow up order and regularity. The temper and disposition of the Irish, he knew, at present, to be such, that it would be both practicable and easy to satisfy them; but if any time was lost, he would not answer for the consequences. Here he was interrupted, and called to order, by

Mr. *Byng*, who apologised for interrupting his honourable friend. He had called him to order, though in fact he could not say that he was disorderly; but as his honourable

friend had risen to convey information to the new ministers, he only wished to remind him that none of them\* were then in

\* It may be agreeable to our readers to see the new arrangement;

Marquis of Rockingham	—	First Lord of the Treasury.
Earl of Shelburne	—	Joint Secretaries of State — the third Secretaryship abolished.
Mr. Fox	—	
Lord John Cavendish	—	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Admiral Keppel, created a Viscount	—	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Grafton	—	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Camden	—	President of the Council.
Duke of Richmond	—	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Thurloe	—	To continue Chancellor
General Conway	—	{ Commander in chief of the Forces
Mr. Dunning	—	{ Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and created Baron Ashburton.

The above eleven persons composed the Cabinet.

Besides the above, the

Duke of Manchester	—	Privy Counsellors.
Earl of Effingham	—	
Earl Ludlow	—	
Lord de Ferrars	—	
Sir George Yonge, Bart.	—	
Mr. Burke	—	
Viscount Chewton	—	
Duke of Manchester	—	Lord Chamberlain.
Viscount Chewton	—	Vice Chamberlain.
Viscount Weymouth	—	Groom of the Stole,
Earl of Jersey	—	Master of the Buck Hounds.
Earl of Carlisle	—	Lord Steward of the Household.
Lord Rivers	—	Lord of the Bedchamber.
Earl of Effingham	—	Treasurer of the Household.
Earl Ludlow	—	Comptroller of ditto.
Lord de Ferrars	—	{ Captain of the Band of Gentle- men Pensioners.
Prince William Henry	—	Knights of the Garter
Duke of Richmond	—	
Duke of Devonshire	—	
Earl of Shelburne	—	

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in the House, and to conjure and beseech him not to proceed in so very delicate a subject at present; but to give the ministers in private that information which he was so anxious, and very properly anxious, to communicate to them. He could venture to assure him, that those ministers, of whom he neither was nor intended to be one, would be happy to receive his information, and would take every step which wisdom could suggest for healing the uneasiness of Ireland.

Colonel Luttrell replied, that he did not as yet know who the ministers were; however, in compliance with the wish

of

Lord Viscount Althorpe

James Grenville, Esq.

Frederic Montagu, Esq.

Sir Robert Harland, Bart.

Hugh Pigot, Esq.

Lord Duncannon

Honourable John Townshend

C. Brett, Esq.

R. Hopkins, Esq.

Richard Brindsley Sheridan, Esq.

Thomas Orde Esq.

Lloyd Kenyon, Esq.

John Lee, Esq.

Honourable Thomas Townshend

Colonel Barré

Edmund Burke, Esq.

Earl of Tankerville

Lord William Gordon

Sir William Howe

Honourable Thomas Pelham

Lord Howe, created a Viscount

Sir Fletcher Norton

Earl Temple

Duke of Bolton

Earl of Pembroke

Marquis of Rockingham

Charles Turner, Esq.

Henry Fletcher, Esq.

Duke of Portland

Earl of Scarborough

Sir George Yonge Bart.

Colonel Fitzpatrick

Lieutenant-General Burgoyne

Lords of the Treasury.

Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Under Secretaries of State.

Attorney General.

Solicitor-General.

Secretary at War.

Treasurer of the Navy.

Paymaster-General of the Forces.

Joint Postmaster General.

Vice Admiral of Scotland.

{ Lieutenant General of the Ordnance.

Surveyor General of ditto.

To command the grand Fleet.

Created Lord Grantly.

Lord Lieutenant of Bucks.

Ditto of Southampton.

Ditto of Wilts

Ditto of East Riding Yorkshire.

Created a Baronet.

Ditto.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Joint Vice-Treasurers of Ireland.

Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

{ Commander in chief of the Forces in Ireland.

of his honourable friend, he was willing to suppress for the present, what he intended to say on the subject, and to wait till the new ministers should be settled in office, when he would communicate faithfully and truly his sentiments relative to the present state of Ireland; he would therefore content himself for the present, with saying that the attention of the new ministry could not be too soon turned to the affairs of Ireland; and nothing ought to be omitted to conciliate the affections of the people of that country.

The Lord  
Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* brought up several large bundles of papers, containing reports from the Secret Committee on India affairs; and gave notice, that as he thought it absolutely necessary, that some steps should be very speedily taken respecting our settlements in India, he would, on the first Tuesday after the recess, move, to have the reports on the table taken into consideration.

New writs were then moved for, by Mr. Byng, &c. for such gentlemen as had vacated on account of their accepting offices, and which our readers will see in the subjoined note.

*March 28.*

Ordered accounts of the tonnage of ships in the ports of Great Britain, from 1780 to 1782. Also the tonnage of foreign ships, to the same period.

Adjourned on account of the holidays, to the 8th of April.

END OF VOLUME VI.



